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Bulletin N:o 26

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THE RESTORATION OF THE HAN DYNASTY

WITH PROLEGOMENA ON THE HISTORIOGRAPHY
OF THE HOU HAN SHU

BY

HANS BIELENSTEIN

GÖTEBORG 1953
ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG

TO
JIM PARSONS, ART LINK
DELL AND AL RICKETT

INTRODUCTION

Everyone working in the field of Han history is deeply indebted to the translations by E. Chavannes and H. H. Dubs. Without their efforts, the study of this period would be much more difficult and time-consuming. I have especially profited by the work of Professor H. H. Dubs, to whom I wish to express my gratitude. Since he is the first scholar to have entered seriously into Han history, I have in certain respects followed his method. Thus Dubs translates Chinese titles rather than rendering them in transcription. Often several translations of one and the same title are possible. However, it does not seem advisable to me to enter upon prolonged discussions as to which translation might be the best founded and thereby unnecessarily complicate matters. Uniformity is imperative, and since Professor Dubs has been the first to give English equivalents for a great number of Han offices, I have adopted all his translations and rendered additional titles in accordance with his practice.¹⁾ Wherever Chinese measurements had to be given in their western equivalents, I have used the converted figures computed by Dubs.²⁾

As to the dilemma whether to translate Chinese texts into good English style even if in so doing it is necessary to take certain liberties with the original, or to keep as close to the original as possible even if this results in somewhat less good English, I have decided in favour of the latter course. It has seemed to me that for a student of history, interested in the Chinese historical style, a literal translation would be the more valuable, even if, as a result, the English is strained.

The chapter concerning historiography is disproportionately large. The reason why I have intentionally treated this subject in such detail is its importance for a correct interpretation of the text. It is to be regarded as a kind of introduction not only to the present analysis, but also to forthcoming additional studies of Later Han history.

The present work would not have been possible without liberal grants from the «Humanistiska Fonden» in Sweden and the Wenner-Gren Foundation (former Viking Foundation) in New York, for which I wish to express my sincere thanks. I am deeply grateful to my friends Sybill and Otto van der Sprenkel who have read and corrected the manuscript.

My greatest obligation is to my teacher, Professor Bernhard Karlgren, who has guided my studies in the field of Chinese. To him belongs my deep and humble gratitude for the privilege of having been his student.

¹⁾ In an earlier article (64. Bielenstein) I translated hien as «district». Following Dubs method, I now change this to «prefecture».

²⁾ 72. Dubs, I, pp. 276 ff.

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ABBREVIATIONS

SK	=	Shī ki
HS	=	Ts'ien Han shu
HHS	=	Hou Han shu
TKK	=	Tung kuan Han ki (mostly shortened to Tung kuan ki)
SHS	=	Sü Han shu
HHK	=	Hou Han ki

The chapters of the HHS are arranged differently in the various editions. The Shao-hing- and Ki ku ko editions place the treatises (chī) after the biographies (lie chuan), while the Palace edition arranges them between the basic records (pen ki) and the biographies. Thus, the numbers of the kuan are not identical. I give the kuan number for both systems, the first number referring to the Ki ku ko edition as used by the Hou Han shu tsi kie, the second to the Palace edition. Consequently 23,53: 1 b means page 1 b in chapter 23 of the Ki ku ko edition which corresponds to chapter 53 of the Palace edition.

If not otherwise indicated, all quotations are from the HHS.

TEXT HISTORY

In the year A. D. 191, the warlord Tung Cho seized the person of Emperor Hien (190—220)¹⁾ and forced him to move from his capital, Lo-yang, to Ch'ang-an. Before the troops departed from Lo-yang, the city was looted and partly burned. The Hou Han shu²⁾ describes how in the various libraries the books written on bamboo slips were torn to pieces and destroyed and how the silk scrolls were used as curtains and canopies if they were big or sewn into sacks if they were small. The Minister over the Masses, Wang Yün, saved a number of books and carried them on 70 odd chariots with the army. En route, many of the chariots were abandoned, and less than half of them arrived at Ch'ang-an (66,96: 11 b; 79 A, 109 A:3 a). Thus, at least a few of the documents from the archives were saved on this occasion, but it is hardly probable that many of these survived the chaos that followed the fall of the Later Han dynasty. What is more, history continued to repeat itself. At the beginning of the 4th century A. D., the Western Tsin dynasty had become so powerless that it no longer could resist the attacks of the Hiung-nu from the north. In 311 both Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an were looted, and the latter city was plundered again in 314. The archives of the Tsin dynasty suffered tremendously, and the looting of Lo-yang in 311 is regarded as one of the great losses of documents and books in Chinese history. A few years later, the Tsin dynasty abandoned the north and selected Kien-k'ang, the present Nan-king, as the new capital. Again, it is hardly probable that any considerable part of the archives survived the transfer to the south.

Fan Ye, the compiler of the present HHS, was born in 398, a long time after the transfer of the capital. He saw the fall of the Eastern Tsin dynasty and the rise of the Liu Sung house in 420. Hence, it is obvious that his HHS could never have been based directly on documents from the archives of Later Han, simply because hardly any of them would have been preserved until his own time. Fan Ye must have compiled the HHS by using earlier histories on the same subject and

¹⁾ Figures in parenthesis after the names of rulers refer to the years of their reign.

²⁾ Henceforth quoted as HHS.

availing himself of the material furnished by them. Which then were his principal sources?¹⁾

The oldest and most important of the earlier histories is the *Tung kuan Han ki*, »The Han Record of the Tung kuan [library]«, mostly shortened to *Tung kuan ki*²⁾. It was not written by one man or at one time but composed successively all through the Later Han dynasty.

The earliest parts of this history were composed by none other than Pan Ku (32—92) himself. Emperor Ming (58—75) issued an edict which ordered him in collaboration with the Prefect of Sui-yang³⁾, Ch'en Tsung, the Prefect of Ch'ang-ling⁴⁾, Yin Min, and the Attendant Official of the Director of the Retainers, Meng Yi, to write the *pen ki* of Emperor Kuang-wu (25—57). Furthermore, Pan Ku compiled biographies for the meritorious subjects of the *kien-wu* period (25—55) as well as records⁵⁾ for Kung-sun Shu and the Troops from P'ing-lin and Sin-shi. The complete work consisted of 28 p'ien (40 A, 70 A: 8 a).

In 120, the Empress Dowager, née Teng, by edict ordered the Supervisor of the Internuncios, Liu Chen († soon after 126), the Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant, Li Yu († soon after 135), together with Liu T'ao-t'u, and Liu Yi (ca. 58—125) to continue this history down to the beginning of the *yung-ch'u* period, i. e. 107 (14, 44: 7 b; 80 A, 110 A: 12 a). They composed *pen ki* for the Emperors Ming (58—75), Chang (76—88), Ho (89—105), and Shang (106); tables and biographies for meritorious subjects, distaff relatives of the emperors, and scholars, covering

¹⁾ The bibliographical material about the HHS and its background is chiefly rendered by:

1. Scattered notes in the biographies of the various histories.
2. The bibliographical chapters of the histories as far as they exist or can be reconstructed.
3. The different historical works themselves if preserved, especially with the introductions by their authors.
4. Notes by writers who saw at least parts of the now lost works. Of great value in this respect is Liu Chi-ki's (661—721) *Shi t'ung*.
5. The report of Yü Tsing and Wang Chu in 1035 and Ch'en Hao's report after collating the Palace edition of 1739.

The textual history of the HHS early attracted the interest of Chinese scholars, and discussions of the problems involved have been written by many savants. Special mention should here be made of the bibliographical notes in the *S'i k'u ts'üan shu tsung mu*, of 16. Wang Sien-k'ien's (1842—1917) introduction to his *Hou Han shu ts'i kie*, and of the works of 44. Tai Fan-yü (Rep.) and 20. Cheng Hou-sheng (Rep.). Among them, especially Cheng's and Tai's works can be highly recommended. Cf. also 86. Swann, pp. 158 ff.

²⁾ Henceforth quoted as *TKK*.

³⁾ The Sui-yang prefecture during Han belonged to the Liang kingdom and was situated S of the present Shang-k'iu hien, Ho-nan.

⁴⁾ The Ch'ang-ling prefecture during Later Han belonged to King-chao-yin and was situated 40 li NE of the present Hien-yang hien, Shen-si.

⁵⁾ *Tsai ki* 載記. They were written about rebels, pretenders, and bandits in contrast to the *pen ki* of the emperors and empresses or the biographies of the meritorious subjects. This is the first time that the term *tsai ki* occurs in Chinese sources. It was later used by the authors of the *Tsin shu*.

the time from 58 to 106. After the work was completed, Liu Chen and Liu T'ao-t'u memorialized a request that it should be collated by the famous scholar Chang Heng (78—139). The memorial was not approved. After their death, Chang Heng himself several times repeated the petition, but each time it was rejected (59, 89: 35 b).

During the yüan-kia period (151—152), Emperor Huan (147—167) ordered the second extension of the work. A great number of scholars was mobilized for this enterprise: the Palace Attendant, Fu Wu-ki, the Grandee Remonstrant and Consultant, Huang King, the Grand Palace Grandee, Pien Shao, the Major, Ts'ui Shī († ± 170), and the Gentlemen-consultants, Chu Mu (100—163), Ts'ao Shou, and Yen Tu († 167) (26, 56: 4 a; 52, 82: 17 b; 64, 94: 3 b; 80 A, 110 A: 16 a). They wrote biographies for the empresses and in all probability pen ki for the Emperors An (107—125), Shao (125), Shun (126—144), Ch'ung (145), and Chī (146), even if the latter is not explicitly stated. They composed tables for the kings and their sons, for the marquises, and for the Hundred Officials. The biographies for the meritorious subjects, scholars, and distaff relatives were continued. Accounts were written about the Shan-yü of the Hiung-nu and about the Western K'iang as well as a treatise on geography. The work was called Han ki, the «Record of Han», and had by now expanded to 114 p'ien.

The third continuation was ordered during the hi-p'ing period (172—177). The Imperial Household Grandee, Ma Mi-ti, together with Han Shuo, and the Gentlemen-consultants, Ts'ai Yung (133—192), Lu Chī († 192), and Yang Piao (142—225) wrote additional pen ki and biographies and extended the already existant ones wherever this was possible. On his own, Ts'ai Yung also composed a number of treatises. The title of the history became Tung kuan Han ki, called after the Tung kuan library of the Southern Palace in Lo-yang (60 B, 90 B: 17 b; 64, 94: 12 a). Later, Yang Piao continued and completed the TTK down to the fall of the Later Han dynasty. The entire history then consisted of 143 kuan.

It is, of course, of immeasurable value that the TTK was composed at such intervals all through the Later Han dynasty. In this way, the historians always described events which were close to their own time, and which often had been witnessed by themselves. Also, the long and peaceful history of the dynasty guaranteed a steady and rich flow of all kinds of documents to the imperial archives where they were kept in good order and could be examined and copied by the historians. Hence, as regards the available historical material, the authors of the TTK were far better off than Pan Piao and Pan Ku in writing their HS.

In the period embracing the end of Later Han and the beginning of San kuo, several minor works were compiled¹⁾. Hou Kin (± 190) wrote a Han huang te ki in 30 kuan (80 B, 110 B: 13 a). Wang Ts'an (177—217) composed a Han mo ying hiung ki in 10 kuan and Liu Fang a Han Ling Hien er ti ki in 6 kuan. The Han

¹⁾ If not otherwise indicated, the following information is drawn from Sui shu's king tai chī.

Hien ti k'i kü chu in 5 küan also originates from this time as well as the Hien ti chuan¹⁾.

Next in order of the histories comes a Hou Han shu, written in the San kuo period. Its author was Sie Ch'eng, a subject of the Wu dynasty (222—277). He belonged to a family with literary interests and reached the peak of his official career as Grand Administrator of the Wu-ling commandery²⁾. His work consisted of 130 küan. Other Han historians of the San kuo period were Ts'iao Chou (199—270) who compiled a Hou Han ki³⁾ and a Ku shī k'ao, and Yüan Ye who wrote a Hien ti ch'un ts'iu in 10 küan.

A great number of histories were composed during the Tsin dynasty (265—419). Thus, the Honorary Regular Attendant⁴⁾, Sie Ying († 282), compiled a Hou Han shu in 100 küan. — During the t'ai-shī period (265—274), a member of the imperial clan, the Director of the Department of the Imperial Library⁵⁾, Si-ma Piao (240—306), wrote a work in 83 küan which he called the «Continued Han shu», Sū Han shu⁶⁾. — The Honorary Regular Attendant, Hua K'iao († 293), used the TTK as his source and completed a Han Hou shu, «The Later Book of Han», in 97 küan. The bibliographical chapter of the Sui shu changed this title by mistake to Hou Han shu, an error which since then has prevailed. Hua K'iao intended to write 12 pen ki for the emperors, 2 pen ki for the empresses, 10 codes (tien 典), and 70 biographies. He thus consciously changed the name of the treatises (chī 志). At his death, the codes were not yet completed. His sons Ch'e and Ch'ang finished them.⁷⁾ — K'ung Yen (268—320) wrote a Hou Han shang shu in 6 küan and a Hou Han ch'un ts'iu, also in 6 küan. — Furthermore, Ko Hung compiled a Hou Han shu ch'ao⁸⁾, Sie Shen a Hou Han shu in 122 küan, the Director of the Department of the Imperial Library, Yüan Shan-sung⁹⁾ († 401), a Hou Han shu in 100 küan, Chang Fan a Hou Han ki in 30 küan, and Chang Ying a Hou Han nan ki in 55 küan. The Shan yang kung tsai ki¹⁰⁾ by Yüe Tsī seems also to have been written during this time. Most important, however, of all the histories written under the Tsin dynasty, simply because it has been preserved in its entirety, is for us the Hou Han ki¹¹⁾ in 30 küan by Yüan Hung (320—376)¹²⁾. The HHK is notable for the fact that it

¹⁾ Cf. Er shī wu shī pu pien p. 3222: 1.

²⁾ Situated in Hu-nan. Cf. K'ai ming edition p. 1042: 3.

³⁾ Cf. Er shī wu shī pu pien p. 3219: 3.

⁴⁾ For the translation of the first part of this title cf. 82. Kramers, p 55, note 163.

⁵⁾ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 62, note 187.

⁶⁾ Henceforth quoted as SHS.

⁷⁾ Cf. his biography in Tsin shu, küan 44.

⁸⁾ K'ung Yen's and Ko Hung's works are mentioned in the bibliographical chapter of the Sin T'ang shu.

⁹⁾ His name is sometimes wrongly given as Yüan Sung.

¹⁰⁾ «Duke of Shan-yang» was the title conferred upon the last emperor of the Han dynasty after his abdication.

¹¹⁾ Henceforth quoted as HHK.

¹²⁾ Cf. his biography in Tsin shu, küan 92.

does not follow the traditional arrangement of the material into pen ki for the emperors and biographies for the subjects. Instead, it uses the annalistic style and records all events chronologically.¹⁾

It is obvious that the later the above mentioned histories were compiled, the less documents from the Han archives were at the disposal of their authors. Hence, to a considerable extent they had to borrow from their predecessors. This can be traced in considerable detail, but to publish my results here is beyond the scope of the present study.

Author	Book title	Original number of k ü an	Number of k ü an according to Sui shu's king tsai ch ü	Present number of k ü an
Various authors	Tung kuan Han ki	143	143	24
Hou Kin (\pm 190)	Han huang te ki	30	30	1
Wang Ts'an (177—217)	Han mo ying hiung ki ..	10	10	1
Liu Fang	Han Ling Hien er ti ki ..	6	3	—
Official historians	Han Hien ti k'i k ü chu ..	5	5	—
?	Hien ti chuan	?	—	—
Sie Ch'eng	Hou Han shu	130	130	8
Ts'iao Chou (199—270)	Hou Han ki	?	—	—
"	Ku sh ü k'ao	?	25	1
Yüan Ye	Hien ti ch'un ts'iu	10	10	— ²⁾
Sie Ying (\dagger 282)	Hou Han shu	100	65	1
Si-ma Piao (240—306)	S ü Han shu	83	83	13 ³⁾
Hua K'iao (\dagger 293)	Hou Han shu	97	17	2
K'ung Yen (268—320)	Hou Han shang shu	6	6 ⁴⁾	—
"	Hou Han ch'un ts'iu	6	6 ⁴⁾	—
Ko Hung	Hou Han shu ch'ao	?	30 ⁴⁾	—
Yüan Hung (320—376)	Hou Han ki	30	30	30
Sie Shen	Hou Han shu	122	85	1
Yüan Shan-sung (\dagger 401)	Hou Han shu	100	95	1
Chang Fan	Hou Han ki	30	30	1
Chang Ying	Hou Han nan ki	55	45	—
Yüe Ts ai	Shan yang kung tsai ki ..	10	10	—

¹⁾ The list of authors and books given above is not complete. Several minor works and books concerning geographically limited areas and limited topics could also be mentioned. It would seem, however, that the survey includes the most important of Fan Ye's predecessors.

²⁾ The Ku kin shuo pu ts'ung shu reproduces 1 double page, representing all that is left of a Hien ti ch'un ts'iu of an unknown author.

³⁾ This figure includes the treatises of the present HHS, corresponding to 8 küan of the former SHS. Cf. infra pp. 16—17.

⁴⁾ According to the bibliographical chapter of the Sin T'ang shu.

When Fan Ye compiled his HHS, parts of the above mentioned works were already lost and some of the books had in all probability completely disappeared. In order to give at least an idea of the losses and at the same time to arrange the above mentioned works in a more surveyable form, I present the preceding list.

In 4 of these 22 cases, the original number of *küan* is not known. Comparing the remaining 18 works we find that their original total number of *küan* was 973. By the time of the Sui dynasty (581—618) the figure had shrunk to about 800 which indicates a loss of ca. 18 %¹⁾. This means that at the time of Fan Ye, some 150 years earlier, the greater part of the histories was still extant. Some were probably badly damaged, and a few had disappeared completely, but on the whole Fan Ye was not too badly placed. Modern historians are in a much worse position. Of the above mentioned works only a few *küan* have survived to our time; an additional 44 *küan* have painstakingly been reconstructed from quotations thanks to industrious Ts'ing scholars, especially Wang Wen-t'ai and Yao Chi-yin. The former published the Ts'i *kia* Hou Han shu with reconstructed passages from the works of the seven authors Sie Ch'eng, Sie Ying, Si-ma Piao, Hua K'iao, Sie Shen, Yüan Shan-sung, and Chang Fan. Yao Chi-yin's Hou Han shu pu yi includes, apart from the above mentioned authors, also the TKK. Yet, in spite of all these efforts, only 83 *küan* of the former 973 are left to-day, a total loss of 91 %. The reason is of course that after Fan Ye had made use of the earlier histories for his own compilation they were superseded by this new HHS. Since they no longer were read they fell into oblivion and were gradually lost.

Fan Ye was born A. D. 398 in the northwestern corner of Hu-peï. His style was Wei-tsung.²⁾ Early he showed inclination for study which is not so strange as several members of his clan had displayed similar talents. Thus, Fan Ye's paternal great-grandfather, Fan Wang (ca. 308—372), had been a scholar as well as a prominent official. Fan Ye's grandfather, Fan Ning (339—401), was also a high official and wrote inter alia an explanation to the Ku Liang commentary of the Ch'un ts'iu. Fan Ye's father, Fan T'ai (355—428), had an even more spectacular career and became General of Chariots and Cavalry. He too published several works. The son of Fan Ning's brother, i. e. Fan T'ai's cousin, Fan Hung-chi (±373), was Erudit at the Imperial University of the Tsin dynasty. Finally, Fan Wang's brother's son's son, K'i (±350), also became a well-known scholar.

Fan Ye in the usual way started his official career and advanced slowly through the ranks. He had, however, the bad luck to get intoxicated during a state funeral.

¹⁾ The figure of 18 % represents the possible maximum loss as the bibliographies of the T'ang histories record a greater number of preserved *küan* than the Sui shu. The reason for the difference is difficult to know. It is conceivable that the Imperial Library of Sui simply was less well stocked than the one of T'ang.

²⁾ Cf. his biographies in Sung shu 69 and, following the biography of his father, Fan T'ai, in Nan shi 33.

As a result he was degraded to become Grand Administrator of the Sün-ch'eng commandery, situated in present An-hui south of the Yang-tsī. Since he no longer had reason to hope for a career, he began to compile the HHS. Thus, amusingly enough, the HHS largely owes its existence to the fact that its author got drunk once too often. Fan Ye seems to have borne a grudge against the government and finally got involved in a plan to dethrone Emperor Wen (424—453). The plot leaked out, and the conspirators were arrested and publicly executed. For some strange reason the year of Fan Ye's death is always given as 445. This is wrong. The pen ki of Emperor Wen in the Sung shu states clearly¹⁾ that Fan was executed in the 25th year of the yüan-kia period, in the 12th month, and on the day yi-wei. This, according to our chronology, was the 24th of January, 446.

Fan Ye's original idea was to write 10 basic records (pen ki), 10 treatises (chī), and 80 biographies (lie chuan), 100 p'ien in all. At his death, the pen ki and the lie chuan were completed but not the chī. Thanks to cross-references in HHS as well as a remark in the chapter on literature (wen hūe) of the Nan Ts'i shu, we know the titles of 6 of these planned but never completed sections. They were the treatises on the Hundred Officials, on Rites and Music, on Imperial Chariots and Garments, on the Five Elements, on Astronomy, and on the Provinces and Commanderies. The Si k'u ts'üan shu tsung mu sub HHS makes the curious remark that Fan Ye had entrusted the writing of the treatises to a certain Sie Chan but that this man got scared through the death of Fan Ye and therefore dropped the project.²⁾ However, Sie Chan lived from 387 to 421 and thus died when Fan Ye was only 23 years old. The whole story therefore seems to be an anachronism. In fact, neither Fan Ye's nor Sie Chan's biography (Sung shu 56, Nan shī 19) mentions anything to the effect that the latter collaborated with Fan Ye.

In compiling his HHS, Fan Ye used the TTK as his main source but drew information as well from the other extant histories which were available to him. In doing so, he rearranged the material according to his own ideas and did not follow in detail the disposition of the TTK. Thus, the Ts'ing scholar Ch'en Hao points out that Chang Heng (78—139) during Later Han in a memorial forwarded certain criticisms against Si-ma Ts'ien and Pan Ku. Inter alia he remarked that the Keng-shī Emperor (23—25) for some time was the only Han emperor recognized by all. It therefore was not correct that Pan Ku in the TTK began his account with the kien-wu period (25—55) of Emperor Kuang-wu (25—57). Instead the keng-shī period ought to be inserted before the kien-wu period. The suggestion of the memorial was not adopted. However, Fan Ye's pen ki 1A starts with this very keng-shī period, and thus he preferred another arrangement to the one of the TTK.³⁾

In rearranging the material, Fan Ye did not rewrite it. He copied his sources so closely as actually sometimes to make the HHS inconsistent. Thus, Liu Siu

¹⁾ Cf. K'ai ming edition p. 1428: 2.

²⁾ This has been repeated by 89. Wylie, p. 14, and by 20. Cheng, p. 24.

³⁾ Cf. HHS 1 A: 3 b *Tsi kie* quoting the *K'ao cheng*.

is mentioned under his posthumous name »Kuang-wu» from chapter 1 A to 20,50. From chapter 21,51 and onwards he suddenly and without apparent reason is called »Shī-tsu» which was his temple name. The present TTK never mentions Liu Siu by any of these designations but refers to him as »the Emperor». Hence, Fan Ye in this respect seems to have been influenced by other sources, first in one way and then in another. It might prove possible to trace these influences, but it is doubtful whether much would be gained. Inconsistencies of this type are only to be expected in a compilation.

Fan Ye was not the only one who attempted to unite the material of the earlier histories into one work. Liu Yi-k'ing (403—444) and Siao Tsī-hien (489—537) each compiled a Hou Han shu. However, while Fan Ye's HHS is preserved in its entirety, the works of Liu and Siao are completely lost. The former is still mentioned in the bibliographical chapter of the Sui shu and the latter in the Kiu T'ang shu and Sin T'ang shu. Thereafter both histories disappear without trace.

The bibliographical chapter of the Sung shī records Fan Ye's HHS as having 90 kuan which is identical with the present work.¹⁾ The 10 pen ki and 80 lie chuan originally compiled made together 90 p'ien, indicating that the 90 kuan of Sung times (960-1279) correspond to the original division in p'ien. However, the bibliographical chapters of the Sui shu and both T'ang histories record 97 and 92 kuan respectively. This has been explained in the plausible way that some of the kuan were too heavy and therefore had been divided into independent chapters. In Sui times (589—618) 7 kuan were divided, in T'ang times (618—907) 2, and in Sung times none. The lesser number of 90 kuan mentioned in the Sung shī therefore not necessarily implies a loss of chapters. In fact, all authorities agree that the HHS has been handed down without any losses.

Furthermore, the Sui shu mentions a Hou Han tsan lun in 4 kuan while the T'ang histories have a lun tsan in 5 kuan. The tsan are rimed »eulogies», a poetical praise of one or several persons.²⁾ The lun or »discussions» never concern more than one person and represent a brief judgment of the historian. As Wang Sien-k'ien points out in the introduction to his Hou Han shu tsi kie (p. 2 a), it is impossible to know why the number of kuan is 4 in one case and 5 in the other. The Sung shī no longer mentions the discussions and eulogies which indicates that they by then already had been cut apart and inserted into the HHS as Fan Ye doubtlessly had intended from the beginning.

Until the Sung dynasty, the HHS consisted of solely pen ki and lie chuan. Only then the present 30 treatises were added. What actually happened is this: during the Liang dynasty (502—556) a certain Liu Chao wrote a commentary to Fan Ye's HHS in 180 kuan. Since the HHS had no treatises, he took the 8 treatises

¹⁾ Not counting the treatises.

²⁾ It is by no means sure that the eulogies all were written by Fan Ye himself. Thus, the eulogy for Emperor Kuang-wu (1 B: 24 b—25 a) refers to the Han dynasty as »our» Han which would sound strange if it originated from Fan Ye.

of Sī-ma Piao's SHS, cut them apart into subdivisions to become 30 kūan in all and made a commentary to them also¹). Of this commentary only 125 kūan existed in Sui times and 58 in T'ang times. During the Sung dynasty, the commentary had dwindled away to 30 kūan, and these were exactly the notes to Sī-ma Piao's treatises. Already in T'ang times these treatises had been regarded as addenda to Fan Ye's HHS but they had so far never appeared together in the official editions. In 1022, Sun Shī memorialized that the treatises in 30 kūan from now on should be added to the HHS. He made, however, the mistake of stating that these treatises had been compiled by Liu Chao, not realizing that Liu only was the commentator.²) The memorial was approved. On Dec. 10, 1022, the Academy received an imperial order to act in accordance with the memorial. Thereupon an edition of the HHS was published consisting of 120 kūan.³)

After Sī-ma Piao's treatises had been added to the HHS, the work was complete but for the tables (piao). As can be seen from the SK and HS, such tables are by no means superfluous. Not only do they render material in a more surveyable form which vastly facilitates the study of the histories, but they also furnish additional information. The TTK, as shown above, contained the customary tables. Fan Ye, however, originally planned basic records, treatises, and biographies alone. He might later have included tables as well, but his activities were cut short through his execution. During Sung times, Hiung Fang decided to remedy the disadvantage and hence compiled tables in 10 kūan. His example was followed by a host of Ts'ing scholars: Wan Sī-t'ung, Ts'ien Ta-chao, Lien Shu, Chu Yi-tun, Hua Chan-en, Huang Ta-hua, and during the republic Chou Ming-t'ai, and Shen Wei-hien. These tables, while useful, are yet of lesser value than the corresponding ones of the SK and HS. The various authors could do nothing more than draw all information from the HHS itself and then arrange it in the customary fashion. Therefore the tables contain no new information, and they have never been incorporated into the HHS.

With the exception of the treatises, the official commentary to the HHS was written in T'ang times. It was ordered by the Heir-apparent Li Hien (651—684)⁴) and composed by such scholars as Chang Ta-an, Liu Na-yen, Ko Hi-hüan, Hü Shu-ya, Ch'eng Hüan-yi, Shī Ts'ang-chu, and Chou Pao-ning. These commentators divided 10 of the kūan into A and B chapters. As the present HHS still has 10 divided kūan, it is probable that this arrangement is identical with the one adopted by the T'ang scholars. Frequently, the commentators quoted works which later have been lost, this being of great value for later historians. On Jan. 11, 677, the

¹) Cf. Liang shu, kūan 49; Nan shī, kūan 72.

²) The Shao-hing edition reproduces Sun Shī's memorial as an introduction to the treatises. Cf. also 16. Wang Sien-k'ien's introduction, p. 5 b.

³) This is the number of kūan of the present HHS. The treatises are still divided into 30 kūan, but the number of subjects is only 8, corresponding to the original 8 treatises of Sī-ma Piao's SHS.

⁴) He became Heir-apparent in 675.

commentary was completed and presented to the emperor. Later, Li Hien fell into disgrace and was degraded to become a commoner. In 684, the Empress, née Wu, forced him to commit suicide. The Profound Exemplar realized that an injustice had been done, and after the death of the empress, he conferred upon Li Hien the posthumous name of Chang-huai. Since then, the commentary has been known as the commentary of Chang-huai.¹⁾ In T'ang times, the treatises were not yet incorporated in the HHS, and therefore the T'ang scholars made no commentary to them. When during Sung the treatises were inserted, Liu Chao's commentary was taken over as well.

Little is known about the editions of the HHS during the T'ang dynasty. However, more than one must have existed because the authors of the commentary of Chang-huai refer to «other editions».²⁾ They all seem to have been handwritten copies.

During Sung, the Grand Exemplar (976—997) in the 7th month of the 5th year of the ch'un-hua period (994) ordered a collating and printing of the HHS. The scholars mobilized for this enterprise were Ch'en Ch'ung (944—1013), Yüan Si-tao, Yin Shao, Chao K'uang, Chao An-jen (958—1018), Sun Ho, and others. This is the so-called Ch'un-hua edition of which a few fragments still are extant.

The next printing of the HHS was the King-te edition, ordered during the king-te period, on Febr. 15, 1004,³⁾ by the True Exemplar (998—1022) and collated by Tiao K'an (945—1013), Chao Hui, and Ting Sun-fu.

In 1022, Sun Shī memorialized that the treatises ought to be incorporated into the HHS. Consequently on Dec. 10, 1022, a new edition was ordered. This was during the k'ien-hing period, and therefore the printing is known as the K'ien-hing edition. Now for the first time the treatises were published together with the HHS. However, in order to stress that they originally did not belong there, they were not inserted between the basic records and the biographies as is the case in the HS but added after the biographies.

In the 1st year of the king-yu period (1034), the Assistant of the Department of the Imperial Library, Yü Tsing (1000—1064), memorialized that the HHS contained a number of mistakes which through comparison with other editions and books could and ought to be corrected. The memorial was approved and on Oct. 31, 1034, Yü Tsing was ordered together with Wang Chu (997—1057), Chang Kuan, and others to make still another collating of the HHS. When the work was completed in the later half of 1035, Yü Tsing and Wang Chu handed in a report. In this they briefly recapitulated the text history of the HHS and added that they

¹⁾ Henceforth quoted as *commentary*. Cf. Li Hien's biography in Kiu T'ang shu, k'uan 86.

²⁾ For the various editions of the HHS cf. 16. Wang Sien-k'ien's introduction, pp. 8 b—9 a, and 44. Tai, pp. 77—95.

³⁾ Cf. 44. Tai, p. 82; 16. Wang Sien-k'ien maintains in his introduction (p. 8 b) that this edition was ordered already during the hien-p'ing period (998—1003).

themselves had inserted 512 characters into the text, removed 143, and changed 411.¹⁾ This printing is known as the King-yu edition.

In 1062, the Benevolent Exemplar (1023—1063) read the HHS and discovered that the character 墾 in the connection with the character 田²⁾ consistently and mistakenly was written 懇. He ordered Liu Pin (1022—1088) again to collate the HHS. Liu Pin collected his observations in a work called *Tung Han shu k'an wu*. The new edition was completed in the beginning of the hi-ning period (1068—1077), thus soon after 1068. This was under the rule of the Divine Exemplar (1068—1085), the one who consented to Wang An-shi's reforms.

After the north of China had been lost to the Jurchen, one more edition of the HHS was printed in the south, the so-called Shao-hing edition. The cutting of the printing blocks was started in the shao-hing period (1131—1162) but not yet finished when the Eminent Exemplar abdicated in 1162. This can be seen from the fact that not only his personal name is tabooed in the text but also the personal name of his successor the Filial Exemplar (1163—1189).³⁾ In this edition, Liu Pin's remarks were inserted after the T'ang commentary. It is the earliest one preserved and has been photolithographically reproduced in the Po na edition of the dynastic histories. The treatises were still printed after the biographies, but in the table of contents they were already and for the first time inserted between the latter and the basic records.

During Ming (1368—1644) the Southern Academy edition was completed in 1532 and the Northern Academy edition in 1606. The treatises were now placed between the basic records and the biographies.

During the Ts'ing dynasty (1644—1911), for the last time a number of scholars under the chairmanship of Ch'en Hao collated the HHS. The staff consisted of Chu Liang-k'iu, Ts'i Chao-nan (1703—1768), Lu Tsung-k'ai, Sun Jen-lung, Hang Shī-tsün (1696—1773), Wan Sung-ling, Tseng Shang-wei, and others.⁴⁾ Their remarks were collected into a *Hou Han shu k'ao cheng*⁵⁾. In 1739 the so-called Palace edition was completed with the *K'ao-cheng* separately added after each chapter.

Apart from the official editions described above, a great number of private editions has also been published during the course of time. Perhaps most famous among them is the Ki ku ko edition of Mao Tsin (1598—1659). In this printing the treatises are still added after the biographies. The great scholar Wang Sien-k'ien (1842—1917) used this Ki ku ko edition as the basic text for his *Hou Han*

¹⁾ The report is reproduced in the last volume of the *Sao ye shan fang* edition (cf. *infra* p. 20) and has been translated by 69. Chavannes, pp. 211—215.

²⁾ Meaning 'new-cultivated fields'.

³⁾ Cf. the interesting study of 17. Chang, p. 14 b.

⁴⁾ Their report is reproduced in the first volume of the *Hou Han shu tai kie*, pp. 70 a—71 a, and in the last volume of the *Sao ye shan fang* edition (cf. *infra* p. 20).

⁵⁾ Henceforth quoted as *K'ao cheng*.

shu tsi kie.¹⁾ Collecting the observations of all important commentators down to his own time, he inserted them into the work, headed by the characters tsi kie²⁾, «Collected Explanations», in brackets. Further material has been assembled by Wang Sien-k'ien's pupils and under the name of kiao pu³⁾, «Addenda to the Collating», been placed at the end of each chapter. One sometimes meets the opinion that Wang Sien-k'ien's Ts'ien Han shu pu chu is superior to his Hou Han shu tsi kie. True, Wang's own remarks limit themselves mostly to the identification of place names. However, the *Tsi kie* faithfully incorporates the majority of all explanations which have any value at all. In this way it vastly facilitates the study of the HHS, indebteding the student deeply to its author.

The editions which have been exploited for the present study are the Shao-hing edition of the Po na pen, the Hou Han shu tsi kie, and the Palace edition. For the latter I have used the reduced facsimile print of the original edition, published by the Sao ye shan fang in Shang-hai 1930.

As regards the various commentators of the HHS, I refer the reader to the list of literature at the end of this volume. The most important among them are:

Liu Pin (1022—1088).	Ts'ien Ta-hin (1728—1804).
Wu Jen-kie (Flor. 1137—1149).	Ts'ien Ta-chao (1744—1813).
Hu San-sing (1230—1287).	Hung Liang-ki (1746—1809).
Ho Cho (1661—1722).	Shen K'in-han (1775—1832).
Ch'en King-yün († 1747).	Hou K'ang (1798—1837).
Hui Tung (1697—1758).	Chou Shou-ch'ang (1814—1884).
Wang Ming-sheng (1722—1798).	Wang Sien-k'ien (1842—1917).
Chao Yi (1727—1814).	Shen Ming-yi (Ts'ing).

As can be seen from this survey, the HHS got its due share of interest from the great Ts'ing scholars. It should be pointed out that it is worth while to study the works of these commentators separately. Sometimes remarks have been overlooked by Wang Sien-k'ien. Also, by reading their works in one connection, the student gets a clearer impression of the scholarly standing of the various authors and hence of the objectivity of their remarks.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

THE PURPOSE OF THE HISTORY

It has been pointed out in the previous chapter that Fan Ye no longer had access to the archives of Later Han times. He compiled the HHS by borrowing material from earlier histories. His own contributions as historian are mainly the way in which he selected from his predecessors and how he rearranged their

¹⁾ Published after his death in Ch'ang-sha 1923.

²⁾ Henceforth quoted as *Tsi kie*.

³⁾ Henceforth quoted as *Kiao pu*.

material. Thus, neither he nor any of his predecessors alone can take the whole credit or blame for the present work. The responsibility is shared by all.

On the following pages I will make an attempt to describe how these authors of the HHS went to work, and the term »historian» will thus collectively refer to all of them if not otherwise indicated. All observations and conclusions are entirely based on the HHS and its sources. I want to stress this fact, as from the historiographical point of view it seems to be an advantage to analyse one of the histories at a time. On the other hand, this also constitutes a limitation. The results cannot be generalized automatically to be true for Chinese historiography of later times. Similarities and discrepancies will have to be decided from case to case.

Chinese historiography is certainly an enormous field and difficult to tackle. Fortunately, important contributions have been made especially by such scholars as E. Chavannes in his *Mémoires historiques*, by Lo Chen-ying in her *Une famille d'historiens et son oeuvre*, and by Ch. S. Gardner in his *Chinese traditional historiography*. I do not intend to recapitulate what these scholars have said but only to make some further remarks in the margin, exemplified by quotations.

The sources of the HHS are of the same type as those of the HS. They consist mainly of all kinds of documents, assembled in the imperial archives. The Chinese have always been veritable bureaucrats, continuously writing reports, financial accounts, requisitions, statistical records etc., all in several copies and all preserved in different places, from the imperial archives in the capital down to those of the prefectures in the various parts of the country. The yamens of the Grand Minister over the Masses and the Grandee Secretary kept files for the higher officials with items about their career and record. The memorials constitute an additional most important group of documents, which in turn consists of different types. Technically, all kinds of addresses sent to the emperor were classified as memorials, irrespective of whether they were reports from civilian or military officials, advice concerning governmental questions, criticism of conditions of the time, humble praise of the emperor and his government, complaints about real or imaginary injustices, recommendations for office, etc. Evidently all or most of these memorials were preserved in the archives, as the HHS also quotes some which were not approved by the emperor.¹⁾ Another group of importance is the imperial edicts as well as the records of court-conferences. In addition to these governmental documents, there also were the works of the famous scholars and poets of the time from which the historian was free to give lengthy quotations.

For at least Later Han times and onwards, there still exists another type of source material, the so called »Diaries of Activity and Repose» (K'i kü chu). The first time such a record is mentioned at all in Chinese history, is in the HHS:

10 A: 9 a—9 b. »[The Empress Dowager, née Ma] herself composed the Diary of Activity and Repose of the Illustrious Exemplar (Hien-tsung)²⁾»

¹⁾ Cf. for instance the memorials of the unfortunate Feng Yen, 28 A, 58 A: 5 b ff. and 28 B, 58 B.

²⁾ This was the temple name of Emperor Ming who ruled 58—75.

Chu Hi-tsu, who has made a study of the Diaries, is of the opinion that Emperor Ming's Diary of Activity and Repose is the very first one composed in China.¹⁾ I think, however, that this conclusion, shared by Gardner²⁾, is somewhat rash. This is hinted at by the fact that the above quoted text continues in the following way:

»She removed [from the record] the affair of her elder brother [Ma] Fang taking part in healing and preparing medicine.³⁾ The emperor⁴⁾ requested and said: '[The official of] the Yellow Gate, my maternal uncle, nourished [Emperor Ming] morning and evening nearly one year. Now that [the Diary] has no praise and moreover does not record his diligent toil, is there then not an error?' The Empress Dowager said: 'I do not wish to cause later generations to hear that the late emperor frequently treated as relatives (i. e. unduly favoured) a family of the harem⁵⁾. Therefore I do not make this known.' »

This shows clearly that Diary of Activity and Repose is not mentioned because of its own importance. The whole event is included in the history only because it serves to illustrate the modesty and virtue of the empress. In other words, we only accidentally, by a happy chance, learn that there existed a Diary of Activity and Repose of Emperor Ming. It might be the first one, but, on the other hand, similar records might very well have been composed before. In fact, the many personal details told about previous emperors practically postulate the earlier existence of records of that kind.

Chu Hi-tsu with good reason corrects a remark by Tu Yu in his T'ung tien, according to which the Diaries were written by »female clerks» (nü shī) within the palace. Chu Hi-tsu believes that this misunderstanding is due to the fact that the Empress Dowager, née Ma, is said to have »composed» the Diary. But, obviously, she would not have included the episode about her brother Ma Fang at all if she had been the original composer. Thus, in reality, she only supervised the final redaction of the Diary.

The subject of the Diaries was the activities of the emperors, not only their public ones, but also their private activities within the palace, where the officials of the outer court were not admitted. Therefore, officials belonging to the inner court, the palace, must have participated in making these continuous entries about the sayings and doings of the emperors.

Among all this wealth of material, the historian made his selection and incorporated many of the documents into his history. The HHS therefore, after the

1) 23. Chu, pp. 629—631. A *Kin chung k'i kü chu* from the time of Emperor Wu (140—87), mentioned in *Sui shu's* *king tsi chī*, is not authentic.

2) 78. Gardner, p. 88.

3) SHS 1: 10 a—10 b is more detailed: »Emperor Ming's constitution was not in order. He summoned [the official of] the Yellow Gate [Ma] Fang to find the reason (?) and to take part in healing and preparing medicine. Morning and night he toiled diligently.» (In this passage I have translated *pen*, literally »root», as »to find the reason» but this is far from satisfactory. This word might be a corruption. It should be noted that the parallel in 24, 54: 20 a writes *ju*, »to enter».)

4) Emperor Chang (76—88), her son.

5) I follow the Shao-hing edition which has 後宮. The other editions write 后宮.

model of the HS and SK, consists, to a certain extent, of direct quotations of various kinds. Under these circumstances, it might well be asked whether the HHS really is a history at all. Is it not rather a collection and publication of documents, a »diplomatarium«, in the same way as the editions of manuscripts from our archives? The value of the HHS would of course remain the same if not increase, but the part of the »historian« would be reduced to one of an editor.

The answer is that the HHS, and this is true also of all the other histories, is far more than a mere collection of documents. It is a history in its own right, in the same way as for instance the works of a Thucydides or a Livy. The Chinese historian was faced with the problem of making a selection among the documents, a step which was forced upon him by the abundance of material. If he had edited all documents of a limited period or all documents of a special type, his work would not have deserved the name of a history. It would have been a »diplomatarium«. But, as he selected among the various documents, chose some of them, discarded others, and finally arranged his selected material in a certain way, he must have been guided by a conception of some kind. The question then is, what was his purpose?

Different opinions have been offered by various authors. Thus, H. H. Dubs says in his important article about the reliability of Chinese histories: »The classical Chinese conception of history has been that it is a record of events. The interpretation of events, which is today considered the main function of the historian, would have been rejected by classical Chinese historians as something quite distinct from history. For such an interpretation must be subjective, whereas history, as such, was expected to be entirely objective.«¹⁾ »Chinese histories were written by bureaucrats attached to the central government and for the use of such bureaucrats. Official position was the almost universal goal of literary study, so that this orientation was inevitable . . . The HS contains the features bureaucrats needed to know: the names of the administrative divisions of the empire, important new legal enactments, economic and social experiments of the government, regulations for new currencies, changes in the Confucian canon, details of military campaigns, and extensive extracts from literary works, as well as the genealogy of the imperial clan and descriptions of the adornments in the imperial harem. Since Chinese histories were written for bureaucrats, the conditions of the common people find little mention.«²⁾

C. B. Sargent is of quite another opinion: »The history of the Former Han dynasty is not essentially a comprehensive history or a survey of all aspects of Chinese life and civilization in the Former Han period. It is a record of the outstanding events in the empire which affected the Imperial house.«³⁾ In another connection he says: »Instead of being a 'history of the dynasty', the Han Documents is really

¹⁾ 73. Dubs p. 29.

²⁾ Ibid. p. 31.

³⁾ 85. Sargent p. 190.

an Imperial political history of the reigning family of Liu during the Former Han dynasty.¹⁾

W. Eberhard offers a third point of view. He remarks that the historian belonged to the gentry. »Es ist also selbstverständlich, dass die Historiker Gewicht legen auf die günstige Darstellung der Verhältnisse ihrer Gentry, dagegen sich wenig interessieren für die anderen Bevölkerungsschichten, wie Bauern, Soldaten, Sklaven und andere. So kann man dies Geschichtswerk (und dasselbe gilt auch für die anderen) als eine 'Geschichte der Gentry der T-Zeit' bezeichnen, und innerhalb dieser ist das Werk eine zugunsten einer bestimmten Familiengruppe der Gentry tendenziöse Arbeit. Die Behauptung, dass die chinesische Geschichtsschreibung ein Höchstmass an Objektivität darstelle, ist in dieser Form unrichtig.«²⁾ »Es fällt beim Lesen der Annalen auf, dass viele Personen zu grossen Familien gehören . . . diese grossen Familien sind immer zugleich die politisch wichtigen Familien . . . zahlreiche Familienmitglieder ein und derselben Familie sind nur aufgenommen, weil diese Familie politische Bedeutung hatte. Sind von anderen Personen keine weiteren Familienmitglieder erwähnt, so bedeutet das nicht, dass der betreffende Mann keine grössere Familie hatte, sondern nur, dass diese Familie politisch nicht wichtig war oder dem Historiker als nicht wichtig erschien.«³⁾ .

Eberhard comes to the conclusion that the deciding factor, as to those who should be included in the history, was not primarily that they were able but that they belonged to the politically dominant social stratum.⁴⁾ He concludes: »Es lässt sich also sagen, dass zur Zeit der Abfassung des Wei-shu noch immer im Prinzip die gleiche soziale Struktur bestand, wie zur Zeit der Abfassung des Shih-chi.«⁵⁾ »Die Umwälzungen des 3. Jahrh. v. Chr. führten zur Bildung der Gentry; der Staat wurde aus einem Feudalstaat ein Gentrystaat. Die 'Gelehrten' (nunmehr gleich: Gentry) werden zu Beamten. Dieser Phase ist der Annalenstil des Shih-chi angepasst. Die reinen annalistischen Teile behalten ihre alte Bedeutung als Sammlung von Präzedenzfällen des Benehmens, jetzt des Benehmens der Gentry. Dazu kommt als zweiter Teil der Biographienteil, in dem der Gentry-Historiker sich selbst, seine Schicht, verherrlicht und darstellt.«⁶⁾ »Die Annalenwerke vom Shih-chi an sind also Werke der Gentry, geschrieben von der Gentry.«⁷⁾

Thus, Dubs believes that the histories were written by bureaucrats for bureaucrats and that they constituted a kind of handbooks in political science. Sargent maintains that history was a recording of events concerning the imperial house. Eberhard, finally, has the opinion that gentry historians wrote in order to glorify their own class and especially the important families within the gentry.

¹⁾ 84. Sargent p. 143.

²⁾ 76. Eberhard p. 190.

³⁾ Ibid. p. 25.

⁴⁾ Cf. ibid. pp. 25—27.

⁵⁾ Ibid. p. 346.

⁶⁾ Ibid. p. 348.

⁷⁾ Ibid. p. 350.

While Dubs and Sargent base their observations mainly on the HS which in time is very close to the T'KK, the most important source of the present HHS, Eberhard, on the other hand, bases his remarks on the much later *Wei shu*. I do not pretend to be familiar with the T'o-pa period and would have no reason to take up Eberhard's statements for discussion if it were not for the fact that he has generalized his results to be true also for earlier histories, from the Shi ki on down. My sole intention is therefore to investigate whether the HHS conforms to Eberhard's results or not.

Is then the HHS a «gentry history»? And if not, what else is it? To answer these questions, it is necessary to make a systematic survey of either the whole HHS or at least a considerable part of it.

The HHS contains in all 558 proper biographies¹⁾, excluding k'uan 115—120 which are monographs about Chinese Turkestan and the non-Chinese tribes outside the borders. Of these biographies as many as 150, or 27 % of the total amount of biographies, concern persons who had their entire career, or at least the most important part of it, in the time of Emperor Kuang-wu (25—57)²⁾, the founder of the Later Han dynasty. There is thus a certain disproportion in the disposition of the history. The reign of Emperor Kuang-wu covers only 17 % of the whole period of the Later Han, but nevertheless 27 % of the biographies are devoted to his time. This disproportion becomes even more clear if one considers the space occupied by these 150 biographies. They take up no less than 32 % of all space devoted to the total amount of biographies³⁾. The reason can only be the importance of the restoration period. This shows again, as pointed out before, that there is a distinct conception behind the arrangement of the HHS. In selecting his material, the historian made a disposition and decided to devote a disproportionately large amount of space to the restoration period. The reason was not that material for this time was more abundant than for later periods. On the contrary, civil war and disorder continued for a long time, the administration did not yet function properly in all parts of the country, and there was no steady flow of documents to the archives as in normal times.

This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that the history is still a gentry history. It might be argued that so much space is devoted to the restoration simply because the gentry then played such an important role. In order to solve this problem it therefore seems permissible to concentrate on and analyse the 150 biographies of the restoration, a period which the historian himself has indicated

¹⁾ Apart from the emperors and empresses, the HHS mentions 3,763 persons. Thus only a small part of them, 15 %, have biographies.

²⁾ Kuang-wu was the posthumous title of Liu Siu. As he is never mentioned other than as Kuang-wu, or the Epochal Founder (Shi-tau, his temple name), or simply as emperor, I have found it best in the present chapter to use only Kuang-wu in order not to confuse the reader.

³⁾ As the HHS gives a considerable amount of information also in various connections outside these 150 biographies, the amount of space devoted to the time of Emperor Kuang-wu is in fact close to 40 % of the total HHS.

to be the most important one of Later Han in his opinion. In fact, Fan Ye facilitates the investigation considerably as he arranges the 150 biographies in several groups, which in turn will permit conclusions on the purpose of the history. The groups are eight in all:

I. Pretenders and warlords opposing Kuang-wu.

1. Liu Hūan	kūan	11,41:	1 a ff	7 ¹⁾
2. Liu P'en-tsī		11,41:	8 a ff	6
3. Wang Ch'ang		12,42:	1 a ff	1
4. Liu Yung		12,42:	3 a ff	6
5. Chang Pu		12,42:	5 b ff	4
6. Li Hien		12,42:	7 a ff	1
7. P'eng Ch'ung		12,42:	8 a ff	7
8. Lu Fang		12,42:	10 b ff	3
9. Wei Ao		13,43:	1 a ff	5
10. Kung-sun Shu		13,43:	13 a ff	5

This group includes Liu Hūan (1), the Keng-shī Emperor. Technically, he was the first emperor of the Later Han, but later he was not recognized as such. Liu Hūan therefore has no pen ki as the other emperors. Instead, the first of the biographies is devoted to him. — Several of the pretenders belonged to the imperial clan. The historian nevertheless arranges them among the pretenders as they logically belong to this group.

II. Kuang-wu's chief followers.

1. Li T'ung	kūan	15,45:	1 a ff	11
2. Wang Ch'ang		15,45:	4 a ff	2
3. Teng Ch'en		15,45:	7 a ff	8
4. Lai Hi		15,45:	9 a ff	13
5. Teng Yü		16,46:	1 a ff	43
6. K'ou Sün		16,46:	17 a ff	8
7. Feng Yi		17,47:	1 a ff	6
8. Ts'en P'eng		17,47:	10 b ff	8
9. Kia Fu		17,47:	17 b ff	10
10. Wu Han		18,48:	1 a ff	9
11. Ko Yen		18,48:	8 b ff	5
12. Ch'en Tsün		18,48:	10 b ff	4
13. Tsang Kung		18,48:	12 a ff	5
14. Keng Yen		19,49:	1 a ff	32
15. Yao K'i		20,50:	1 a ff	7
16. Wang Pa		20,50:	3 a ff	5
17. Chai Tsun		20,50:	5 b ff }	5
18. Chai T'ung ²⁾		20,50:	9 b ff }	

¹⁾ This column gives the total number of members of each clan, mentioned in the HHS.

²⁾ The Shao-hing edition writes Yung 彤 instead of T'ung 彤.

19. Jen Kuang	21,51:	1 a ff	5
20. Li Chung	21,51:	3 a ff	4
21. Wan Siu	21,51:	4 b ff	6
22. P'ei T'ung	21,51:	5 a ff	5
23. Liu Chi	21,51:	6 b ff	5
24. Keng Ch'un	21,51:	7 b ff	12
25. Chu Yu ¹⁾	22,52:	1 a ff	5
26. King Tan	22,52:	2 b ff	5
27. Wang Liang	22,52:	4 a ff	4
28. Tu Mao	22,52:	5 b ff	3
29. Ma Ch'eng	22,52:	6 b ff	8
30. Liu Lung	22,52:	7 b ff	3
31. Fu Tsün	22,52:	9 a ff	3
32. Kien T'an	22,52:	9 b ff	4
33. Ma Wu	22,52:	10 a ff	5
34. Tou Jung	23,53:	1 a ff	33
35. Ma Yüan	24,54:	1 a ff	28

The group consists of those men who assisted Kuang-wu to conquer and pacify the empire. Seven of them, 1,5,10,27,29,30,34, later became Dukes, i. e. filled one of the highest offices in the empire as either Grand Minister over the Masses, as Commander-in-chief, or as Grand Minister of Works. However, Fan Ye groups them among the followers of Kuang-wu, not among the Three Dukes, and thereby makes it quite clear that he considered their role as followers as more important than their role as ministers.

III. *The Three Dukes and the Grand Tutor.*

1. Cho Mao	küan 25,55:	1 a ff	6
2. Fu Chan	26,56:	1 a ff	19
3. Hou Pa	26,56:	6 a ff	5
4. Sung Hung	26,56:	7 b ff	7
5. Ts'ai Mao	26,56:	10 a ff	1
6. Feng K'in	26,56:	11 a ff	13
7. Chao Hi	26,56:	13 a ff	4
8. Chang Chan	27,57:	1 b ff	1
9. Tu Lin	27,57:	5 a ff	4
10. Chu Fou	33,63:	1 a ff	1
11. Feng Fang	33,63:	7 a ff	9
12. Chang Ch'un	35,65:	1 a ff	7

¹⁾ The *commentary* to 1 A: 4: b quotes TTK which renders the name as Chu Fu 福. The present TTK (1: 1 b) however has Hu 祜. The various commentators are all of the opinion that the 'Fu' (of the TTK of T'ang time) is a character used to avoid the tabooed personal name of Emperor An (107—125). The HHS (5: 1 a) renders this taboo as Yu 祐 which is a mistake. 35. Hui Tung points out (3: 1 b) that according to the *Shuo wen*, the taboo was Hu 祜. As in the HHS the name of the emperor erroneously was written Yu, it is not suprising that Chu's personal name was rendered the same. In both cases the characters should be changed to Hu, as already has been done in the present TTK.

The Three Dukes, as already mentioned, were the 3 highest ministers in the state. The Grand Tutor was in theory of even higher rank, but his duties were entirely titular. At the beginning of each reign, some old meritorious official was appointed Grand Tutor, but after his death or retirement the office was left vacant.

IV. *Other officials.*

1. Keng Kuo	küan	19,49: 10 a ff (belongs to clan II: 14)	
2. Fu Lung		26,56: 4 b ff (belongs to clan III: 2)	
3. Süan Ping		27,57: 1 a ff	2
4. Wang Tan		27,57: 2 b ff	1
5. Wang Liang		27,57: 3 b ff	1
6. Huan T'an		28 A, 58 A: 1 a ff	1
7. Feng Yen		28 A, 58 A: 5 b ff, 28 B, 58 B: 1 a ff	3
8. Shen-t'u Kang		29,59: 1 a ff	2
9. Pao Yung		29,59: 4 b ff	8
10. Chī Hui		29,59: 9 b ff	2
11. Su King		30 A, 60 A: 1 a ff	1
12. Kuo Ki		31,61: 1 a ff	3
13. Tu Shī		31,61: 2 b ff	1
14. K'ung Fen		31,61: 5 a ff	8
15. Chang K'an		31,61: 6 b ff	1
16. Liang T'ung		34,64: 1 a ff	32
17. Cheng Hing		36,66: 1 a ff	5
18. Fan Sheng		36,66: 6 b ff	1
19. Ch'en Yüan		36,66: 9 a ff	3
20. Huan Jung		37,67: 1 a ff	9
21. Chang Tsung		38,68: 1 a ff	1
22. Pan Piao		40 A, 70 A: 1 a ff	10

Of these 22 men only Fu Lung (2) played a certain role during the civil war. All the others were career officials, even if Feng Yen (7), Pao Yung (9), Tu Shī (13), Chang K'an (15), Liang T'ung (16), and Chang Tsung (21), to a very minor extent and for a limited time, had been involved in the fighting.

V. *Upright or cruel officials.*

1. Wei Li	küan	76,106: 2 a ff	1
2. Jen Yen		76,106: 3 a ff	2
3. Tung Süan		77,107: 2 a ff	1
4. Fan Ye		77,107: 3 a ff	2
5. Li Chang		77,107: 4 a ff	1

VI. *Scholars.*

1. Liu K'un	küan	79 A, 109 A: 3 b ff	2
2. Kuei Tan		79 A, 109 A: 5 a ff	1
3. Yang Cheng		79 A, 109 A: 5 b ff	1

4. Chang Hing	79 A, 109 A: 6 a ff	2
5. Tai P'ing	79 A, 109 A: 6 b ff	1
6. Ou-yang Hi	79 A, 109 A: 8 a ff	2
7. Mou Chang	79 A, 109 A: 9 a ff	2
8. Yin Min	79 A, 109 A: 10 a ff	1
9. Chou Fang	79 A, 109 A: 11 a ff	5
10. Kao Hü	79 B, 109 B: 1 a ff	3
11. Pao Hien	79 B, 109 B: 1 b ff	2
12. Wei Ying	79 B, 109 B: 2 a ff	1
13. Sie Han	79 B, 109 B: 3 b ff	1
14. Wei Hung	79 B, 109 B: 5 b	1
15. Tung Kün	79 B, 109 B: 7 a ff	1
16. Ting Kung	79 B, 109 B: 8 a ff	1
17. Chung Hing	79 B, 109 B: 9 b	1
18. Chen Yü	79 B, 109 B: 9 b ff	3
19. Chang Hüan	79 B, 109 B: 10 b ff	1
20. Tu Tu	80 A, 110 A: 1 a ff	3
21. Wang Lung	80 A, 110 A: 7 b	1
22. Hia Kung	80 A, 110 A: 8 a	2

Ou-yang Hi (6) was during a short time Grand Minister over the Masses. However, he has a biography in his capacity of a scholar as he is grouped among the other scholars, not among the Three Dukes.

VII. *Imperial relatives.*

1. Liu Yen (Po-sheng)	küan 14,44: 1 a ff
2. Liu Hing	14,44: 5 b ff
3. Liu Liang	14,44: 8 a ff
4. Liu Chī	14,44: 9 a ff
5. Liu Hi	14,44: 11 a ff
6. Liu Ts'ī	14,44: 12 a ff
7. Liu Shun	14,44: 13 a ff
8. Liu Kia	14,44: 13 b ff
9. Liu K'iang	42,72: 1 a ff
10. Liu Fu	42,72: 4 a ff
11. Liu Ying	42,72: 5 a ff
12. Liu K'ang	42,72: 7 b ff
13. Liu Ts'ang	42,72: 9 a ff
14. Liu Yen	42,72: 16 a ff
15. Liu King	42,72: 17 b ff
16. Liu Heng	42,72: 19 a
17. Liu Yen	42,72: 19 a ff
18. Liu King	42,72: 20 a ff

Distaff relatives:

19. Fan Hung	32,62: 1 a ff	21
20. Yin Shī	32,62: 8 b ff }	28
21. Yin Hing	32,62: 9 a ff }	

VIII. *Persons without political importance.*

a. Outstanding conduct.

1. Ts'iao Hsüan	küan 81,111: 1 b ff	1
2. Li Ye	81,111: 3 a ff	1
3. Liu Mao	81,111: 4 b ff	1
4. Wen Sü	81,111: 6 a ff	2
5. P'eng Siu	81,111: 6 b ff	1
6. So-lu Fang	81,111: 7 a ff	1
7. Chou Kia	81,111: 7 b ff	3
8. Fan Shī	81,111: 9 a ff	1
9. Li Shan	81,111: 10 b ff	1
10. Chang Wu	81,111: 12 a ff	2

b. Magic arts:

11. Jen Wen-kung	82 A, 112 A: 3 a ff	2
12. Kuo Hien	82 A, 112 A: 4 a ff	1
13. Hsü Yang	82 A, 112 A: 5 a ff	1
14. Kao Huo	82 A, 112 A: 5 b ff	1

c. Recluses:

15. The 2 old ones from Ye-wang	83,113: 2 b	2
16. Hsiang Chang	83,113: 3 a	1
17. Feng Meng	83,113: 3 a ff	1
18. Chou Tang	83,113: 4 b ff	1
19. Wang Pa	83,113: 5 b	2
20. Yen Kuang	83,113: 5 b ff	1
21. Tsing Tan	83,113: 7 a ff	1

d. Virtuous women:

22. Pao Süan's wife	84,114: 1 a ff	2
23. Wang Pa's wife	84,114: 1 b ff	(belongs to VIII: 19)

It is worthwhile to compute the relative importance of these groups.

	Number of biographies	%	Space in double pages	Average number of double pages per biography
I. Pretenders and warlords opposing Kuang-wu	10	7	55	5.5
II. Kuang-wu's chief followers	35	23	152	4.3
III. The Three Dukes and the Grand Tutor	12	8	39	3.3
IV. Other officials	22	15	95	4.3
V. Upright or cruel officials	5	3	10	2.0
VI. Scholars	22	15	30	1.4
VII. Imperial relatives	21	14	45	2.1
VIII. Persons without political impor- tance	23	15	28	1.2
	150	100	454	3.0

Considering the percentage of the whole number of biographies, group II leads with 23 %, followed by groups IV, VI and VIII with 15 % each and group VII with 14 %. This means that for some reason or other the historian felt obliged to include more men in these groups than in the others. It is quite obvious that the chief followers of Kuang-wu deserved to be treated in detail, but it is suggestive that next in importance we find the lower officials, scholars, and persons without any political importance at all. This, and especially the mere existence of group VIII, disproves already Sargent's opinion that Han history is »Imperial history».

One of the reasons why group III is outdistanced, is the fact that the highest ministers were relatively few. We therefore need a complement to our figures in order to get a more objective picture, and we find this in the average number of double pages per biography. Now the situation is different. Group I leads, followed by II and IV in second place, and III in third. This indicates that the historian had much to say about people within groups I—IV, but little to say about people in groups V—VIII. Nevertheless, he did include 71 persons in groups V—VIII which is as much as 47 % of all the persons who have biographies, and this in spite of the fact that the space devoted to them is only 25 % of the total space. The question then is: did he limit the space of groups V—VIII because he had to, because material was scarce, or was it because he wanted to? One might hesitate to answer this question in reference to group V, the upright or cruel officials, and group VIII, the persons without political importance; but it is much easier for group VI, the scholars, and group VII, the imperial relatives. For both of these categories there existed an abundance of material. The palace archives must have been filled with items about the closest relatives of the emperor, and for the scholars the historian could quote from their works as much as he chose. He preferred not to do so. Thus the historian duly treated the most important of the imperial relatives, mostly the sons of Kuang-wu, but he did not waste much space on them. This is another point against Sargent's »Imperial history». Furthermore, the historian duly mentioned the most important scholars, but again kept the space devoted to them short. If the historian, as Eberhard puts it, wrote history tendentiously inclined to the gentry, one would have the right to expect that he was partial also to his own kind of people within the gentry, the scholars. As he certainly was not interested in treating them more than briefly, one might begin to feel a doubt about the validity of Eberhard's opinion as far as the HHS is concerned.

In fact it seems highly uncertain to me whether we should force our modern concept of »gentry» upon the historians of ancient China at all. True, a gentry existed, but did the gentry of that time realize it? The classical line of distinction was between the educated and the uneducated people. The uneducated were mainly the farmers who could neither read nor write. They constituted the vast but mostly inactive majority of the people, ruled by the officials who, perforce, had to be educated. The officials from our point of view may be said to have belonged to the gentry if they came from families which could afford to remain

educated, i. e. if they owned enough land to provide the necessary funds for it. This certainly was often the case. But if, on the other hand, a man was able to rise from poor conditions to become an official, he immediately adopted the manners of the gentry and became a member of it. It is therefore of little importance to what extent the line between the educated and uneducated people could be crossed. The main division between the ruled farmers and the ruling gentry remained. Thus, when the Chinese historian started to write about the events of his period, he was more or less forced to write about what happened among the rulers. The farmers who toiled on their fields had mostly little to offer. We certainly should not ask of the historians of Later Han times, almost 2000 years ago, to write economic history, a way of approach which is young even in our own time. If the authors of the HHS wanted to write at all, they had to concentrate on the educated people, and almost all of these were already either part of the gentry or gentry in embryo. The fact that the major part of the biographies depicts men who belonged to the gentry therefore proves nothing. It gives no evidence that the historian consciously concentrated on the gentry as such.

This, however, does not entail that the problem, whether the historian was consciously biased for the gentry, is unsolvable. Actually, Eberhard has already pointed out a new line of approach. He says that the historian favours the influential families and consequently mentions a great number of their members, irrespective of whether they deserved it or not¹). True, if one starts from the assumption that the historian was partial to the gentry, it is logical to expect that he was partial especially to the »great«, i. e. leading families within the gentry. However, it will be seen that the HHS does not conform to this pattern.

The survey of the different groups above gives the number of clan members of each family represented in the investigated biographies of the HHS. Glancing through the different groups, we find that in most cases the number is limited, if not quite low. Actually, the clans with more than 10 members recorded are, with the exception of the imperial clan, only 12 in all:

The Fan clan	(VII: 19):	21	members.
The Feng clan	(III : 6):	13	» .
The Fu clan	(III : 2):	19	» .
The Keng clan	(II : 14):	32	» .
The Keng clan	(II : 24):	12	» . } ²⁾
The Lai clan	(II : 4):	13	» .
The Li clan	(II : 1):	11	» .
The Liang clan	(IV : 16):	32	» .
The Ma clan	(II : 35):	28	» .
The Teng clan	(II : 5):	43	» .
The Tou clan	(II : 34):	33	» .
The Yin clan	(VII: 20):	28	» .

¹) Cf. *supra* p. 24.

²) Both Keng clans are written with the same character, but the HHS does not mention that they are related.

The really great families are hardly more than 6 among them, the Keng- (II: 14), Liang-, Ma-, Teng-, Tou-, and Yin clans. No doubt, these clans belonged to the most influential families during Later Han. Yet, their number is very limited. The 6 greatest clans comprise only 5 % of the 127 different clans recorded in the 150 biographies,¹⁾ while clans with only 1 or 2 members account for as much as 47 % of all cases. Hence, nothing indicates that the historian favours the great clans more than any others. The fact that he enumerates many of their members might therefore also have quite other reasons than the wish to record them indiscriminately and thereby to stress the greatness of the family. In order to settle this question it is necessary to study in detail some of the »greater families». I choose at random the Keng clan (II: 14) for which the HHS records 32 members.²⁾ This is the genealogy of the clan (cf. p. 34):

First of all there is in principle nothing impossible in the fact that a clan had more than one member who deserved either a biography of his own or at least passing remarks in the biographies of relatives. On the contrary, knowledge and experience accumulated by one member of the clan could be handed down to or serve as inspiration to younger relatives. In the present case, 5 members of the Keng clan have biographies, Yen (2), Kuo (4), Ping (10), K'ui (11), and Kung (12). All of them clearly deserve biographies in their own right. Yen (2) was one of the best of Kuang-wu's generals, and especially Ping (10), K'ui (11), and Kung (12) distinguished themselves greatly in the wars against the Hiung-nu. Kuo's (4) advice was of decisive importance when it was discussed whether to accept the submission of the Southern Hiung-nu or not.

Furthermore, it is the constant habit of the historian at the end of a biography to tie up loose ends. An important one is always the fate of marquises. In any biography, as soon as somebody is mentioned as having been enfeoffed with a marquise, the historian invariably enumerates his heirs. Thus, Chung (8), Feng (14), Liang (19), and Hie (26) are mentioned only because they one after the other inherited the Hao-chi marquise of Yen (2). In the same way Si (9) inherited the Mou-p'ing marquise of Shu (3), and therefore he and his successors Pao (15) and Ki (20) are enumerated. Heng (21) is mentioned because he was enfeoffed as marquis of a commune. Ch'eng (22) was the grandson of the Princess of Lung-lü and inherited her marquise³⁾. Thus, he is recorded, but not his father who never was a marquis. Pa (7), Wen-kin (13), Hi (18), Hien (25), and Yüan (27) are mentioned only because they all inherited the Yü-mi marquise of K'uang (1). This marquise probably ceased to exist with Yüan (27). Ch'ung (16) is recorded

¹⁾ Branches of the Liu clan which are not grouped among the imperial relatives (group VII above), have been counted as separate clans.

²⁾ Including wives when mentioned.

³⁾ The name of the marquise had in the meantime been changed to Lin-lü in order to avoid the tabooed personal name of Emperor Shang (106).

because he inherited the Mei-yang marquisate of his father Ping (10). It was abolished during his lifetime, and therefore neither his son nor his grandson are recorded. In giving the final balance of the clan, the historian also mentions that Ki (28) was involved in a plot to overthrow Ts'ao Ts'ao. The plot did not succeed, and instead Ts'ao exterminated the whole Keng clan. Only one member survived, ㄩ (29).

Thus, in the majority of cases, the enumeration of names is nothing but a consequence of the technique of historical writing. Obviously, the more influential a clan became and the more of its members were ennobled as marquises, the more there were of their heirs who had to be recorded by the historian. This, in turn, increased the total number of clan members mentioned, the sympathies or antipathies of the historian never being involved.

As for the remaining persons, K'uang (1) was Grand Administrator of the Shang-ku commandery, and his assistance was of decisive importance in the conquering of the north. Shu (3), Kuang (5), Kū (6), and Ye (24) were all generals, while P'u (17) died in battle against the K'iang. The mentioning of these few names is rather to be regarded as short marginal remarks. In fact, if the historian had wanted to, he could easily have written biographies for at least Shu (3) and Ye (24) who were both distinguished generals. He might also have devoted a biography to Pao (15) who became General-in-chief, but who had to commit suicide after having been involved in a plot. His name occurs in several other places in the HHS. Thus, Fan Ye actually restrains himself rather than writing too much.¹⁾

Summing up, the results are as follows:

- 5 members of the clan have biographies of their own.
- 17 members of the clan are mentioned only for technical reasons.
- 6 members of the clan are mentioned because they deserve passing remarks.
- 3 wives are mentioned because they were princesses.

Only 1 person, Hung (23), is recorded without there being any obvious reason, but the entry consists of the bare mentioning of his name. The history therefore heavily concentrates on the deserving members of the clan. This becomes even more clear if we take into account the space devoted to the different categories. As much as 92 % of the total space is devoted to the 5 members of the clan who have biographies.

¹⁾ Loss of material can hardly be of relevance. The TTK constitutes the most important source of the HHS. It was successively composed during Later Han, thus at a time when all kinds of material were amply available in the archives. The authors of the TTK therefore hardly had any reason to abstain from writing a biography because material was scarce. Actually, in several cases the TTK devotes biographies to persons who have no biographies in the HHS. Thus, Fan Ye certainly restrained himself rather than the contrary.

The analysis of the Keng clan shows that the HHS does not favour the influential families by indiscriminately recording large numbers of their members. Consequently the arrangement and technique of writing in the HHS signifies no partiality towards the great families within the gentry. It furthermore has been pointed out that the historian perforce had to concentrate on the educated people, which is not the same as a conscious limitation to or glorification of the gentry. It also has been shown that the historian has comparatively little to say about his own group of people within the gentry, the scholars, and thus refrains from overstressing their importance. Combining all these factors, the conclusion can only be one: the HHS, neither in arrangement nor in technique of writing, is partial to the gentry as such.

If the HHS does not reveal any prejudice for the imperial clan or the gentry as such, the question still remains open: why was it written? I think that the answer is already offered by Fan Ye's arrangement of the biographies in different groups, and a closer study of these groups, especially III and IV, will therefore prove conclusive.

Group III consists of the Grand Tutor and the so called Three Dukes, i. e. the Grand Minister over the Masses, the Commander-in-chief, and the Grand Minister of Works. It has already been pointed out that 7 of Kuang-wu's followers later became Dukes, but that they made their main contribution as followers and therefore are arranged among the latter. Still, even taking that into consideration, not all of the Dukes are represented. Three of them have no biographies at all, and these are Han Hin, Tai She, and Su K'uang. Thus, the historian was not interested in giving biographies to the Dukes simply because of the fact that they filled the highest offices in the state. Why, then, did he exclude Han Hin, Tai She, and Su K'uang, and limited himself to brief remarks about them at the end of Hou Pa's biography (26, 56: 7 a—7 b)? The answer seems to be the following: Han Hin fell out of favour with the emperor after only a short time in office, and he and his son were forced to commit suicide. Tai She died in prison. These two men together with Ou-yang Hi (VI: 6) were the only ones of the Dukes who met a violent death. In fact, Ou-yang Hi also has no biography as Duke, but only in his capacity as scholar. Su K'uang, finally, has been omitted without any reason which is immediately discernible. The conclusion seems to be that he also, as well as the others, accomplished little during his time in office.

Turning to group IV, »other officials», the matter becomes even clearer. The following table gives the same group as before, only this time arranged in sequence according to the highest rank these different officials reached during their careers:

Huan Jung, Grand Master of Ceremonies	} rank of fully 2000 piculs.
Keng Kuo, Grand Minister of Agriculture	
Wang Tan, Grand Tutor of the Heir-apparent	

Chang Tsung, Chancellor	}	rank of 2000 piculs.
Chang K'an, Grand Administrator		
Chī Hui, Grand Administrator		
K'ung Fen, Grand Administrator		
Kuo Ki, Grand Administrator		
Liang T'ung, Grand Administrator		
Pao Yung, Grand Administrator		
Su King, Grand Administrator		
Tu Shī, Grand Administrator		
Fu Lung, Imperial Household Grandee	}	rank equal with 2000 piculs.
Sūan Ping, Colonel Director of the Retainers		
Wang Liang, Director of Service of the Grand Minister over the Masses		
Cheng Hing, Grand Palace Grandee	}	rank of 1000 piculs.
Shen-t'u Kang, Prefect of the Masters of Writing		
Fan Sheng, Prefect		
Feng Yen, Prefect		
Pan Piao, Prefect	}	rank of 600 piculs.
Huan T'an, Gentleman-consultant		
Ch'en Yüan, Official in the yamen of the Minister over the Masses		rank unknown.

The first two men, Huan Jung and Keng Kuo, reached their highest offices in belonging to the so-called Nine Ministers. These were the officials ranking next to the Three Dukes. But if for the latter it was possible to reconstruct the complete career in spite of the fact that not all of them had biographies, it is entirely impossible to reconstruct the corresponding career for the Nine Ministers. During the long reign of Emperor Kuang-wu (25—57), a great number of persons must have been holders of these various offices. Nevertheless, copying down those who are mentioned in the HHS, there still remain tremendous gaps.¹⁾ Thus, the historian again was not interested in giving biographies to all of the Nine Ministers, simply because they held this office. Farther down in our table, we find nine men who reached the office of Grand Administrator of a commandery or the corresponding office of Chancellor of a kingdom. There existed around one hundred commanderies and kingdoms in the empire. Why are only nine of their administrators mentioned and why precisely these persons? Still further down we see three men who never became more than prefects of prefectures, and there were more than a thousand prefectures in the empire.

These circumstances should make it completely evident that the historian was never interested in the different office holders simply because of their rank. The proof is the fact that he wrote biographies only for some of them and discarded the rest. It also is evident that the historian was not interested in the different office holders because of their family background. The proof of this is the fact

¹⁾ 1 B: 11 b mentions for instance a Grand Master of Ceremonies whose given name is Teng but whose surname is not stated. Mention of this person recurs nowhere else in the HHS. For the rest of the missing ministers, we are completely in the dark.

that the great majority of them did not belong to any of the great families.¹⁾ There is then only one obvious explanation left: the historian wrote biographies for those who as individuals were outstanding or otherwise played an important positive or negative role during the Later Han dynasty.

It is a well known fact that wherever history has been written, it has developed through specific stages which are more or less universal. The common thing for earlier stages is the conscious or unconscious conception that history is a history of individuals. Only in much later times has it been recognized that history is shaped not by its famous men alone. We realize now that historical events are caused by a combination of different factors, that social conditions, economics, religion, and various other forces in different degree influence and sometimes decide the fate of peoples and nations. The fact that the HHS is a record of individuals who through their actions are thought to have created the history of Later Han is therefore by no means singular or astonishing. On the contrary, as it renders historical events as the result of the actions of individuals, it is a true example of the earlier type of historical concept. This conception is also the reason for the arrangement of material in the HHS. The *pen ki*, in spite of their annalistic style, are biographies of the official aspects of the life of the emperors. The *lie chuan* are biographies of individuals who by force of circumstances or because of personal ability or ambition played a more important role than others. There is a certain weakness in a disposition like this, as the historian has to break up his material and divide it among the different biographies. The reader, interested in a certain event, has to wade through the biographies of all persons involved before he obtains the complete picture. The historian seems to have been aware of this weakness, but, from his historical concept, it was the only logical arrangement. However, in order to balance the defect, he added a number of treatises to his history, assembling the material under other headings, such as calendar, ceremonies, sacrifices, astronomy, geography, etc. This very important step already points ahead, but the historian never went the whole length of it. He did not realize that he had stumbled on a new way of historical approach.

Finally it is probable that the dynastic histories had a certain didactic aspect. The Chinese often looked backwards for inspiration and found it in the actions of the outstanding men of the past. It is a common phenomenon that for instance a memorial which proposed certain political measures first recapitulated the precedents and tried to show what could be learned from them. Thus, history not only described but also taught. However, this didactic aspect is by no means strong enough to make history a handbook in political science. Besides, before printing was invented few copies of the dynastic histories existed. Also, they often

¹⁾ For instance, in group IV as much as 64 % of the individuals belonged to clans with only 1—3 members recorded.

were written considerably later than the events they described, and in the meantime institutions, titles and general conditions of the empire sometimes had changed considerably. These circumstances would necessarily have diminished the value of a history as a handbook. Moreover, the HHS in a great number of cases states what young members of the gentry studied in the capital in order to prepare themselves for their official career. None of them is ever mentioned to have studied the SK or HS. It therefore seems more probable that the students learned the history of the past through instruction of their teachers rather than through studying the earlier dynastic histories.

Fortunately we do not have to rely on these general considerations only. The point that settles the question is group VIII of the HHS, the biographies of persons without any political importance whatsoever. Most of them would never have been included in a »handbook«. A quotation of the short biography of Jen Yung and Feng Sin will serve as illustration:¹⁾

81,111:4 b. »At this time Jen Yung from Kien-wei [commandery]²⁾ and Feng Sin³⁾ from the same commandery as [Li] Ye⁴⁾, both liked study and were widely versed in the past. Kung-sun Shu⁵⁾ continuously summoned and ordered them and treated them in accordance with [the courtesy due to] high position, [but] both resorted to amaurosis⁶⁾ in order to avoid the difficulties of the times. [Jen] Yung's wife was licentious in front of him. He hid his feelings, and it did not occur that he talked. He saw his son fall into a well, endured it and thus did not save him. The waiting female slave of [Feng] Sin also committed criminal intercourse facing [Feng] Sin. When [Jen Yung and Feng Sin] heard that [Kung-sun] Shu had been executed, they both washed, regarded each other and said:

¹⁾ The HHS does not devote independent biographies to them. The remarks about Jen Yung and Feng Sin are added to Li Ye's (VIII: 2) biography.

²⁾ Hui Tung quotes Hua yang kuo chi according to which Jen Yung's style was Kün-ye and his home prefecture P'o-tao. Cf. *Tsi kie*.

The P'o-tao prefecture was situated SW of the present Yi-pin hien, Si-ch'uan.

³⁾ Hui Tung quotes Hua yang kuo chi according to which Feng Sin's style was Ki-ch'eng and his home prefecture Ts'i. Cf. *Tsi kie*.

The Ts'i prefecture during Han belonged to the Kuang-han commandery and was situated S of the present San-t'ai hien, Si-ch'uan.

⁴⁾ The Palace edition, followed by the Wu chou t'ung wen edition, has the following text: 是時韃爲任永及業同郡馮信... However, the Shao-hing- and Ki ku ko editions write kün 君 instead of ki 及. *Kiao pu* accepts this and states that »ki« is wrong. Moreover, Wang Sien-k'ien divides the sentence after ye 業 through inserting the commentary of Hui Tung (cf. supra note 2). This indicates that he interprets the sentence as follows: »At this time Jen Yung, [style] Kün-ye, from the Kien-wei [commandery] and Feng Sin from the same commandery...« This is clearly impossible. True, Jen Yung's style was Kün-ye (cf. supra note 2), but he and Feng Sin were from quite different commanderies. Ye is instead the personal name of Li Ye whose biography (81, 111:3 a ff) precedes the notes on Jen Yung and Feng Sin. He and Feng Sin were actually from the same commandery, i. e. Kuang-han. Thus, the reading of the Palace edition is the correct one.

⁵⁾ In A. D. 25 Kung-sun Shu declared himself emperor, controlling the area of present Si-ch'uan.

⁶⁾ A form of blindness.

'When the generation suddenly is peaceful,
the eyes immediately are clear.'¹⁾

They who had been licentious committed suicide. Kuang-wu, having heard this, summoned them. After some time both became sick and died.²⁾

Furthermore, in the same group, Ts'iao Hsüan (VIII: 1) and Li Ye (VIII: 2) are included only because they refused to serve Kung-sun Shu. Li Ye actually committed suicide. Liu Mao (VIII: 3) saved the life of the Grand Administrator Sun Fu.³⁾ Wen Sü (VIII: 4), acting as Internuncio, was captured by the soldiers of the warlord Wei Ao, talked bravely and committed suicide. P'eng Siu (VIII: 5) gave his life to save a Grand Administrator. So-lu Fang (VIII: 6) saved another Grand Administrator through courageous action. Li Shan (VIII: 9) was a private slave in a household. During an epidemic all of the family died except a little boy. The other slaves wanted to murder him in order to steal the property. Li Shan saved the boy. Chang Wu (VIII: 10) «died of sorrow» after the decease of his mother. In this way each man of section VIII a is praised for his conduct. The men of section VIII b all had magical powers, while VIII c lists recluses and VIII d virtuous women.

It is quite obvious that biographies of these persons hardly would have been justified in a political handbook, written for bureaucrats and relating the enactments of the government. Instead the explanation again is that the biographies are written because their heroes deserved it as individuals. It shows in fact how strong the stress on individuals really was. The didactic aspect is relatively strong in a section like VIII a, outstanding conduct, but is completely missing in for instance VIII c, recluses.

THE OBJECTIVITY OF THE HISTORY

So far only the purpose of the history has been discussed. It was found that the HHS is not a history of the reigning family, nor a history of the gentry, nor a handbook in political science, but a history of the outstanding individuals of Later Han. Thus, the arrangement of the HHS shows no prejudice for any single

¹⁾ The rime is *p'ing* 平 **b'jěng* / *b'jwəng* (Grammata 825 a-b), *ts'ing*: 清 **ts'jěng* / *ts'jäng* (Grammata 812 i').

²⁾ Hui Tung says: «[7] Ts'iao Chou's (199—270) Ku shi k'ao (9 a) has stated that [Jen] Yung bathed and washed, drew towards him a mirror, saw himself reflected and said: 'When the time is pure, (*ts'ing* 清 **ts'jěng* / *ts'jäng*; Grammata 812 i') then the eyes are bright. '(*ming* 明 **miäng* / *miwəng*, Grammata 760 a). Yi t'u k'i kiu chuan (composed by Ch'en Shou, 233—297) has stated that when [Kung-sun] Shu was executed, [Feng] Sin obtained paper and prepared a document. The female slave thereupon committed suicide.» Cf. *Tsi kie*.

³⁾ Cf. *infra* p. 46.

clan or any single group of people per se. The next step must be to establish whether the historian was prejudiced when it comes to the description of the different individuals. Was he consciously subjective or did he attempt to be objective? Gardner says: »an assumption of complete objectivity underlies the whole Chinese conception of historical writing.»¹⁾ Dubs is on the same line: »The extraordinarily high Confucian ideal of historical accuracy has kept the best Chinese histories up to a high standard of reliability.»²⁾ Eberhard, as seen above, believes that the historian was consciously tendentious. Finally, Sargent maintains that the historian attempted to prejudice the reader to a certain understanding of the material rather than impartially to present this material.³⁾ »Judgments are often delicately suggested by the careful choice of words, this being a basic Confucian principle of historical writing, the principle of 正名 cheng-ming, of let-the-descriptive-word-fit-the-reality. Possibly condemnatory judgments may be implied by the adoption of a rhetorical technique which causes the opinion to become glaringly conspicuous when there exists no directly stated verdict. Employing this method of expressing his opinion, the author may give a very favorable account of a development or event which unfavorably concerns the Imperial House, and follow this apparently laudatory recital with the seemingly irrelevant insertion of the brief report of some natural calamity, as a tornado, an earthquake, or an eclipse of the sun. This abrupt departure serves as a gigantic exclamation point. Thus, mildly and inconspicuously, but unmistakably, the personal opinions and judgments of the author are constantly expressed, luring the reader on in a tempting game of literary hare and hounds.»⁴⁾

Sargent is, I think, influenced by his belief that the historian himself expressed judgment by inserting records of portents into his text. This conception has already been refuted in a previous article.⁵⁾ If then the mentioning of portents was not used for veiled criticism, the situation might be similar also as regards the »choice of words».

Gardner remarks that »not only imperial nomenclature and personal actions, but all kinds of other matters have been codified into conventional stylistic formulae . . . Two complete parallel sets of terms differentiate the movements, success, or failure of the imperial and rebel arms respectively.»⁶⁾ Thus, the language of the history is heavily stylized. However, this stylization does not necessarily imply that the historian used it for judgment. As a matter of fact, a great part of the formulas could not possibly be used for judgment at all, as for instance:

¹⁾ 78. Gardner p. 17.

²⁾ 73. Dubs p. 43.

³⁾ 85. Sargent p. 18.

⁴⁾ Ibid. p. 19.

⁵⁾ 65. Bielenstein.

⁶⁾ 78. Gardner p. 85.

kü-kia 車駕 the imperial chariot > the emperor¹).
 hing 幸 to favour.
 hia 下 to send down.
 feng 奉 to hand up.
 peng 崩 death of an emperor.
 hung 薨 death of kings and dukes.
 tsu 卒 death of marquises and officials (except the Three Dukes.)

These examples, which could be multiplied, make it already highly unlikely that the formulas were used by the historian for expressing judgement of his own. It furthermore is obvious that Fan Ye, who lived 398—446 and compiled the HHS during the Liu Sung dynasty (420—478), had nothing to fear from adopting other formulas than the ones used in his sources²). The dynasty he described had long since fallen, and therefore he could not be punished because of critical remarks. In fact, he does not hesitate to criticize quite openly. In describing the rebellion of P'eng Ch'ung, he makes it quite clear that the blame was largely Chu Fou's because of his intrigues. As Chu Fou was in imperial favour, this is the same as criticism of the emperor. Or, after having recorded that Emperor Kuang-wu forced the Grand Minister over the Masses, Han Hin, to commit suicide, he adds: »That he died was not his fault. The masses were much dissatisfied.« (26,56: 7 b) Thus, Fan Ye certainly had no reason to use formulas subtly to express judgments. Actually, these formulas were nothing more than a matter of style which at Fan Ye's time already had become traditional. This is further illustrated by the fact that the historian sometimes involuntarily slips back into normal writing, as for instance in the following passage:

17,47: 8 b. »Thereupon all powerful men of high position of Pei-ti [commandery, such as] Keng Ting and others, altogether revolted against Wei Ao and capitulated to [Feng] Yi.«

Wei Ao was a warlord and Feng Yi one of Emperor Kuang-wu's generals. »Revolted« is therefore a wrong formula as this expression was used only in the meaning of revolting against the Son of Heaven. It evidently is a slip, no judgment, because nowhere else does the historian stand up for Wei Ao.

Even if the historian showed no prejudice in the way Sargent and Eberhard presume, it nevertheless cannot be said that he was completely unbiased. As a

¹) This expression was originally used as a designation when the emperor was travelling. However, kü-kia already had lost the meaning of »imperial chariot« and had come to indicate the emperor himself. This is proved by the following passage: »The emperor (kü-kia) in plain clothes personally came to and escorted the funeral.« (25,55: 2 b)

²) Cf. *infra* pp. 47—48. The author of the Wei shu of the San kuo ch'i uses the HHS as his source, but he does not hesitate to exchange the conventional stereotype formulas and to apply them to the rising Wei dynasty instead of the Han dynasty. However, as presently will be seen, no personal judgment is involved.

matter of fact he usually was biased against «outlaws», against those who through their actions had placed themselves outside orderly relations. This is especially obvious when it comes to pretenders and warlords. A good example is Liu Hūan, the Keng-shī Emperor (23—25). Despite the fact that he actually was the first of the Later Han emperors, the HHS devotes no pen ki to him. Instead, the keng-shī period is incorporated in Kuang-wu's pen ki (1 A). Thus, the arrangement of the text already shows that he is regarded as a pretender rather than an actual emperor. Furthermore, he is described as a more or less incompetent libertine. The negative effect is strengthened through the exclusion of material. The HHS recounts for instance in detail (1A: 14 a—16 a) how Kuang-wu ascended the throne. At first, he modestly declined three times to accept the mandate. Finally an altar was built, Kuang-wu ascended the throne, and sacrificed to Heaven, to the Six Venerable Ones¹⁾, and to the Spirits. The text of his prayer is quoted in detail. About the Keng-shī Emperor, the historian simply states that he ascended the throne and adds that he «felt ashamed, dripped with perspiration, lifted his hands and could not speak.» (11,41: 2 a). In this way, the historian effectively contrasts the solemn procedure at the accession of Kuang-wu with the undignified behaviour of his rival. It is most probable that in reality Liu Hūan in the same way as Kuang-wu first in accordance with propriety declined the throne three times and after his accession performed the same solemn rituals as Kuang-wu.

No doubt therefore, the historian was biased. Still, one should hesitate to assume that this bias was always and necessarily a conscious one. It is quite possible that the tendency was inescapable. Actually, confucianism furnished the historian with a convenient philosophy of history. If an emperor lost his mandate of Heaven or a pretender failed to obtain it, it was because they were unworthy. If somebody received the mandate of Heaven, it was because he was worthy. This made things very simple. The historian only had to supply evidence, illustrating why one person was unworthy and another worthy. The moral judgment was delivered to him. He was not supposed to deduce it for himself.

It would be wrong to assert that all the dynastic histories are of the same quality. Their objectivity depends on when they were compiled, on the integrity of their various authors, and on the circumstances under which they wrote. Among them the HHS is a good example of historical writing, such as this term was understood in ancient China. Where it is biased, the reason does not necessarily lie in the voluntary subjectivity of the historian. Even in such cases, the author often clearly tries to be fair. Thus, when P'eng Ch'ung had revolted, he thereby had set himself against orderly relations in the empire. He was a warlord and outlaw who had not even claimed the mandate of Heaven. Nothing would therefore have been easier than to condemn him roundly. Nevertheless, the historian puts a great part of the blame on Chu Fou who had the confidence of the emperor²⁾. The historian

¹⁾ Cf. 81. Karlgren, gloss 1257.

²⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 42.

never goes too far in the opposite direction either. He frequently points out flaws in the character of his heroes, and he even does not shrink from blaming Kuang-wu, the refounder of the dynasty, for injustices and superstition.

No historian will completely free himself from subjectivity, and naturally the authors of the HHS were influenced by the ideas of their time. But, these reservations made, it seems indisputable that the HHS in its major parts is remarkably objective.

THE TECHNIQUE OF THE HISTORY

The technique of historical writing differs from nation to nation and from period to period. A thorough understanding of this technique must be of basic importance, not least for a correct interpretation of the Chinese histories. Misunderstanding of the technique invariably leads to misunderstanding of the presented material and thus to wrong conclusions.

As is very well known, the Chinese historian incorporates whole documents into his history. This is of tremendous value, as these documents thereby have been saved from oblivion. The quotations are literal, and therefore the reader easily notices the distinctly different style of, for instance, edicts and memorials. This, on the other hand, does not indicate that the historian reproduces the complete, original documents. Actually, he always skips the devout formulas at the beginning and end of memorials. He also feels free to exchange difficult characters for more simple ones, to add grammatical particles if needed for a clear understanding of the text, and especially to shorten the documents by leaving out what to him seem to be unnecessary parts or tiresome repetitions. This technique, regarded as quite legitimate, was in fact inescapable in order to keep the histories from becoming too bulky.

It is interesting that the historian appears sometimes even to have »improved» his material from the literary point of view. Thus, the TTK (17: 3 a) records that Kuo Ho was a popular Inspector of the King province and that the people therefore made a song about him, running:

»He is virtuous, accomplished and enlightened.
His administration has a distinguished government.»

The riming words are:

ming 明 **mǐǎng* / *mǐwǎng* (Grammata 760 a—d)

cheng 政 **îǐǎng* / *tǐǎng* (Grammata 833 r—s).

Sie Ch'eng (±222), whose Hou Han shu is later than the TTK, renders the rime differently (1: 6 a):

»He is virtuous, good, and enlightened, Kuo K'iao-k'ing¹).

He is loyal and correct at the court and with his superiors and inferiors he is equitable.»

¹) K'iao-k'ing was the style of Kuo Ho.

This time the riming characters are:

k'ing 卿 **k'ǐǎng* / *k'ǐvng* (Grammata 714 o—p)

p'ing 平 **b'ǐǎng* / *b'ǐvng* (Grammata 825 a—b).

So far it is not established exactly how the characters were pronounced in Later Han times, but it is at least evident that the pronunciation at the time of Sie Ch'eng must have been considerably closer to ancient Chinese (*k'ǐvng* — *b'ǐvng*) than to archaic Chinese.

It can hardly be expected that a popular rime was very strict, and the TKK version therefore might very well reproduce the genuine song. It also is indisputable that Sie Ch'eng's lines from the riming point of view represent an improvement. The »improvement«, accepted by Fan Ye (26,56: 11 a), quite possibly was Sie Ch'eng's own. This indicates that one should hesitate to accept quoted rimes as always bona fide original rimes.

The historian clearly distinguishes between direct and indirect quotations. If the quotation is direct, he writes »An edict said: ' ' », or »A memorial said: ' ' ». However, the historian often has to shorten the context of a document so much that direct quotation no longer is possible. He then invariably writes »So and so memorialized that », or »An edict ordered that ».

When it comes to the description of various activities of individuals, such as for instance military campaigns, direct quotations are often scarce. This might lead to the assumption that the historian in such connections renders his facts more freely, but this is far from being always the case. By a happy chance we can now and then establish that what seems to be the narrative of the historian again is nothing but indirect quotation. Thus, the biography of Ma Yüan describes how he in A. D. 49 attacked the aborigenes of the Wu-ling commandery in present western Hu-nan:

24,54: 12 a. »Previously, when the army arrived at Hia-tsün, there were 2 roads which could be entered. If they followed the [road to the] Hu-t'ou [mountain], then the way was short but water obstructed. If they followed the [road to the] Ch'ung [prefecture]¹⁾, then the route was even but transports were long. The emperor had previously regarded [these alternatives] with uncertainty. When the army arrived, Keng Shu wished to follow the Ch'ung road. [Ma] Yüan considered that [in that case] they would lose days and waste provisions and that it [therefore] was best to advance on the Hu-t'ou [road]. If they grasped them by the throat, the bandits of Ch'ung would be crushed automatically.»

If the historian had stopped here, one would have been inclined to regard the passage as his own narrative. Fortunately, the next sentence is instructive: »[Ma Yüan] took the matter and memorialized it. The emperor followed [Ma] Yüan's

¹⁾ The Ch'ung prefecture is the only one of the place names in the present passage which can be identified safely. It belonged during Han to the Wu-ling commandery and was situated W of the present Lin-li hien, Hu-nan.

plan.» This indicates that the memorial was the source of the historian and that he simply gives a digest of it.

Also, the description of the loyalty of Liu Mao is very illustrating. In A. D. 26 he was a lower official in the yamen of the T'ai-yüan commandery:

81,111: 5 a. »At this time, the Red Eyebrows in a horde of more than 200,000 attacked the prefectures of the commandery. They killed the chief officials and the division heads of the yamen. [Liu] Mao carried the Grand Administrator, Sun Fu, on his back, climbed over the wall, hid in a cave, and was able to escape.¹⁾ This evening they hurried together to the Yü prefecture²⁾. By day they then were hidden, by night [Liu Mao] sought for provisions. When there had passed (lit. accumulated) more than 100 days, the bandits went away, and they then were able to return to the yamen.

The following year (27), an edict ordered that a search should be made in the empire for righteous gentlemen. [Sun] Fu mentioned [Liu] Mao and said [in his memorial]: 'Your subject was formerly attacked by the Red Eyebrows. Officials and people were ruined and confused and fled to the mountains. Your subject was surrounded by the bandits, and life was like a hair of silk. Relying on [the fact] that [Liu] Mao carried [me] on his back, Your subject passed across the city wall, went out and took protection in the Yü prefecture. [Liu] Mao together with his younger brother braved the weapons [of the enemy], climbed the mountains, and carried food on their backs. Your subject with wife and children was able to pass from death to life. [Liu Mao's] purity and righteousness are particularly high. It would be proper that he is made known and selected in order to encourage [other] righteous gentlemen.'

Obviously Sun Fu's memorial is the source for the description of the escape.

The latter illustration is a rare case, as the historian usually does not repeat himself in this way. However, the examples very fortunately indicate that the historian, whenever possible, bases himself on written records. By a stroke of luck it occasionally even can be confirmed that he sometimes quotes his source practically verbatim but without indicating it. Thus, Chai Tsun's biography states:

20,50: 7 b. »His rewards he always completely gave to the officers and soldiers. In his home he had no private property, and on his person he wore leather trousers and cloth garments.»

After Chai Tsun's death, the Erudit Fan Sheng praised him in a memorial which stated:

20,50: 8 b. ». . . what he obtained of rewards, he always completely gave to the officers and soldiers. On his person he had no rare clothes. In his home he had no private property.»

It is worthwhile to compare the Chinese characters:

The memorial: 所得賞賜輒盡與吏士身無奇衣家無私財

The description: 賞賜輒盡與士卒 家無私財

The description clearly is copied from the memorial.

¹⁾ TTK (16: 9 a) says: »[Liu] Mao carried [Sun] Fu on his back, climbed over the wall and hid in a cavity below the western gate of the city.»

²⁾ The Yü prefecture during Han belonged to the T'ai-yüan commandery and was situated 80 li NE of the present T'ai-yüan hien, Shan-si.

Thus, to a very great extent, the HHS is based on documents, either directly quoted or indirectly employed. As these documents mostly are edicts, reports and memorials, the HHS therefore to a considerable degree consists of primary material. Although this is of the greatest importance, it still does not relieve us from the necessity of understanding the technique involved and also to be aware of the pitfalls following from this technique.

The *pen ki* are characterized by their extremely terse style. All events are compressed and therefore one has to read the relevant biographies for more detailed information. Direct quotations are rare except from edicts. Dates are frequently given. In later histories these dates seem to be recorded with reference to the imperial court.¹⁾ As far as the HHS is concerned, the technique seems to be different. If the historian had intended to record the date of the day on which a certain event was reported, he presumably could have given a long list of dates, e. g. for the many battles fought in different parts of the empire. However, in such cases he always restricts himself to only mentioning the month in which the battle in question had occurred. The impression is, therefore, that the HHS does not record events for the day on which they were reported but for the actual day on which they did occur. Actually, in one case, a date given in the HHS clearly refers to the event on the spot. Teng Yü's biography (16, 46: 3 b) describes a battle and goes on to say that on the day kuei-hai the enemy did not attack because it was the last day of a sexagenary cycle. This story would make no sense if the date referred to the day when the report reached the imperial court.

Because of their terse style, the *pen ki* often state action and result of action together, in spite of the fact that this, strictly speaking, implies after-knowledge.

Finally, as already discussed above,²⁾ all events are stylized by aid of the conventional set of formulas. In order to arrive at the historical facts, one only has to eliminate these formulas. This is nicely illustrated through a comparison of the Wei shu of the San kuo ch'i and Emperor Hien's *pen ki* in the HHS, which was made by the Ts'ing scholar Chao Yi³⁾:

HHS

Ts'ao Ts'ao put himself in charge as Shepherd of the Ki province.

Ts'ao Ts'ao made himself Lieutenant Chancellor.

Ts'ao Ts'ao himself advanced his appellation to that of King of Wei.

Wei shu

The Son of Heaven put the Duke in charge as Shepherd of the Ki province.

The Han dynasty abolished the offices of the Three Dukes, established the [office of] Lieutenant Chancellor, and made the Duke Lieutenant Chancellor.

The Son of Heaven advanced the feudal rank of the Duke to King of Wei.

¹⁾ Cf. 78. Gardner p. 72.

²⁾ pp. 41—42.

³⁾ 18. Chao, 6: 1 a—2 a.

The king of Wei, P'ei, declared [himself] Son of Heaven and respectfully appointed the emperor as Duke of Shan-yang.

Because the hope of the masses was on Wei, the Han emperor then summoned all the [Three] Dukes, [the Nine] Ministers, and the officials, ordered Chang Yin to receive the imperial seal and ribbon, and resigned the throne.

It is apparent that different formulas are applied to different dynasties which however does not prevent the historical facts from always being entirely the same. Ts'ao Ts'ao successively became Shepherd of Ki, Lieutenant Chancellor, and king of Wei; the Han emperor finally was forced to abdicate. These events remain quite undistorted. They appear dressed in different conventional stereotype formulas only because they are described from the view of two different dynasties. No personal judgment of the authors is involved. They merely follow a traditional style.

The *biographies* are quite different from the *pen ki*. Here the historian does not constrain himself so much. He gives instead an abundance of material which makes the *biographies* highly fascinating reading.

The *biographies* always open with the family name, personal name, style (if any), commandery, and home prefecture of the hero. If the home prefecture is unknown, the historian at least tries to mention the commandery. Furthermore, it is not implied that the hero necessarily lived in the actual prefectural city. The name refers to the whole prefectural area as such, of which the city was only the capital. Thus, Chu Hui's biography states (43, 73:1 a) that he was a man from the Wan prefecture¹) in the Nan-yang commandery. The passage continues that during the civil war Chu Hui and his family sought refuge in the city of Wan. Consequently his real home was in one of the villages outside the city.

The stress is always on the official career of the hero. This is a natural consequence of the historical concept of the author since for him history was shaped through the actions of men. Also, the archives in the capital had rich material on the career of officials, but little on their private life. Therefore it is not surprising that dates are rarely given other than for official appointments or other important events within the career of the various officials. The year of death is, as a rule, not mentioned, if death occurred after retirement from office. The historian then restricts himself to the statement that «so and so died in his home» or that «so and so died after a long life». He had to restrict himself because in such cases the year of death simply was unknown to him.

In the *biographies* the material is arranged around their various heroes. This can lead to misunderstanding. For example, the biography of Chai Tsun states (20, 50:6 a) that he together with the generals King Tan, Chu Yu, Wang Ch'ang,

¹) Cf. *infra* p. 75, note 2.

Wang Liang and Tsang Kung attacked the bandits in the Hung-nung commandery. From the biography alone, one could easily get the impression that Chai Tsun was the leading general of this campaign, but the pen ki (1 A:19 b) clearly shows that King Tan was the commander.

Many biographies enumerate some of the ancestors of their heroes. This usually permits the conclusion that he belonged to a gentry family. However, absence of recorded ancestors does not prove the opposite. Thus, the biography of Wang Lung (80 A, 110 A: 7 b) gives no single ancestor but goes on to say that he became Gentleman¹⁾ because his father sponsored him (jen 任). This term implies that his father had a high rank in the official hierarchy. Consequently, Wang Lung belonged to the gentry.

Furthermore, if a biography states that someone in his youth studied the classics, this often does not imply any scholarly inclinations. It only means that the person in question prepared himself for his official career.

Because of the abundant material of the biographies, direct mistakes occur. Some are not the fault of the historian but later misunderstandings during the transmission of the text. Others are mistakes of the historian himself, such as anachronisms or cases of after-knowledge. Thus, the biography of Chao Hi says:

26,56: 13 b. »After a while Wang Mang sent Wang Sün and Wang Yi to lead soldiers and go out of the passes. The Keng-shī [Emperor] saluted [Chao] Hi as Lieutenant General of the Five Majestic [Principles] and ordered him to assist the various officers to resist [Wang] Sün and [Wang] Yi at K'un-yang.»²⁾

The Keng-shī Emperor could not possibly know that the battle would be at K'un-yang. Wang Sün and Wang Yi had not reached this city yet. Besides, since K'un-yang had no special strategical importance, it could not be predicted that any battle would be fought there. In a case like this, after-knowledge is due to carelessness of the historian. In other connections he is influenced by superstition which obscures his judgment. A good example is the description of the death of the famous general Ts'en P'eng (17, 47: 17 a). During the campaign against Kung-sun Shu he encamped one evening in a little village. Too late he found out that its name was P'eng-wang, »P'eng perishes». This very night he was murdered. Obviously, the name of the village must have been quite another one, but after Ts'en P'eng's death the place probably was referred to as the village where P'eng perished. This finally became the generally accepted name of the village, and its old name fell into oblivion.

Fortunately, direct mistakes are by no means numerous.

It has already been said that a considerable part of the material incorporated into the HHS consists of primary sources. Gardner goes even further and states: »It may almost be said of Chinese history that it consists exclusively of primary

¹⁾ Guards of the palaces and at the same time candidates for office. Cf. 88. Wang, pp. 152—153.

²⁾ Cf. *infra* p. 75, note 1.

sources.»¹⁾ This can hardly be true. Actually, the HHS contains several types of material which definitely are not primary sources. The most striking type of doubtful material are the *direct speeches*. Derk Bodde, analyzing the biography of Li Si in the SK, already reached the conclusion that certain speeches were invented by Si-ma Ts'ien.²⁾ The essential question is whether the historian was at all in the position to have contemporary documentary records of speeches. In certain cases the answer must be yes. It has already been pointed out that all the private and public doings and sayings of the emperors were scrupulously written down by officials and that these diaries were kept in the archives. They were available to the historian, who therefore, in most cases, had no reason to invent speeches. Consequently, we have to distinguish the following groups:

1. *Speeches by the emperor and speeches (or events) in the presence of the emperor.*

24,54: 5 b—6 a. In A. D. 32 the emperor attacked Wei Ao. When the army had reached Ts'ü³⁾, the officers hesitated whether to advance further or not: »After a while [the emperor] summoned [Ma] Yüan. He arrived by night. The emperor was greatly pleased, called him to enter, and questioned him completely concerning the counsels of all [his ministers]. Consequently [Ma] Yüan explained that Wei Ao's military leaders were in the situation of earth which collapses, and that the advance of his soldiers had the condition of an inevitable break-down. Moreover, in front of the emperor he collected rice and made mountains and valleys. With his finger he outlined the position, explained the course of the roads and small paths which the army had to follow, and analyzed the ins and outs. It was so clear that one could comprehend it. The emperor said: 'The caitiffs⁴⁾ are before my eyes.'»

27,57: 2 a. »When Kuang-wu had taken over the government, he sometimes had a careless manner. [Chang] Chan⁵⁾ every time exposed and remonstrated against his shortcomings. Constantly he rode a white horse. Each time the emperor saw [Chang] Chan, he said: 'The gentleman of the white horse is about to remonstrate again.'»

37,67: 2 a—2 b. In the year A. D. 52 a court conference was held in order to determine who should become the teacher of the Heir-apparent. All suggested his maternal uncle, Yin Shī: »The Erudit Chang Yi said with serious countenance: 'Now, that Your Majesty has installed an Heir-apparent, is it for the sake of the Yin clan, or is it for the empire? If it just is for the Yin clan, then the Yin marquis is suitable. If it is for the empire, then it assuredly would be proper to use the wise and talented of the empire.' The emperor approved and said: 'I wish to appoint a tutor in order to help the Heir-apparent. Now, you, Erudit, do not find it difficult to correct Us, how much less then the Heir-apparent?' Immediately he appointed [Chang] Yi as Grand Tutor of the Heir-apparent.»

¹⁾ 78. Gardner, p. 105.

²⁾ 67. Bodde, p. 93.

³⁾ The Ts'ü prefecture during Han belonged to the Yu-fu-feng commandery and is identical with the present Pin hien, Shen-si.

⁴⁾ Caitiff is Dubs' translation of the Chinese term lu 虜, which is a derogatory expression for the enemy.

⁵⁾ He was at this time Superintendent of the Imperial Household.

79 A,109A: 7 a.¹⁾ »When, at the court congratulations of the first morning of the 1st month, the Hundred Officials had all assembled, the emperor ordered those of the crowd of officials who could explain the classics, alternately to embarrass and examine each other. Whenever [someone's] interpretation was not logical, his mat was snatched away to add it to [those of] the one who had been logical. Thereupon [Tai] P'ing was sitting on more than 50 mats in layers. The imperial capital made a proverb about him which said:

'[The one who] explaining the classics is never at his wits' end,
is Tai, the Palace Attendant.'²⁾

Typical for Emperor Kuang-wu was his good sense of humour. This is already exemplified by the few quotations above. Quite apart from the general fact that the sayings and doings of the emperor were always recorded and thus accessible to the historian, the speeches of Kuang-wu also have an impress of authenticity and a personal character which make them quite different from other speeches listed in the HHS. The recording officials might have rendered them in a somewhat tidied-up fashion, but otherwise there can be little doubt that most of them essentially are genuine.

2. *Uncertain speeches.*

13,43: 11 b. »[Wei] Ao was in difficulties and distress. His Grand Officer, Wang Tsie, who had been detached [and stationed] in Jung-k'iu³⁾, ascended the city wall, shouted to the army of Han and said: 'We who defend the city for king Wei [Ao], are all determined to die and do not have two hearts. I desire the various armies to stop [the siege] promptly, and I beg to kill myself in order to make it clear.' Thereupon he cut his throat and died.»

It is possible that Wang Tsie committed suicide on the city wall, but this does not indicate that the Han soldiers comprehended the words he might have shouted.

14,44: 3 b—4 a. »[Liu] Po-sheng's⁴⁾ company officer was a man from his own clan, Liu Tsi. He frequently had broken through battle formations, burst encirclements, and was the bravest among the three armies. At this time he led soldiers to attack Lu-yang⁵⁾. When he heard that the Keng-shī Emperor had been installed, he became angry and said: 'They who originally raised soldiers and planned the great undertaking were [Liu] Po-sheng and his brothers. Now, what has the Keng-shī Emperor done?' The Keng-shī Emperor, ruler and ministers, on hearing this hated him.»

¹⁾ The following quotation contains no speech. It is an event in the presence of the emperor and thus recorded in the diary. Consequently the charming episode should be authentic.

²⁾ The rime is: *k'iuŋ* 窮 **g'îŋ* / *g'îŋ* (Grammata 1006 g-h), *chung* 中 **tîŋ* / *tîŋ* (Grammata 1007 a-e).

³⁾ The identification of this place is uncertain.

⁴⁾ Po-sheng was the style of Liu Yen, Kuang-wu's elder brother. The HHS only mentions him by his style, never by his personal name. Thus, I follow this habit in order to avoid confusion.

⁵⁾ The Lu-yang prefecture during Han belonged to the Nan-yang commandery and is identical with the present Lu-shan hien, Ho-nan.

The Keng-shī Emperor later executed Liu Tsi. That makes it quite clear that derogatory remarks by Liu Tsi had been reported to him. Most likely the report was written and preserved in the archive. However, even in the most favourable case, the report hardly would have rendered the undistorted speech of Liu Tsi.

24,54: 2 b—3 a. The warlord Wei Ao sent Ma Yüan on a mission to Kung-sun Shu in order to form an opinion about this new emperor. Ma Yüan got an unfavourable impression, returned and reported: «[Ma Yüan] talked to [Wei] Ao and said: 'Tsī-yang¹⁾ is only a frog at the bottom of a well²⁾ and yet he foolishly regards himself as honourable and great. It is best to concentrate the thoughts on the eastern area³⁾.'»

Wei Ao was a powerful warlord, whose archives later probably fell into the hands of Emperor Kuang-wu. Ma Yüan's report reasonably was written, and the «said» above should perhaps not be taken too literally. But even if the report was oral, secretaries might very well have made annotations.

24,54: 10 b—11 a. When Ma Yüan in A. D. 44 victoriously returned from the war in Tonking, he was welcomed by many of his old friends. Among them was a certain Meng Ki. Ma Yüan talked with him: «[Ma] Yüan said: 'Just now, the Hiung-nu and the Wu-huan still disturb the northern frontier. I wish to beg for myself to [be allowed to] make war against them. For a man the most important thing is to brave death in the wilds of the frontier and only return to the burial with his corpse rolled in a horse-hide. How can he lie on a bed in the hands of sons and daughters?' [Meng] Ki said: 'One who sincerely is a patriot, ought to be like this.'»

After his death in 49, Ma Yüan posthumously fell into imperial disgrace. In such cases it frequently was the habit that friends through memorials tried to obtain pardon. It is conceivable that Meng Ki in this way reported the conversation in order to exhibit the outstanding character of Ma Yüan. But even then, at least five years would have elapsed since the conversation, and Meng Ki could therefore hardly be expected to have remembered the actual words.

Thus, the whole group has in common that the speeches possibly might have been made, but it is reasonable to suppose that their present rendering is distorted.

3. *Highly doubtful speeches.*

16,46: 21 a. After Wei Ao's death, his officer Kao Tsün defended himself in Kao-p'ing⁴⁾. Kuang-wu detached K'ou Sün to make him surrender: «[Kao] Tsün sent his Master of the Army, Huang-fu Wen to go out and visit [K'ou Sün]. Neither in his speech nor in his formal behaviour was he humble. [K'ou] Sün became angry and was about to execute [Huang-fu] Wen. All the officers remonstrated and said: 'Kao Tsün has 10,000 élite soldiers and they are mostly strong crossbow [men]. Westwards he blocks the roads of

¹⁾ Tsī-yang was the style of Kung-sun Shu.

²⁾ This was a common expression meaning short-sighted.

³⁾ It is best to come to terms with Emperor Kuang-wu.

⁴⁾ The Kao-p'ing prefecture during Han belonged to the An-ting commandery and is identical with the present Ku-yüan hien, Kan-su.

the Lung [slope]¹⁾. Year after year ha has not been brought to fall. Now we wish to make him capitulate, and yet [you, Sir], on the contrary [want to] kill his messenger. Is this not inadmissible?' [K'ou] Sün did not agree. Thereupon, he decapitated him. He sent his (Huang-fu Wen's) Associate to return to inform [Kao] Tsün and say: 'The Master of the Army had no politeness, and already I have killed him. If you wish to capitulate, capitulate rapidly. If you do not wish [to capitulate], defend yourself strongly.' [Kao] Tsün became frightened, and on that very day he opened the city gates and capitulated. The various officers all congratulated [K'ou] Sün. Consequently they said: 'We dare to ask how [it was possible] that [you, Sir,] killed his messenger and yet made him surrender the city.' [K'ou] Sün said: 'Huang-fu Wen was [Kao] Tsün's stomach and heart²⁾ and the one from whom he obtained his plans. Now, when he came and the meaning of his words was not humble, [this meant that] he definitely had no intention to capitulate. If I left him unharmed, then [Huang-fu] Wen would obtain his plans. If I killed him, then [Kao] Tsün would lose his courage. Only because of this he capitulated.' The various officers all said: 'This is something we cannot equal.'»

18,48: 4 a. In A. D. 27 Kuang-wu's Commander-in-chief, Wu Han, surrounded Su Mao in Kuang-lo³⁾. Liu Yung sent his officer Chou Kien to relieve the city. He succeeded. Wu Han was wounded: »The various officers talked to [Wu] Han and said: 'Since the great [bulk of the] enemy is in front [of us] and you, Duke, are lying down wounded, everybody is afraid.' [Wu] Han then at once bandaged the wound and stood up. He butchered oxen, gave a feast for the soldiers, and gave an order to those in the army, saying: 'Although the mass of the bandits is large, [still] they all are a group of plundering robbers. When they conquer, they do not yield to each other, and when they are defeated, they do not save each other. It is not that they have people who rely on decency and who die for moral principles. Today is the time when one enfeoffs marquises. You, Gentlemen, exert yourselves for this.'»

20,50: 4 b. In A. D. 28 Kuang-wu's general Wang Pa had gained a minor victory against Su Mao and Chou Kien: »The bandits again assembled their hords and challenged battle. [Wang] Pa was determined to rest and did not go out [of the encampment]. He then gave a feast for the soldiers and made song and music. [Su] Mao shot [arrows] into the encampment like rain and hit the wine cup in front of [Wang] Pa. [Wang Pa] sat calmly and did not move. The military officials all said: 'On a previous day, [Su] Mao already had been crushed. Now, changing, he strikes.' [Wang] Pa said: 'Not so. Su Mao's guest soldiers (i. e. auxiliary troops) come from far away. The provisions are not sufficient. Therefore he frequently has challenged battle in order to call forth a decisive⁴⁾ victory. Now, that we close the encampment and let the soldiers rest, that is what one calls not to fight and yet to bend down the soldiers of others. That is the [greatest] skilfulness of [all] skilfulness.'»

All of the three cases above describe a military situation in which the commanding general answers questions of his officers. This in itself makes it more than doubtful that the speeches are genuine. True, the generals continuously wrote

¹⁾ The Lung Mountain range extends from NW to SE and cuts across the border between present Kan-su and Shen-si. Its southern slope is situated between the present Ts'ing-shui hien, Kan-su, and Lung hien, Shen-si. Cf. 90. Ting, maps 21 and 27.

²⁾ I. e. his most intimate companion.

³⁾ Situated E of the present Yü-ch'eng hien, Ho-nan.

⁴⁾ I do not agree with the *commentary* which explains yi ts'ie as »temporary».

reports to the court, but these reports obviously must have been surveys of the military situation and not word for word accounts of discussions. Furthermore, Wang Pa in his answer actually quotes Sun-tsi: »To fight one hundred times and conquer one hundred times, that is not the [greatest] skilfulness of [all] skilfulness. Not to fight and yet to bend down the soldiers of others, that is the [greatest] skilfulness of [all] skilfulness.»¹⁾ Wang Pa was educated and had a special interest in law.²⁾ Therefore it is barely possible that he flavoured his speeches with quotations. But in the case of Wu Han it is different. He is supposed to have said: »When they conquer, they do not yield to each other, and when they are defeated, they do not save each other.» This is a verbatim quotation from Tso chuan, Duke Yin, 9th year. However, the very same biography has earlier made the following remark (18,48: 1 b): »The characteristics of [Wu] Han were simplicity, liberality and a lack of cultural refinement». Wu Han therefore, in all probability, knew nothing about the Tso chuan. It is of course conceivable that this and the previous quotation were common sayings among the officers of Han time. It also is possible that the text should not be understood verbatim, that Wu Han did not actually talk to the army but instead issued general orders. Yet, even if some officer with literary inclinations had composed the orders, the quotations would have been completely lost on common soldiers, who were used to talk straight to the point. The conclusion therefore seems unavoidable that the historian either completely invented these speeches or that he added embellishments to a »kernel of truth».

4. *Clearly not genuine speeches.*

11,41: 8 b. Mother Lü's son was a minor official in the prefecture of Hai-k'ü³⁾. Because of a minor crime he was executed by the Steward⁴⁾ of the prefecture. Mother Lü, who was very wealthy, used all her property to obtain followers. When all her money was gone she wept and said: »The reason why I amply treated you, Gentlemen, was not that I sought after profit. It merely was because the Steward of the prefecture in his wickedness unjustly killed my son. I only wish to avenge the grievance for him. Why should you, Gentlemen, be inclined to pity him (i. e. the Steward)?»

Mother Lü plotted in deep secrecy. If a discussion between her and her followers had been reported to the Steward of the prefecture, he immediately would have arrested her. Indeed, when mother Lü put her plans into operation, the Steward was taken with complete surprise and killed. After this act of violence, mother Lü and her adherents left the area and became pirates. Hence, it seems out of question that a speech could have been recorded.

¹⁾ Cf. *Tsi kie*.

²⁾ Cf. 20, 50: 3 a.

³⁾ The Hai-k'ü prefecture during Han belonged to the Lang-ya commandery and was situated 10 li W of the present Ji-chao hien, Shan-tung.

⁴⁾ Wang Mang changed the title of Prefect to Steward.

13,43: 15 a. »[Kung-sun] Shu dreamed that there was a man who talked to him and said: 'Pa sī tsī hi 八 子 系¹⁾, twelve is the time limit.'²⁾ He woke up, talked to his wife and said: 'Although one is eminent, the dignity yet is short. What does it mean?' His wife answered and said: 'If one hears the truth in the morning, it yet is possible to die [content] in the evening. How much more are twelve?'

Kung-sun Shu was alone with his wife. No one was present to make annotations, and Kung-sun Shu would hardly have done so himself. Besides, as presently will be shown, the whole event is highly phantastic.

15,45: 4 b—5 b. »At this time, the Han troops and the bands from Sin-shī and P'ing-lin were together defeated at Siao-ch'ang-an³⁾, and everyone wished to disperse and go away. [Liu] Po-sheng heard that the Army of the Lower [Yang-tsi-]kiang was in Yi-ts'iu⁴⁾. Immediately together with Kuang-wu and Li T'ung he went to [Wang] Ch'ang's rampart and said: 'I wish to see one wise officer of the [Troops of the] Lower [Yang-tsi-]kiang to discuss the great undertaking.' Ch'eng Tan and Chang Ang together pushed forward [Wang] Ch'ang and sent him. [Liu] Po-sheng saw [Wang] Ch'ang and tried to persuade him by means of [mentioning] the advantage of uniting with [the Han army]. [Wang] Ch'ang completely realized this and said: 'Since Wang Mang usurped [the throne], killed [the emperor], and oppressed and tyrannized the empire, the people have thought of Han. Therefore the prominent persons rose together. Now that the Liu clan has risen again and really is the true lord, I sincerely think to exert myself to be of use for [the clan] and to help to achieve the great merit [to restore the dynasty].' [Liu] Po-sheng said: 'If the undertaking is achieved, how would I dare to enjoy it alone.' Thereupon, having concluded a close alliance with [Wang] Ch'ang, [Liu Po-sheng] went away.

[Wang] Ch'ang returned and told all this to [Ch'eng] Tan and [Chang] Ang. [Ch'eng] Tan and [Chang] Ang, relying on their band [of followers], both said: 'When greatly remarkable men rise, they ought to become lords each for themselves. Why should we let ourselves be restrained by others?' [Wang] Ch'ang alone in his heart had attached himself to Han. So, little by little he elucidated [matters] and tried to persuade their military leaders, saying: 'In past days, [the Emperors] Ch'eng and Ai declined and had no heirs. Therefore Wang Mang was able to take care of the opportunity and usurp the throne. Since he has possessed the empire, the ordinances of the government have been harsh and cruel. Increasingly he has lost the hearts of the Hundred Clans⁵⁾, and there has not been one day that the common people did not sing songs and thought of Han. This has therefore enabled people such as we to avail ourselves of this to rise. Now, one who is resented by the people is removed by Heaven, and one who is thought of by the people is approved

¹⁾ These characters form together the name of Kung-sun 公孫.

²⁾ The dream is rimed: hi 系 *g'ieg / γiei (Grammata 176 a—b), k'i 期 *k'ig / kji (Grammata 952 k).

³⁾ Siao-ch'ang-an was an agglomeration within the area of the Han prefecture of Yü-yang in the Nan-yang commandery. The Yü-yang prefecture was situated 60 li S of the present Nan-yang hien, Ho-nan.

I have translated the Chinese word »tsü« (cf. infra p. 134 ff.) with »agglomeration«. »Tsü« means a small cluster of rural households. Being subordinate to a prefecture, a »tsü« either had no administrative status as district, commune or hamlet (cf. infra p. 94, note 2), or its status was unknown to the historian.

⁴⁾ Yi-ts'iu was an agglomeration within the area of the Han prefecture of P'ing-shī in the Nan-yang commandery. The P'ing-shī prefecture was situated 90 li SE of the present T'ang-ho hien, Ho-nan.

⁵⁾ »The Hundred Clans« refers here to the leading families.

by Heaven. If one begins the great undertaking, it is inevitably necessary downwards to be in accordance with the hearts of the people and upwards to be in agreement with the intentions of Heaven. Merit can then be achieved. If one relies on [one's own] strength, trusts [one's own] courage, stimulates [one's own] desires, and gives rein to [one's own] wishes, [then] even if one obtains the empire, one inevitably loses it again. [Even] with the power of a Ts'in dynasty or a Hsiang [Yü], it yet came to the point where they were exterminated or defeated. How much more [is that true about us common people in] cloth garments who now have come together among the weeds and marshes. To act like this¹⁾, is [to take] the road to annihilation. Now the various Liu of Nan-yang [commandery] have raised their clan and mobilized soldiers. If we look at those of them who came and discussed the undertaking, [we find that] they all have deep planning, great foresight, and the talent of kings and dukes. If we unite with them, we are certain to achieve great merit. That is the means to shield people like us.'

Although the various officers of the [Troops of the] Lower [Yang-tsi-] kiang were tough and ignorant, they nevertheless had always respected [Wang] Ch'ang. They then all thanked him and said: 'If we did not have you, General Wang, people like us would be about to submit to unrighteousness. We desire respectfully to receive instructions.'

Liu Po-sheng's discussion with Wang Ch'ang was highly secret. It seems impossible that any speeches could have been recorded. Wang Ch'ang might in turn have influenced the other chieftains to join the Han forces, but again, who would have written down his words?

22,52: 10 a—10 b. Ma Wu was an officer of the Keng-shi Emperor. In A. D., 24 Kuang-wu suggested to him to change sides: »When [the banquet] was over, [Kuang-wu] together with [Ma] Wu alone ascended the Ts'ung Terrace²⁾. He spoke persuasively to [Ma] Wu and said: 'I have obtained the shock cavalry [of the commanderies] of Yü-yang and Shang-ku³⁾ and wish to cause you, General, to lead them. What about it?' [Ma] Wu said: 'I am worn-out and fearful and have no strategic plans.' The Epochal Founder⁴⁾ said: 'You, General, have since a long time led and trained soldiers. How could you be of the same [calibre] as my clerks?' Through this [Ma] Wu attached his heart to Kuang-wu.»

The text states explicitly that Kuang-wu and Ma Wu were alone. Thus, there was no one who could have written down their discussion.

23,53: 1 b. »Tou Jung, seeing that the Keng-shi Emperor recently had been installed and that the eastern area still was disturbed, did not wish to go out of the passes⁵⁾. But his paternal great-great-grandfather once had been Grand Administrator of Chang-ye [commandery]⁶⁾, and his paternal grandfather's brother's son had been Colonel Protecting

¹⁾ I. e. according to the proposal of Ch'eng Tan and Chang Ang that all leaders should remain independent.

²⁾ This terrace belonged to the palace of the former kings of Chao and was situated in the city of Han-tan (cf. *infra* p. 69, note 1). Cf. *commentary* and *Tsi kie*.

³⁾ Situated in present northern Ho-pei and southern Chahar respectively.

⁴⁾ I. e. Kuang-wu (cf. *supra* p. 25, note 2). At this time he was not yet emperor.

⁵⁾ Tou Jung had been recommended to become Grand Administrator of the Kū-lu commandery, situated in present Ho-pei.

⁶⁾ Situated in present Kan-su.

the K'iang¹); his father's brother's son also had been Grand Administrator of Wu-wei [commandery]²); for generation after generation, [members of his clan] had been in the area west of the [Yellow] River, and so they knew its local customs. Alone he talked to his brothers and said: 'We cannot yet know whether there will be peace or danger in the empire. The land west of the [Yellow] River is abundant and rich, and that it has the River as a belt constitutes the strength [of this area]. The Dependent State of Chang-ye has élite soldiers consisting of 10,000 cavalymen. If one morning there is an emergency and we [then] shut and cut off the fords of the [Yellow] River, it is enough in order to protect ourselves. That is the place to leave descendants.' The brothers all agreed to this.»

Tou Jung was in secret conference with his brothers. If it had become known that they intended to make themselves semi-independent in the northwestern part of the empire, the Keng-shī Emperor doubtlessly would have had them executed. Consequently, if the discussion is at all historical, the brothers must have taken pains not to leave any written records concerning it.³)

27,57: 5 b—6 a. Tu Lin was in the service of the warlord Wei Ao but did not like it: »In the kien-wu period, the 6th year (A. D. 30), [Tu Lin's] younger brother Ch'eng died. [Wei] Ao then permitted [Tu] Lin to take care of the corpse and to return eastwards. But when he had sent him away, he regretted it. On reconsideration, he ordered the murderer Yang Hien to intercept and kill him at the Lung slope⁴). When [Yang] Hien saw that [Tu] Lin personally pushed a narrow chariot carrying the corpse of his younger brother, he sighed and said: 'Who in the present generation can practise righteousness? Although I am a small man⁵), how could I bear to kill a righteous gentleman?' Consequently he disappeared.»

Who could possibly have heard the remark of the assassin? Besides, would he have talked to himself?

32,62: 1 b—2 a. Fan Hung was Kuang-wu's maternal uncle and a rich landowner and merchant: »When the Keng-shī Emperor had been installed, he wished to make [Fan] Hung a general. [Fan] Hung kotowed, made excuses, and said: 'A student of books does not practise the affairs of soldiers.' Finally he was able to avoid [the office] and to return [home]. Together with his kindred and relatives he made an encampment and a moat to defend themselves. The old and weak who attached themselves to him were more than 1000 families.

At this time, the bandits of the Red Eyebrows plundered the T'ang-tsī district⁶). There were many whom they maimed and killed. They wished to go forward and attack the encampment of [Fan] Hung. [Fan] Hung sent men with oxen, wine, rice, and grain as a reward to give them as presents to the Red Eyebrows. The elders of the Red Eyebrows before had heard of [Fan] Hung's goodness and generosity, and they all praised him and

¹) Wang Mang's biography in HS mentions a certain Tou K'uang, holding this office. Cf. *T'ei kie*.

²) Situated in present Kan-su.

³) Cf. also *infra* p. 60.

⁴) Cf. *supra* p. 53, note 1.

⁵) In the Confucian sense of a mean person, a scoundrel.

⁶) The T'ang-tsī district was situated about 100 li S of the present T'ang-ho hien, Ho-nan, at the foot of a mountain with the same name.

said: 'The Lord Fan has always been kind. Besides, now that we have been treated like this, how could we have the heart to attack him?' They withdrew the soldiers and went away.»

The Red Eyebrows were simple and uneducated people. It is entirely out of question that they were in the habit or even able to write down their own speeches. Remarks could hardly have been overheard by the servants of Fan Hung, as they would not have been permitted to listen to the discussion of the chieftains.

Common to all these speeches above is that they are impossible. None of them could or would have been written down at the time of delivery and thus been preserved. Consequently, they are not genuine. Quite apart from this general consideration, in several of these cases the fact is patent that the speeches are products of desk-work. Take for instance the dream of Kung-sun Shu. It certainly would require imagination to dream of split characters, but a wild phantasy would be needed to dream the whole thing in rime. To make it even better, Kung-sun Shu's wife answers with a quotation from Lun yü (IV: 8), and on top of all, Kung-sun Shu actually reigned 12 years as emperor. The figure 12 of the dream therefore implies after-knowledge. Or take the episode of Liu Po-sheng's visit to the bandits with all its stilted talk, or Fan Hung's encounter with the Red Eyebrows and their incredible remark about him. In reality, Fan Hung simply bribed them to move off.

Hence, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the historian invented speeches. It remains to ask, why did he? The answer, I think, again is the specific concept of history discussed above. If history is regarded as the result of the actions of individuals, that is if the individual is placed in the center, then the historian gets into trouble as soon as his sources are insufficient to illustrate why certain persons acted in a certain way. In such cases the historian resorts to either building up speeches around some original, more or less genuine, kernel, or to make them up completely as he thinks they might have been given. Typical for these speeches is that they usually contain the motive for the action of the individual or individuals involved.

Thus, with the exception of the emperor and those surrounding him, it must be established that as soon as individuals make speeches, the historian in a majority of cases lacks sources. This fact is by no means true of China only, it is characteristic for all nations which are on the same level of historical writing. One only has to recall the endless and improbable speeches in, for instance, Livy's Roman history.

If, then, the historian invented speeches, the logical inference should be that different historians could have invented different speeches for one and the same occasion. Fortunately this can be tested, as the HHS is based on a number of earlier histories, some of them still extant. In many instances the speeches are found to be more or less the same, showing that the historians copied each other, but this is not always the case. For example, in A. D. 23 the various officers assem-

bled and wished to appoint Liu Hüan as emperor. Liu Po-sheng, who had ambitions of his own, tried to postpone the appointment and almost won over the assembled officers to his viewpoint. The TTK continues (23: 1 b):

»Chang Ang drew his sword, struck the ground, and said: 'It yet is possible to declare [someone] Duke of Heaven. Why should it be impossible to declare [someone] Son of Heaven?'»

The HHK, written later, says about the same event (1: 7 b):

»Chang Ang drew his sword, struck the ground, and said: '[He who] hesitates in undertakings has no merit. Today's conference must not have two [opinions].'»

The HHS (14,44: 3 a) copies HHK. The two versions are completely different, showing that the historians invented different speeches. The HHK version is especially unfortunate, since the completely uneducated Chang Ang is supposed to have said: »[He who] hesitates in undertakings, has no merit.« This is a verbatim quotation from SK (43: 20 a), the words with which Fei Yi supposedly answered the king of Chao.

Another example is the appointment of K'ou Sün. Kuang-wu had made himself independent but had not yet ascended the throne. He wished some of his officers to take charge of the Ho-nei commandery. SHS gives the following account (2: 5 b—6 a):

»Kuang-wu wished to consolidate Ho-nei. He talked to Teng Yü and said: 'We have Ho-nei like the Eminent Founder¹⁾ had Kuan-chung²⁾. If it is not a Siao Ho³⁾, who else could bring it back to order? Recommend to me one who is equal to Siao Ho.' Teng Yü said: 'K'ou Sün is equally prepared for civilian affairs and for war, and he has the talent for managing troops. If it is not he, there is none else who could be made [to administer Ho-nei].'»

The HHS has a somewhat different version:

16,46: 18 a. »[Kuang-wu] inquired from Teng Yü and said: 'Who among the various officers can be made to administer the Ho-nei [commandery]?' [Teng] Yü said: 'Formerly, when the Eminent Founder gave office to Siao Ho in Kuan-chung he had no more worry of having to look westwards. Due to this he was able to concentrate his energy on the area east of the mountains and finally to achieve the great task (i. e. become emperor). Now, [the fact] that Ho-nei has the [Yellow] River as a belt constitutes the strength [of this area]. The households and individuals are abundant. Northwards [Ho-nei] communicates with Shang-tang [commandery], and southwards it is close to Lo-yang. K'ou Sün's civilian and military preparedness is sufficient, and he has the talent to shepherd men and to manage troops. If it is not this gentleman, there is none else who could be made [to administer Ho-nei].'»

In SHS Kuang-wu is supposed to have made the comparison with Siao Ho, in HHS it is Teng Yü. Thus, the historians contradict each other. The author

¹⁾ I. e. Emperor Kao, the founder of the Han dynasty.

²⁾ The Land Within the Passes, i. e. present Shen-si.

³⁾ Siao Ho († 193 B. C.) was the friend and adviser of Emperor Kao.

of the HHS is influenced by the text of the SHS. Yet he gives the speech an independent rendering. Furthermore, the last example has the sentence: »Now, [the fact] that Ho-nei has the [Yellow] River as a belt, constitutes the strength [of this area].» Practically the same sentence occurs also, in Tou Jung's speech to his brothers¹): »... that it has the [Yellow] River as a belt, constitutes the strength [of this area].» This shows that the historian copied himself.

The examples above should give the final proof: the historians invented speeches, and these invented speeches are of little historical value. It also should be noticed that by inventing these speeches and ascribing various motives to the different individuals, the historian played an active role in composing the biographies, beyond the mere collecting, selecting, and arranging of written sources.

The important group of unreliable material discussed so far is by no means the only one. Another category is the *anecdotes*. A few quotations will suffice as illustrations.

25,55: 1 a. »At this time [Cho Mao] once went out to travel. There was a man who recognized his horse. [Cho] Mao asked and said: 'About what time did you, Sir, lose your horse?' He answered and said: 'More than one month ago. [Cho] Mao had had his horse for several years and knew in his heart that the other was mistaken. Silently he unyoked [his horse], gave it to him and went away pulling the chariot. He turned his head and said: 'If it is not your horse, Sir, kindly go to the yamen of the Lieutenant Chancellor and return it to me.' On another day, the horse-owner somewhere else obtained the [horse] which had been lost. He then went to the yamen, handed over [Cho Mao's] horse, kotowed, and apologized to him.»

27,57: 1 b—2 a. Chang Chan was known for his correct behaviour: »The Three Adjuncts²) regarded him as a model of etiquette. On some occasion a man said that [Chang] Chan simulated. When [Chang] Chan heard this he laughed and said: 'I really simulate. The people all simulate wickedness. I alone simulate virtuousness. Isn't that also permissible?«

27,57: 4 a. Wang Liang, a native of the Tung-hai commandery, in A. D. 30 became Director of Service of the Grand Minister over the Masses. He lived simply and did not allow his wife and children to accompany him to the capital: »At this time the Division Head of the Minister over the Masses, Pao Hui, because of affairs arrived in the Tung-hai [commandery]. When, in passing by, he called at his (i. e. Wang Liang's) house, [Wang] Liang's wife in a cloth skirt and dragging firewood returned from the field. [Pao] Hui addressed her and said: 'I am a Division Head of the Minister over the Masses. Therefore I have come to receive a letter. I wish to see the lady.' The wife said: 'The concubine (i. e. I) is she. I thank you for your trouble, Sir, [but] I have no letter.'«

32,62: 11 b. Kuang-wu's second empress belonged to the wealthy Yin clan. Her ancestor was Yin Tsi-fang: »At the time of Emperor Süan (73—49), a certain Yin Tsi-fang was very filial and had goodness and kindness. On a morning of the day of the winter-sacrifice, when he was cooking food, the shape of the kitchen-god became visible. [Yin]

¹) Cf. *supra* p. 57.

²) The three capital commanderies.

Tsī-fang saluted twice and received blessing. In the home there was a yellow sheep, and consequently [Yin Tsī-fang] used it to sacrificed to him. After that he suddenly came to great wealth.»

It thus is apparent that the historian incorporated hear-say material into his history. As in anecdotes in general, there might also be a kernel of truth in some of these. However, anecdotes are told from man to man, always gradually polished and improved, and therefore they are particularly unreliable as historical material.

Next we come to a very specific category of unreliable information. It has already been pointed out that the historian uses a certain amount of conventional formulas and that this stylization does not affect the reliability of historical facts. There is, however, a related category where things are quite different. This group represents an attempt at *formalization*. It turns out that the historian has a predilection for standardized description. Certain patterns recur continuously, and these patterns should not be taken literally. Often they distinguish themselves through pictorial description, giving a vivid, visual impression to the reader. A few examples will illustrate the point:

- 1) 21,51: 8 b. »Like rain they shot [arrows] into the encampment.»
- 2) 16,46: 18 b. »Standards and pennons concealed the ground.»
- 3) 16,46: 3 b. »The weapons and implements were uncountable.»
- 4) 19,49: 7 b. »The killed and wounded were innumerable. The drains and channels in the city were all filled.»
- 5) 18,48: 13 b. »[Killed enemies with] chopped heads and those who drowned, were more than 10,000 men. Because of that the water ran muddy.»
- 6) 22,52: 3 a. »Those who were killed or wounded lay lengthwise and crosswise» (i. e. everywhere).
- 7) 19,49: 8 a. »The corpses touched each other.»
- 8) 20,50: 10 a. »With naked bodies they scattered and fled.»
- 9) 20,50: 9 b. »When the empire was in disorder, the countryside was without smoke or fire.»
- 10) 11,41: 13 b. »The cities and suburbs were all empty, and white bones concealed the ground.»
- 11) 18,48: 13 b. »[Tsang] Kung continuously butchered big cities.»
- 12) 11,41: 13 b. »People ate each other.»
- 13) 17,47: 6 b. »People ate each other.»
- 14) 33,63: 3 b. »People ate each other.»
- 15) 16,46: 4 a. »[The people] all looked hopefully from a distance, led each other by the hand, and carried each other on their backs in order to welcome the army.»
- 16) 31,61: 2 a. »Wherever he came to the villages of the prefectures, old and young led each other by the hand and met and welcomed him on the road.»
- 17) 21,51: 8 a. »Those who were old and sick, all carried coffins and spontaneously followed [Keng Ch'un].»
- 18) 25,55: 2 a. Cho Mao had been a popular Prefect of Mi. He was transferred: »The people of Mi, old and young, all wept silent tears and escorted him.»

- 19) 21,51: 10 a. Keng Ch'un had been a popular Grand Administrator of the Tung commandery. Later he followed the emperor when he in A. D. 29 led the attack against Tung Hien: »On the road, they passed the Tung commandery. The Hundred Clans, old and young, several thousands, followed the imperial chariot, wept silent tears and said¹⁾: 'We desire again to obtain Lord Keng.'»
- 20) 16,46: 20 b. K'ou Sün had been a popular Grand Administrator of the Ying-ch'uan commandery. Later he followed the emperor and passed this commandery: »The Hundred Clans blocked the road and said: 'We desire from Your Majesty again to borrow Lord K'ou for one year.'»
- 21) 26,56: 6 b. Hou Pa was a popular Grand Governor²⁾ of the Huai-p'ing commandery³⁾: »In the keng-shi period, the 1st year (A. D. 23), [the emperor] sent messengers to summon [Hou] Pa⁴⁾. The Hundred Clans, old and weak, led each other, wailed and cried, and intercepted the chariots of the messengers. Some lay down blocking the road, and all said: 'We desire to beg you, my Lords Messengers, to leave [Hou Pa here] for one more full year.' The people went so far that they warned their wives who were able to give birth that they must not become pregnant. If the Lord Hou had to go away, [the children] were sure not to remain unharmed.»
- 22) 11,41: 10 a. »Although the band of the Red Eyebrows frequently fought and conquered, they were tired and sick of fighting, and they all, day and night, were melancholy and wept silent tears. They thought of and wished to return eastwards.»
- 23) 81,111: 2 b. »[Ts'iao] Hsüan's son, Ying, wept blood.»
- 24) 17,47: 1 b. »Pillow and mat had marks of tears.»
- 25) 18,48: 7 a. »[Wu] Han by nature was strong and powerful. Each time he was engaged in attacks, the emperor was not at ease and constantly stood with his feet askew.»⁵⁾
- 26) 79 A,109 A: 1 a. »[Kuang-wu] had not yet had time to descend from the chariot, when he first inquired about scholarly refinement.»
- 27) 79 A,109 A: 1 a. »Before this, the scholars of the Four Regions often had carried their charts and books in their bosoms and under their arms and had escaped to the forests and marshes. From then on, [however,] there was no one who did not clasp under his arms or carry on his back bundles of classical texts and assembled in the imperial capital like clouds. Men like Fan Sheng, Ch'en Yüan, Cheng Hing, Tu Lin, Wei Hung, Liu K'un, and Huan Jung thus flocked together one after the other.»

It should be quite obvious that all these cases represent a special technique of writing, a conscious exaggeration, not a rendering of facts. Thus, the description for instance of people getting deeply upset because their Prefect or Grand Administrator had been removed (examples 18—21), means only that the historian

¹⁾ Only the Ki ku ko edition writes 臣; the others have 云.

²⁾ Wang Mang changed the title of Grand Administrator to Grand Governor.

³⁾ Wang Mang changed the name of the Lin-huai commandery to Huai-p'ing.

⁴⁾ TKK 13: 1 b says: »[The emperor] sent the Internuncio, Hou Sheng, and the Inspector of the King province, Fei Sui, to deliver a message stamped with the imperial seal and to summon [Hou] Pa.»

⁵⁾ I. e. the emperor was too nervous to stand in the customary dignified manner.

uses this exaggerated picture in order to stress the popularity of the official in question. It is a standard picture, a formalization, a pattern that occurs again and again. The speeches involved are a product of the historian's phantasy, and the same is true as well for the whole formalized description. In the same way one should not literally understand that people now and then resorted to cannibalism (examples 12—14). The historian is not interested in recording that cases of cannibalism perchance had occurred. He only wants to stress that the famine was serious. Another often recurring picture is that of generals »butchering» cities (example 11). According to the commentators, this expression means to crush and take cities and to butcher their inhabitants as one kills animals.¹⁾ Nothing could be more wrong, which is shown by another passage: 19,49: 8 b. »[Keng Yen] butchered 300 cities (ch'eng).» China at that time only had around 1000 prefectural cities (ch'eng). Even making the greatest allowances for the bestiality of the army, it clearly is impossible that almost one third of these cities could have been »butchered». Again it only is an exaggerated, formalized picture, meaning nothing more than that the cities were taken.

The historian does not hesitate to mention flaws of character of the various persons. But as soon as it comes to praise, one is no longer on safe ground. Praise often is formalized into continuously recurring patterns. One of these patterns is the ceding of property:

- 28) 10 A: 4 a. »The father [of the Empress née Kuo], Ch'ang, ceded fields, dwellings and property of several million [cash] and gave them to his younger brothers by other mothers.»
- 29) 14,44: 7 a. »Previously, when the Tranquil King [Liu Hing] had died, [his son Mu] altogether declined the property and gave it to his various younger brothers.»
- 30) 14,44: 9 b. »[Liu Ch'ang] completely declined the gold, valuables and property from the time of his father and gave them to his elder and younger brothers.»
- 31) 18,48: 7 a—7 b. »When [Wu] Han once went out on a campaign, his wife and sons behind [his back] bought property in land. When [Wu] Han returned, he reprimanded them and said: 'When the army is outside, and the officers and soldiers have not enough, how can you buy numerous fields and dwellings?' Thereupon he completely distributed and gave them to his elder and younger brothers and his maternal family.»
- 32) 20,50: 7 b. »His rewards, [Chai Tsun] always completely gave to the officers and soldiers. In his home he had no private property.»
- 33) 24,54: 2 a. »[Ma Yüan] then completely divided [his property] in order to distribute it to elder and younger brothers and old friends.»
- 34) 24,54: 6 b. »[The emperor] bestowed [upon Ma Yüan] several thousands of oxen and sheep. [Ma] Yüan completely distributed them to his various followers.»
- 35) 31,61: 2 b. »[The emperor] bestowed [upon Kuo Ki] one dwelling as well as curtains, money and grain, in order to fill up his home. [Kuo] Ki immediately distributed and gave them to relatives and the nine [generations of his] clan.»

¹⁾ Cf. 1 A: 3 a.

- 36) 31,61: 6 b. »[Chang K'an] ceded his late father's remaining property of several million [cash] and gave it to his elder brother's sons.»
- 37) 53,83: 1 b—2 a. »The property was 10 million [cash]. When his father Yüe died, [Sün Jen] completely distributed and gave it to the nine [generations of his] clan.»
- 38) 83,113: 4 b. »Finally [Chou Tang] distributed and gave [his property] to his relatives.»

These are only a few examples. They could easily be multiplied to fill pages.

It is beyond doubt that there never was any epidemic of people declining property in Later Han times. On the contrary, for at least some of the cases above it can be shown that the families involved were wealthy and remained so. Most conspicuous is the case of Wu Han. His wife and sons wanted to invest the money of the family in land, but Wu Han »completely» gave the fields away (example 31). Nevertheless, his son Ch'eng was later killed by slaves (18,48: 7 b), indicating that he was by no means a pauper. The explanation seems to be that society theoretically regarded the ceding of property as a sign of outstanding character. None, of course, was willing to go so far in order to obtain reputation. Instead, it probably was a habit that prominent and wealthy persons now and then ostentatiously gave grants to less well-off relatives and friends, thereby making a show of their virtue but hardly giving more than they could afford. These show-off grants have in turn inspired the historian to exaggerated, formalized praise.

It seems reasonable that other types of praise are no more truthful. For instance, the biographies frequently mention that their heroes refused to serve Wang Mang or that they at least served without enthusiasm. Refusal is in itself quite unbelievable, because few would have been willing to get themselves excluded from an official career. Instead, we probably again have the same kind of formalized praise, implying little or nothing. Thus, the HHS remarks about Huan T'an that he alone of all scholars kept silent and did not flatter Wang Mang. Unfortunately for Huan T'an's reputation, the HS makes it quite clear that he was active for Wang Mang and on top of all accepted feudal rank from him.¹⁾

So far, the formalizations discussed consist of rather short paragraphs. But actually there are also long passages moulded into the same patterns. A popular group is the encounter with bandits:

27,57: 5 a—5 b. Meng Ki and the bandits: »When Wang Mang was defeated, bandits arose. [Tu] Lin together with his younger brother, Ch'eng, and Fan Tsün, Meng Ki²⁾, and others from the same commandery [as he]³⁾, escorted the small and weak and all the followers to the land west of the [Yellow] River⁴⁾. On the road they encountered several thousands of bandits. Thereupon [the bandits] plundered and grasped their valuables

¹⁾ Cf. HHS 28 A, 58 A: 2 a and HS 99 A: 30 b.

²⁾ According to Ma Yüan's biography (24,54: 10 b), Meng Ki was from the P'ing-ling prefecture (situated 15 li NW of the present Hien-yang hien, Shen-si).

³⁾ Tu Lin was a native of the Yu-fu-feng commandery.

⁴⁾ I. e. Kan-su west of the Yellow River.

and baggage, and stripped off and snatched away their clothes. When they drew their swords, turned against [Tu] Lin and the others and intended to kill them, [Meng] Ki faced upwards and said: 'I desire to talk once and then to die. Are you, Generals, aware of the Spirits of Heaven? The band of soldiers of the Red Eyebrows was 1 million, and whatever they turned against, there was none in front [of them]. But [these] oppressive bandits had no principles, and in the end it came to [the point] that they were crushed and defeated. Now you, Generals, wish by means of a band of several thousands to assume the work of hegemonic kings, [but] you do not practise goodness and kindness and on the contrary follow the overturned chariot¹⁾ and do not fear Heaven?' The bandits thereupon released them, and all escaped from the difficulty.»

43,73: 1 a. Chu Hui and the bandits: »When [Chu Hui] was thirteen years old, Wang Mang was defeated and the empire was disordered. Together with relatives of his maternal clan, he followed unfrequented paths on the fields and sought refuge in the city of Wan²⁾. On the road they met a group of bandits. [These,] with naked blades, threatened all the women and seized and snatched their clothes and possessions. The brothers and followers were all afraid and oppressed. They threw themselves on the ground, and no one dared to move. [Chu] Hui drew his sword, stepped forward and said: 'Only the valuables can all be taken. The clothes of my mother and my aunts must not be taken. Today is the day that I, Chu Hui, will die.' The bandits, seeing his smallness and admiring his determination, laughed and said: 'Boy, sheathe your knife.' Thereupon they released them and went away.»

81,111: 6 b. P'eng Siu and the bandits: »At the time when [P'eng Siu] was fifteen years old, his father was a commandery official and obtained a leave of absence. Together with Siu he returned home. On the road they were plundered by bandits. [P'eng] Siu was in difficulty and oppressed. He then drew the sword on his belt, stepped forward, grasped the leader of the robbers, and said: 'When the father is disgraced, the son dies. Don't you, Sir, take into consideration dying?' The robbers talked to each other and said: 'This boy is a righteous gentleman. It is not proper to press him.' Thereupon they apologized and went away.»

81,111: 8 b. Chou Kia and the bandits: At the end of Wang Mang's time, Chou Kia was a minor official in the Ju-nan commandery. Bandits entered the city of Ju-yang³⁾. »[Chou] Kia accompanied the Grand Administrator, Ho Ch'ang, to punish the bandits. [Ho] Ch'ang was hit by a stray arrow. The soldiers of the commandery fled. The bandits surrounded [Ho Ch'ang and others] with a tenfold encirclement. When the naked blades had been crossed, [Chou] Kia protected [Ho] Ch'ang with his own body and screened him. Then he shouted to the bandits and said: 'You, Sirs, were all retainers of people. [Although] you are bandits and have rebelled, how would there be anyone who in revenge would hurt his overlord? I, [Chou] Kia, beg with my death to ransom the life of the lord.' Consequently he faced upwards to Heaven, wailed and wept. All the bandits thereupon, pair after pair, regarded each other and said: 'This is a righteous gentleman.' They gave back their chariot and sent them away with an escort.»

¹⁾ Kia Yi (201—169) says: »If the chariot in front turns over, the chariot behind takes warning.» Cf. *commentary*.

²⁾ Cf. *infra* p. 75, note 2.

³⁾ The Ju-yang prefecture was situated NW of the present Shang-shui hien, Ho-nan.

In all these examples, the events are rigidly standardized:

1. People are oppressed by bandits.
2. A righteous man speaks bravely to the bandits.
3. The bandits feel ashamed and abandon their purpose.

The historian might have had some rudimentary facts at his disposal, but around these he builds long imaginative descriptions and invents suitable speeches. In this way, he »reconstructs« the events and makes Meng Ki, Chu Hui, P'eng Siu, and Chou Kia behave as a standard hero was expected to behave.

To the same category belongs the related story about Liu P'ing and the bandits:

39,69: 3 a. »Together with his mother he hid in the wilderness and marshes. In the mornings he went out to seek for food. He met starving bandits, and they were about to cook him. [Liu] P'ing kotowed and said: 'This morning I seek for edible herbs for my old mother. The life of my old mother depends on me. I desire first to return and feed my mother. After I have finished, I will come back and go to my death.' Thereupon he wept silent tears. The bandits, seeing that he was very sincere, pitied him and sent him away. [Liu] P'ing went back. After he finished feeding his mother, he consequently informed her and said: 'Just now I have fixed a rendezvous with the bandits, and in all righteousness I cannot deceive them.' Thereupon he returned and went to the bandits. [The members of] the band were all greatly startled. They talked to each other and said: 'We have heard about noble men. Now we have seen one. You, Sir, should go away. We could not endure to eat you, Sir.' Thereupon he was able to remain unharmed.¹⁾»

Another passage is similar but short:

39,69: 6 a—6 b. Ch'un-yü Kung and the bandits: »At the end of Wang Mang's reign, there was famine year after year and soldiers arose. [Ch'un-yü] Kung's elder brother, Ch'ung, was about to be cooked by bandits. [Ch'un-yü] Kung begged to [be allowed to] replace him. They were both able to get away.»

In this case the historian suddenly got tired of long, formalized description. He only presented the digest of a standard situation, without any embellishments.

It also should be noted that a pattern must not necessarily recur in order to characterize itself as formalization. Also a single event can clearly stand out as standardized:

31,61: 8 a—8 b. During the civil war, the father of Lien Fan had died abroad: »When [Lien Fan] was fifteen years old, he took leave from his mother and went westwards to receive the corpse of his father. The Grand Administrator of the Shu commandery, Chang Mu, was a former official of [Lien] Tan²⁾. He then considerably assisted and escorted [Lien] Fan. There was nothing [Lien] Fan accepted [from Chang Mu]. Together with followers, on foot, he carried the corpse on his back and returned to Kia-meng³⁾. The loaded boat

¹⁾ TTK 17: 3 b says: »As soon as Liu P'ing had got away, he collected pods of leguminous plants and obtained three sheng of beans with which he thanked the robbers for their kindness.»

²⁾ Lien Tan was Lien Fan's paternal grandfather.

³⁾ The Kia-meng prefecture during Han belonged to the Kuang-han commandery and was situated S of the present Chao-hua hien, Sī-ch'uan.

ran against a rock; it was smashed and went down. [Lien] Fan embraced and held the coffin and thereupon they sank together¹). Everyone was grieved because of his righteous conduct. With hooks they searched and got him. When he was saved, he barely had escaped from death.»

Again the historian exaggerates a very modest event into the noble behaviour of a standard hero. In reality, Lien Fan was accompanied by followers who obeyed any of his wishes and helped him to travel comfortably. He belonged to the gentry, probably never had done any hard work in his young life, and hardly would have had any inclination to carry the coffin personally. As regards the shipwreck, it is most probable that Lien Fan grasped the coffin because he thought it might float. The HHK makes the story still better. The mother gives a long speech at the departure of her son, while Lien Fan after the shipwreck is submerged under water for one entire day before he is found and revived.

All these examples should make it evident that formalization is part of the technique of historical writing. Far from being primary material, this category is of little or no value as regards facts.

The frequency of occurrence of non-primary material is different in the various parts of the HHS. The more a person played a political role, the more primary sources were available to the historian. On the other hand, especially for those who were without political importance, i. e. men of outstanding conduct, men with magical powers, recluses, and virtuous women, the historian found himself without much primary source material. Therefore he was more than usually tempted to stretch the little he had.²)

Finally, it should be remarked that also in cases where primary sources were abundant, the information furnished by them is not necessarily of primary value. It is for instance a constant habit that edicts and memorials recapitulate earlier events. As memory can fail and, by looking backwards, facts can be differently interpreted or distorted, a strong, subjective elements thus gets involved. In this way, a source at the same time can be partly primary and partly secondary.

One group of importance still remains to be discussed. It has already been said that as soon as a government functions properly, documents of all kinds continuously pour into the court and are preserved in the archives. But how is the situation when this normal, slow and pedantic procedure is interrupted? We would expect that in such cases the events recorded in the history might represent a distortion. For instance, can the historian obtain any knowledge about the activities of pretenders during a civil war? The answer is that he often can. As soon as someone

¹) Hui Tung points out that according to Shui king chu the Tsin-shou River has a ford and that this was the place where the accident occurred. Cf. *Tsi kie*.

²) A typical example of this is the story of Jen Yung and Feng Sin, Cf. *supra* pp. 39—40.

appointed himself emperor, his first step invariably was to surround himself with the proper entourage of officials. Only this sanctioned his dignity. Any «emperor» without court would have been a laughing stock. Thus, as proved by numerous cases in the HHS, all pretenders hurried to appoint officials, and soon this new bureaucracy began to produce documents. The important thing, however, is that the one among the pretenders who succeeded in defeating the others and therefore became accepted as legitimate emperor always made it a policy to get hold of the archives of his defeated rivals. These archives were normally brought to his own capital to be studied and preserved. The HHS gives evidence on this point:

1 A: 11 a. In A. D. 24 the pretender Wang Lang was defeated and killed: »In the 5th month, on the day *kia-ch'en* (May 27), [the Han troops] took his city and executed Wang Lang. They gathered together letters and obtained [the names of] those officials and people who had had connections with [Wang] Lang¹⁾ and who had slandered [Kuang-wu, which in all numbered] several thousands of documents. Kuang-wu did not examine them. He assembled the various generals, burned them (the documents) and said: 'I cause the nervous gentlemen to be at ease.'²⁾»

Even if some of these lists were burnt, the major part of the documents in all probability was preserved. This becomes clear also from the following example:

26,56: 13 b—14 a. »At this time Teng Feng revolted in the Nan-yang [commandery]³⁾. [Chao] Hi had always been good friend with [Teng] Feng. He frequently sent letters to rebuke him sharply, and so slanderers consequently said that [Chao] Hi and [Teng] Feng had plotted together. The emperor regarded this as suspicious. When [Teng] Feng was defeated, the emperor obtained [Chao] Hi's letters. He then became startled and said: 'Chao Hi really is a great man.'»

Furthermore, the HHS in some cases quotes proclamations, issued by pretenders and warlords, e. g. a proclamation of the pretender Wang Lang (12,42: 1 b—2 a) and a proclamation of the warlord Wei Ao (13,43: 2 a—4 b)⁴⁾. The latter quotation is exceptionally long and even gives the date of issue, August 6, A. D. 23. Consequently the historian had more material at his disposal than one might have expected off hand.

Nevertheless, there are gaps. Before a warlord decided to proclaim himself emperor, he hardly had any archives of considerable size, and even after his accession to the throne it took some time before the new system started to function. Also, and not least important, in emergencies there usually was little time for writing documents. Mostly these gaps are easily discernible, simply because the history in such cases

¹⁾ The Han Code says: »Those who have connections with criminals three days or more, must all know the [correct] circumstances.» Cf. *commentary*.

²⁾ As Kuang-wu had burned the lists containing their names, they now had no reason to fear for their personal safety any longer.

³⁾ Teng Feng was Kuang-wu's General Who Routs the Caitiffs. He revolted in the 8th month (Sept.) of A. D. 26.

⁴⁾ Cf. *infra* pp. 124 ff.

gives only meagre information. It happens, however, that the HHS in isolated instances gives a detailed and vivid account in spite of the fact that we logically would expect the opposite. The accounts of Kuang-wu's activities north of the Yellow River illustrate this point, and therefore they deserve to be quoted in extenso.

Kuang-wu and his elder brother, Liu Po-sheng, originally headed the rebellion in the Nan-yang commandery, but later they were outmanoeuvred by Liu Hsian's party. The latter ascended the throne on March 11, A. D. 23 and in history he is known as the Keng-shi Emperor. Liu Po-sheng was appointed Grand Minister over the Masses, but of course remained a potential danger to the new emperor. After a few months he therefore was executed under some pretext. Kuang-wu so cleverly concealed his feelings that in October of the same year he was detached to conquer the land north of the Yellow River. Unfortunately for him, on January 16, 24, the sorcerer Wang Lang was proclaimed emperor in the city of Han-tan¹). In the beginning Wang Lang was very successful, and Kuang-wu found himself completely cut off from connections southwards. This almost cost him his life, and only under great difficulties was he able to escape.

It goes without saying that Kuang-wu resented the death of his brother and the defeat of his party. As soon as he himself obtained a personal command north of the Yellow River, he therefore started to play a game of his own in order to further his own interests. Teng Yü's biography implies (16,46: 1 b) that Kuang-wu secretly detached himself from the Keng-shi Emperor already before Wang Lang became pretender, and this is logical, judging from his later manoeuvres. However, on the surface he still for some time recognized Keng-shi as emperor which, of course, does not imply that he would have been willing to send true reports to the court. But even so it became an utter impossibility to keep in contact with the capital after Wang Lang had risen and he himself fled for his life. Therefore the archives reasonably could have no primary sources covering the time of his escape. Nevertheless, the HHS gives a detailed and vivid account of the flight. This is what it has to say:

1 A: 9 a—9 b. »In the 2nd year [of the keng-shi-period: A. D. 24] in the 1st month (Feb.), because Wang Lang recently [had started to] prosper, Kuang-wu then went northwards to overrun Ki²). Wang Lang transmitted a call-to-arms and put a reward of 100,000 households on Kuang-wu's head. Thus, Liu Tsie, the son of the former king of Kuang-yang³), raised soldiers in Ki in order to respond to Wang Lang[']s summon]. There were disturbances within the city. One after the other [the citizens] became alarmed and afraid. It was said that messengers from Han-tan¹) were just arriving. [The officials] from [the rank of] 2000 piculs and downwards all went out to welcome them. Thereupon Kuang-wu hurried to the carriage and turned its pole southwards.

Day and night they did not dare to enter cities and villages but lodged and ate at the

¹) Situated SW of the present prefecture with the same name, Ho-pei.

²) The Ki prefecture during Han belonged to the Kuang-yang kingdom (under Later Han a commandery) and was situated SW of the present Ta-hing hien, Ho-nan.

³) I. e. king Liu Kia, a descendant of Emperor Wu.

side of the road. When they came to Jao-yang¹⁾, the lower officials were all in want of food. Kuang-wu then professed himself a messenger from Han-tan and entered the post-station. Just when the waiters served the food, the followers hungrily fought to snatch it from them. The waiters suspected that they [only] pretended [to come from Han-tan]. They then struck a drum several tens of beats²⁾ and said deceitfully that a general of Han-tan had arrived. The lower officials all lost their composure, and Kuang-wu mounted his chariot wishing to hurry off. Then, however, fearing that he would not [be able to] escape, he returned calmly, sat down, and said: 'I beg the General of Han-tan to enter.' After a long while he rode away. The men in the post-station yelled from a distance to the gatekeepers to shut him in. The senior gatekeeper said: 'How can anyone in the world recognize a great man and still embarrass him?' Thereupon they were able to get out [of the city] southwards.

They travelled both by day and by night and suffered frost and snow. At this time the weather was cold and their faces all became chapped. When they came to the Hu-t'o River³⁾, there were no boats. Just then it happened that the ice stuck together so that they were able to pass⁴⁾. They had not yet finished [the transferring of] several chariots when [the ice] sank.

They advanced and arrived west of the city of Hia-po⁵⁾. They were flustered and did not know where to go. There was an old man in white clothes at the side of the road⁶⁾. He pointed and said: 'Make an effort. The Sin-tu commandery⁷⁾ is administrated on behalf of Ch'ang-an⁸⁾. It is 80 li distant from here.' Kuang-wu immediately hurried to go there. The Grand Administrator of Sin-tu, Jen Kuang, opened the gates, went out and welcomed them.»

20,50: 1 a. »At this time, Wang Lang's call-to-arms reached Ki⁹⁾. In Ki they raised soldiers in answer to [Wang] Lang's call]. Kuang-wu hastened to ride out. The Hundred Clans assembled to look at him. They shouted, filled the paths, and blocked the roads

¹⁾ The Jao-yang prefecture during Han belonged to the Cho commandery and was situated E of the present hien with the same name, Ho-pei.

²⁾ T'ung 通.

Ts'i yüan says (sub t'ung): »To strike a drum 333 beats is 1 t'ung. Cf. Li Wei-kung's Ping fa.». In the present case this clearly is impossible. K'ang hi ts'i tien (sub t'ung) quotes Chou li (ti kuan: ku jen): »以金鐸通鼓.« 66. Biot, I, p. 266, translates this: »avec la sonette a battant métallique on règle le nombre des coups sur les tambours.« With reference to this, the present t'ung should be translated with »beat«.

³⁾ Chung kuo ku kin ti ming ta ts'i tien p. 1098: 1 gives the course of this river in detail. It is also indicated on 90. Ting's atlas, map 23, there called 沱河. However, it should be observed that the river until the time of Ts'ao Ts'ao (155—220) passed south of the Jao-yang prefecture (cf. supra, note 1), and only then changed its course to pass north of this city as is the case today.

⁴⁾ SHS 1: 1 b says: »At this time the ice was slippery and the horses fell down. Then each [of the men] took sacks, stuffed them with sand, and spread this on the ice to traverse on.« This paragraph is based on the practically identical account in TTKK 10: 3 a.

⁵⁾ The Hia-po prefecture during Former Han belonged to the Sin-tu kingdom (during Later Han to the An-p'ing kingdom) and was situated 30 li SE of the present Shen hien, Ho-pei.

⁶⁾ The commentary says: »The old man was namely a supernatural being. Now a temple hall still exists W of the Hia-po prefecture.«

⁷⁾ In A. D. 9 the king of Sin-tu was degraded by Wang Mang to duke and dismissed in A. D. 10. Therefore Sin-tu now was a commandery.

⁸⁾ At this time Ch'ang-an was the capital of the Keng-shi Emperor.

⁹⁾ Cf. supra p. 69, note 2.

[so that Kuang-wu] was not able to move. [Yao] K'i rode a horse, shook his lance, glared angrily, shouted loudly to the left and right, and said: 'Clear the road.' The whole crowd opened and scattered. When they came to the city gate, the gate already was closed. They attacked it and were able to get out.»

17,47: 2 a—2 b. »When Wang Lang arose, Kuang-wu hastened from Ki¹⁾ southwards. Day and night he lodged in the grass. At the time when he came to the Wu-lü commune²⁾ in the Jao-yang prefecture³⁾, the cold was violent, and [Kuang-wu's] troops were all hungry and exhausted. [Feng] Yi handed bean-porridge up [to Kuang-wu]. The following morning, Kuang-wu talked to the various officers and said: 'Yesterday, I got bean-porridge from Kung-sun⁴⁾, and hunger and cold disappeared altogether.'

When they came to Nan-kung⁵⁾, they met storm and rain. Kuang-wu drew up the chariots and went into an empty cottage on the side of the road. [Feng] Yi carried firewood in his arms, and Teng Yü kept the fire hot. Kuang-wu faced the kitchen range and dried his clothes. [Feng] Yi again offered boiled grain and the shoulder of a hare⁶⁾.

Consequently they further crossed the Hu-t'o River⁷⁾ and arrived at Sin-tu⁸⁾.»

17,47: 7 b. A. D. 30: »An edict said: 'The kind intention of [offering] the bean-porridge in the Wu-lü commune and the boiled grain at the Hu-t'o River when I was in distress, has a long time been unrewarded.'»

20,50: 3 a—4 a. »When Wang Lang arose, Kuang-wu was in Ki¹⁾. [Wang] Lang transmitted a call to arms and put a reward on Kuang-wu's head. Kuang-wu ordered [Wang] Pa to go into the market-place to enlist men, and to lead them in order to fight [Wang] Lang. The men on the market-place all laughed greatly, lifted their hands, and pointed at him in ridicule. [Wang] Pa felt mortified and withdrew.

Kuang-wu immediately hastened southwards and arrived at Hia-k'ü-yang⁹⁾. By rumour he heard that Wang Lang's troops were behind him. The followers all were afraid. When they came to the Hu-t'o River⁷⁾, scouts returned and informed them that the water of the river had floating ice, that there were no boats, and that it was impossible to ford the stream. The lower officials were greatly frightened. Kuang-wu ordered [Wang] Pa to go and inspect it. [Wang] Pa was afraid to alarm the troops and wished to go forward for the time being and let the water become an obstacle [for the enemy]. He returned and then lied and said: 'The ice is strong. It is possible to cross.' The lower officials all rejoiced. Kuang-wu laughed and said: 'The scouts have really talked falsely.' Thereupon they went forward.

¹⁾ Cf. supra p. 69, note 2.

²⁾ TTK 1: 4 a writes 蕪婁.

³⁾ Cf. supra p. 70, note 1.

⁴⁾ Kung-sun was the style of Feng Yi.

⁵⁾ The Nan-kung prefecture during Former Han belonged to the Sin-tu kingdom (during Later Han to the An-p'ing kingdom) and was situated W of the present hien with the same name, Ho-peï.

⁶⁾ The text has 兔 which gives no meaning. TTK writes 兔, hare.

⁷⁾ Cf. supra p. 70, note 3.

⁸⁾ The Sin-tu prefecture was the capital of the Sin-tu commandery and is identical with the present Ki hien, Ho-peï.

⁹⁾ The Hia-k'ü-yang prefecture during Han belonged to the Kū-lu commandery and was situated W of the present Tsin hien, Ho-peï.

At the moment they arrived at the river, the ice in the river also united. [Kuang-wu] then ordered [Wang] Pa to protect the crossing. They had not yet finished [the transferring of] several cavalymen, when the ice broke up. Kuang-wu talked to [Wang] Pa and said: 'That which calmed my troops so that they were able to cross the stream and escape was the strength of yours, Sir.' [Wang] Pa declined [the compliment] and said: 'This [happened because] you, enlightened Duke, are very virtuous and [because of] the assistance of the spirits. Although Wu-wang had the response of the white fish¹⁾, he had nothing to add to this²⁾.' Kuang-wu spoke to the lower officials and said: 'Wang Pa acted according to circumstances and thereby he saved the undertaking. It is almost an auspicious omen of Heaven.' He made him Inspector of the Army and gave him feudal rank as Marquis Within the Passes.

When they arrived at Sin-tu³⁾, they mobilized soldiers and attacked and took Han-tan⁴⁾.♦

These accounts give a highly dramatic, vivid and visual picture, but at the same time are hopelessly confused. Thus, Kuang-wu's pen-ki (1 A:9 a ff) gives the route of escape as: Ki — Jao-yang — Hu-t'o River — Hia-po — Sin-tu. This seems reasonable as he then would have moved in a straight line from Ki to Sin-tu (cf. map 1).

However, the corresponding pen-ki in TKK (1: 4 a-4 b) states for the final part of the escape that Kuang-wu first went to Nan-kung and from there to Sin-tu. Feng Yi's biographies in HHS (17,47: 2 a ff) and in TKK (9: 2 b-3 a) give the same version. They state that the fugitives first came to Nan-kung and thereupon crossed the Hu-t'o River before reaching Sin-tu.

Already the mentioning of Nan-kung must in itself be regarded as highly suspect. This prefecture was situated south of Sin-tu to which Kuang-wu was on his way. He therefore should have passed Sin-tu first and then returned to it. But, above all, in order to go from Nan-kung to Sin-tu, he could not possibly cross the Hu-t'o River, situated north of Sin-tu. Hence, the account must be wrong.

Apart from Nan-kung, the accounts agree that Kuang-wu crossed the Hu-t'o River near Jao-yang. This is also supported by HHK (2: 1 b). However, in addition there exists another version. Wang Pa's biography (20,50: 3 a ff) gives the route of escape as: Ki — Hia-k'ü-yang — Hu-t'o River — Sin-tu. His biography in TKK (10: 2 b-3 a) has the same account, and the crossing of the river at Hia-k'ü-yang is also mentioned in Sie Ying's († 282) Hou Han shu (1 a). It is of course by no means impossible that Kuang-wu went via Hia-k'ü-yang, but at the same time this would imply a considerable, and it would seem quite unnecessary, deviation westwards.

The interesting point is that the different versions are very clearly kept apart in the HHS as well as the TKK. Only Wang Pa's biographies mention the route via Hia-k'ü-yang.

¹⁾ Supposedly, when Wu-wang crossed the Yellow River, a white fish jumped into his boat, thus constituting an auspicious omen.

²⁾ I. e. the omen of the uniting ice was just as auspicious as the jumping fish.

³⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 71, note 8.

⁴⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 69, note 1.

It has been pointed out already that Kuang-wu could not have sent reports to the capital during his flight. Therefore the description of his escape must be based on sources composed after Kuang-wu's adventures. After the escape, thus already some time after the events in question, Kuang-wu himself probably sent a report to the capital. If this report had been the only source of the historian, the HHS reasonably would give one single version. As there is more than one version, there must have been more than one source.

The escape of Kuang-wu was a much too important part of his career to be neglected. After he had become emperor, it therefore must have seemed imperative to reconstruct the events of the escape. It looks as if at least Feng Yi and Wang Pa were ordered to hand in reports of the escape to be preserved in the archives. As considerable time had elapsed since the flight and as the events of the civil war were very complex, the memory of the generals was apparently somewhat confused, and both of them therefore gave different versions.

The confusion is not limited to the route alone. Thus, according to Feng Yi's biography in the HHS, he gave bean-porridge to Kuang-wu in the Wu-lü commune and boiled grain and the shoulder of a hare in Nan-kung. His biography in TKK has the same account. On the other hand, TKK 1:4 a says that Feng Yi offered the food of wheat and the shoulder of the hare already in the Wu-lü commune. The emperor's own version is given in the edict of A. D. 30. It mentions the bean-porridge in Wu-lü, says nothing about the hare, and states that the boiled grain was offered at the Hu-t'o River. Again the discrepancies must be due mainly to confused memory.

Thus, the historian in all probability had no contemporary sources for the time of the escape. He probably had a report by Kuang-wu to the court, written later but still close enough to be reasonably reliable. This presumably is the version in Kuang-wu's pen ki. Furthermore, the historian seems to have had considerably later and confused accounts of memoir character, which would explain why he quoted Wang Pa's and Feng Yi's versions in their respective biographies. It is by no means sure that the historian himself discovered the contradictions. If he had, he would probably have selected the version which seemed to him the most reliable and then clung to it.

The whole description of Kuang-wu's escape is extraordinarily vivid. The historian succeeds in giving an almost visual impression of Yao K'i clearing the road in Ki, of the adventure in the resthouse, of the crossing of the river, and of Kuang-wu's drying his clothes in front of the fire. However, it is generally in the nature of official documents to be dry and straight to the point. This forces us to the conclusion that the more vivid an account, the less contemporary documents were available to the historian. Or, to put it differently, the reliability of the HHS stands in inverse proportion to its vividness. As soon as descriptions become dramatic and vivacious, we immediately have to be on guard. In most cases we will find that the historian had few or no

primary sources to build on, that he had to use secondary sources, and that he embellished them with his own imagination, adding speeches, tension, and colour. This is proved by the texts quoted above. It is a temptation to accept the vivid and dramatic accounts at their face value. But, a text is not more reliable only because it succeeds in conveying a visual picture. Unfortunately, with the exception of events around the emperor,¹⁾ these accounts are of little historical value.

* * *

It has seemed to me justifiable to devote this lengthy chapter to historiography because of the importance of the subject. The history consists of such an accumulation of different material that it cannot be treated as a whole. It has to be decided from case to case which passages contain primary material and which secondary material. Again one has to investigate how the primary sources are to be understood, and whether they are reliable, or for some reason or other represent a distortion of facts. One has to find out whether the secondary material furnishes at least some facts of value or whether it has to be discarded altogether. This detailed procedure, indispensable as it is, cannot be stated in extenso in the following chapters. Therefore it has seemed necessary to demonstrate the methodological approach here. In order to exemplify this once more, I give a translation and interpretation of the account of the famous battle of K'un-yang, fought on the 7th of July, A. D. 23:

I A: 4 a—7 a. »When [Wang] Mang heard that . . . a Han emperor had been installed²⁾, he became greatly alarmed. He sent the Grand Minister over the Masses, Wang Sün, and the Grand Minister of Works, Wang Yi, to lead 1 million soldiers. The armoured soldiers among them were 420,000 men . . .

Previously, Wang Mang summoned in the empire several hundreds of men who had mastered the 63 authors on strategy³⁾. All were selected to become military officials and chosen military guards. He enlisted fierce warriors. Banners, standards, and military equipment were not interrupted for a thousand li. At this time there was a tall man, Kü-wu Pa⁴⁾. He was 1 chang tall⁵⁾ and 10 wei broad, and was made Rampart Commandant. Moreover, they drove forward various wild beasts, such as tigers, leopards, rhinoceroses and elephants in order to enhance the majestic fierceness [of the army]. Since the abundance of military operations during Ts'in and Han, there never yet had been [a thing like this].

Kuang-wu led several thousands of soldiers to intercept them at Yang-kuan⁶⁾. When the generals saw the abundance of the soldiers of [Wang] Sün and [Wang] Yi, they turned

¹⁾ Cf. *supra* pp. 50—51.

²⁾ I. e. the Keng-shi Emperor (23—25).

³⁾ Hui Tung points out that the *yi wen chi* of the HS (30: 64 a) only mentions 53 authors. Pan Piao's *Ts'i lüe* originally had 63 authors, but when Pan Ku collated this book, he diminished the number to 53, Cf. *Tsi kie*.

⁴⁾ Chou Shou-ch'ang remarks that HS (99 C: 6 a) writes 巨毋. As Wang Mang changed Kü-wu Pa's family name to Kü-mu, Chou Shou-ch'ang concludes that 毋 must have been the correct form, being similar to 毋. Cf. *Kiao pu*.

⁵⁾ This corresponded in the time of Wang Mang to 2.31 m (7 ft. 6.94 in.).

⁶⁾ Yang-kuan was an agglomeration within the Yang-ti prefecture. The Yang-ti prefecture during Han belonged to the Ying-ch'uan commandery and is identical with the present Yü hien, Ho-nan.

around and galloped quickly into K'un-yang¹⁾, and all became afraid and sad and remembered their wives and children. They wished to separate and return to their various cities. Kuang-wu talked it over and said: 'Now the grain of the soldiers is already scarce, whilst the strength of the bandits out there is great. If we withstand them with united force, merit can probably be achieved. If we wish to disperse and separate, then our power is no longer complete. Besides, the city of Wan²⁾ is not yet taken, and [my brother and I] cannot save each other. At the moment when K'un-yang is crushed, within one day the various companies will also be exterminated. Now you are not of the same heart and gall, together to make a meritorious name [for yourselves] and wish, on the contrary, to protect your wives, children, and property? The generals became angry and said: 'How dare you, General Liu, behave like this?' Kuang-wu laughed and stood up.

After a while, a mounted scout³⁾ returned and said that great bodies of troops were on the point of arriving north of the city, that the army was spread over several hundreds of li, and that one could not see its rear. The generals agitatedly spoke to each other and said: 'Let us again ask General Liu to make a calculation on this [situation]. Kuang-wu anew made a computation [of the possibilities] for success and defeat. The generals were sad and oppressed and all said: 'Yes.' At that time there were only 8000 or 9000 men in the city. So Kuang-wu ordered the Supreme Duke Who Perfects the State, Wang Feng, and the Commandant of Justice and General-in-chief, Wang Ch'ang, to stay behind to defend [the city]. By night, he himself together with the General-in-chief of Agile Cavalry, Tsung Tiao, and the General of the Five Majestic [Principles]⁴⁾, Li Yi, and others, in all thirteen horsemen, went out through the southern gate of the city to collect soldiers outside. At this time, the army of [Wang] Mang which had arrived below the city numbered nearly 100,000 [men], and Kuang-wu almost did not succeed in getting out.

When he had come to Yen⁵⁾ and Ting-ling⁶⁾, he mobilized all the soldiers of the various encampments. But the generals were greedy and concerned about their property and wished separately to stay behind and defend it. Kuang-wu said: 'If we now crush the enemy, our valuables will be doubled ten thousand times, and great merit can be achieved. If we are defeated by them, our heads and necks will be lost. What property will we have [then]?' The troops then followed him.

Yen Yu tried to persuade Wang Yi and said: 'The city of K'un-yang is small but strong. Now he who has the false designation is in Wan⁷⁾. If we with speed advance the main body of troops, he will inevitably run away. When Wan is defeated, K'un-yang will

¹⁾ The K'un-yang prefecture during Han belonged to the Ying-ch'uan commandery and is identical with the present Ye hien, Ho-nan.

²⁾ The Wan prefecture during Han belonged to the Nan-yang commandery and is identical with the present Nan-yang hien, Ho-nan. At this time Wan was besieged by Kuang-wu's brother, Liu Po-sheng.

³⁾ 35. Hui Tung (1: 4 b) quotes Ts'ui Hao's († 450) Han shu yin yi according to which 候騎 is identical with 候邏騎, 'patrol riders'.

⁴⁾ The commentary says: 'Wang Mang established [the office of] the General of the Five Majestic [Principles]. His clothes were based on the colours of the Five Directions in order to awe the empire. In the beginning of the uprising, Li Yi still falsely used [this title] as his designation.'

⁵⁾ The Yen prefecture during Han belonged to the Ying-ch'uan commandery and was situated 5 li SW of the present Yen-ch'eng hien, Ho-nan.

⁶⁾ The Ting-ling prefecture during Han belonged to the Ying-ch'uan commandery and was situated 15 li N of the present Wu-yang hien, Ho-nan.

⁷⁾ This refers to the Keng-shi Emperor. However, Wan was still besieged, and therefore the emperor could not be in the city.

automatically submit.' [Wang] Yi said: 'Formerly, when I in the capacity of Tiger's Teeth General surrounded Chai Yi¹⁾, I was sentenced for not having obtained him alive and was therefore reprimanded. Now that I, commanding one million troops, come across a city and cannot bring it to fall — what will be said about that?'

Thereupon he surrounded it (i. e. K'un-yang) with several tens of rings and arranged more than a hundred encampments. The Cloud-chariots²⁾ were more than 10 chang high³⁾, and from them they gazed down into the city. Standards and pennons concealed the ground, fine dust extended to heaven, and the sound of gongs and drums was heard over several hundreds of li. Some made subterranean passages and war-chariots with rams⁴⁾ to make a breach in the city wall. They concentrated crossbows and shot at random. The arrows fell down like rain. In the city they carried doors on their backs when they drew water from the wells⁵⁾. Wang Feng and the others begged to capitulate. It was not allowed. [Wang] Sün and [Wang] Yi personally considered that victory was a matter of hours⁶⁾, and their spirits were highly at ease.

One night there was a meteor which fell down into an encampment. One day there was a cloud which looked like a mountain collapsing⁷⁾. It fell towards the encampment but when it was closer to the ground than one foot, it dissolved. The officers and soldiers were all depressed.

In the 6th month, on the day ki-mao (July 7, A. D. 23), Kuang-wu thereupon advanced together with the regiments and companies. He himself led more than a thousand foot-

¹⁾ The *commentary* says: 'Chai Yi's style was Wen-chung. He was the youngest son of [Chai] Fang-tsin and became Grand Administrator of the Tung commandery. When Wang Mang occupied the post of Regent, [Chai] Yi hated it. He then installed [Liu] Sin, the son of the king of Tung-p'ing, [Liu] Yün, as Son of Heaven. [Chai] Yi designated himself as General-in-chief Who is Pillar of Heaven in order to execute [Wang] Mang. [Wang] Mang then ordered Sun Kien, Wang Yi, and others to lead soldiers, fight [Chai] Yi and crush him. [Chai] Yi escaped and committed suicide. Therefore [Wang] Yi was sentenced for not having obtained him alive.'

²⁾ The *commentary* says: 'Cloud-chariots, that is an appellation of towered chariots. 'Clouds' means that they are high. One ascends them in order to look on the enemy from a distance.'

³⁾ 10 chang = 23.10 m (75 ft. 9.4 in.).

⁴⁾ Ch'ung p'eng 衝棚.

The *commentary* says: 'Ch'ung is a chariot with a pole. . . P'eng is a towered chariot.' Thus, the *commentary* does not regard ch'ung and p'eng as a binome. Only Ts'i t'ung records ch'ung-p'eng as a binome and quotes the present passage. Ts'i yüan records the similar binome ch'ung-kü 衝車. These are in fact exactly the characters used in the t'ien wen chi of the HHS (ch'i 10: 5 a) which has a short description of the same battle of K'un-yang. This indicates that ch'ung-p'eng here definitely has to be taken as a binome.

⁵⁾ Hui Tung has a strange speculation. He says: 'It means that they dug wells within the doors. Therefore it is stated: 'they turned their backs to the doors.' T'ung tien 158 writes: 'They carried light shields on their backs.' Cf. *T'ei kie*.

22. Chou Shou-ch'ang (1: 2 b) rejects Hui Tung's explanation and maintains that it is a question of the actual door-leaves. Chou Shou-ch'ang undoubtedly is right.

⁶⁾ Lit.: 'that merit was to be found within the intervals of the water-clock', i. e. victory would be gained within quarter-hours rather than days.

⁷⁾ The t'ien wen chi of the HHS (10: 5 a) says: 'A cloud which resembles a collapsing mountain is called a ying t'ou star. The prognostication is: Below the place where a ying t'ou falls down, one will defeat an army so that blood flows for one thousand li.'

Liu Chao's *commentary* quotes 14. Yüan Shan-sung's († 401) Houf Han shu which says: 'Ying t'ou is the name of a strange star which moves by day.'

soldiers and cavalrymen and formed the vanguard. When he was at a distance of 45 li from the main army [of the enemy], he drew up in battle formation. [Wang] Sün and [Wang] Yi also sent several thousands of soldiers to engage in battle. Kuang-wu put them to flight and cut off several tens of heads¹⁾. The various companies were glad and said: 'Normally, when General Liu sees small enemies, he gets nervous. Now he sees great enemies and is brave. How astonishing!' When he was about to advance again, [the soldiers] begged to assist the general. Kuang-wu advanced further. The soldiers of [Wang] Sün and [Wang] Yi retreated. The various companies all took advantage of it. They cut off from several hundreds to thousands of heads. They thereupon went forward, continuously winning.

At this time [Liu] Po-sheng had taken Wan already three days ago, but Kuang-wu still did not know it. Then, [on Kuang-wu's order] a false messenger²⁾ holding a letter, announced in the city [of K'un-yang] that Wan had fallen and that troops were arriving, and then he pretended to lose the letter. When [Wang] Sün and [Wang] Yi obtained it, they were not pleased.

Now that they already had gained one victory after another, the courage of the generals greatly increased, and there was not one who was not equal to one hundred. Then Kuang-wu together with 3000 dare-to-dies followed a river west of the city upwards and rushed against their central stronghold. The battle formation of [Wang] Sün and [Wang] Yi became disordered. [Kuang-wu] took advantage of the zeal [of his soldiers] and made it collapse. Thereupon they killed Wang Sün. In the city they also drummed and clamoured and sallied forth. [The troops from] inside and outside united their forces. A terrifying shouting shook heaven and earth. The soldiers of [Wang] Mang were greatly scattered. Those who hurried away trampled down each other. They fled and fell down over a distance of more than one hundred li.

After a while there was a great thunderstorm. The tiles of the houses all flew off. Rain came down like running water. The Ch'i River³⁾ overflowed profusely. The tigers and leopards all trembled in their haunches. The officers and soldiers struggled to hasten away. Those who died through drowning could be counted by tens of thousands, and because of that the water did not flow. Wang Yi, Yen Yu, Ch'en Mao, and light cavalrymen rode over dead men, crossed the river, and fled away, and the victors completely captured the stores and equipment of their army. The chariots, armour, and valuables were uncountable. To gather them, successive months were not sufficient. In some cases they burned the surplus.⁴⁾

The battle of K'un-yang took place four months after the Keng-shi Emperor had ascended the throne. There had been time enough to set up an administration, and this must already have begun to function. Therefore the archives of the new

¹⁾ The verbatim translation is: 'He cut off heads to several tens of degrees.' The commentary says: 'According to the Ts'in law, if somebody cut off one head, he was bestowed one degree of feudal rank. Therefore one consequently called decapitated heads degrees.'

²⁾ TTK 1: 3 b says: '[Kuang-wu] thereupon ordered a light soldier to take a letter and give it to the generals in the city.'

³⁾ The Ch'i River rose W of the present Lu-shan hien, Ho-nan, went southeastwards and passed the city of K'un-yang, turned northeastwards, and flowed into the Ju River. Cf. commentary and *Tsi kie*.

⁴⁾ Li Ki-fu (758—814) has stated: 'The Shao-kü River is situated 24 li S of the present Ye prefecture in Hü chou. When Kuang-wu had crushed Wang Sün, he burned his military equipment on the bank of this river. Hence the name.' Cf. *Tsi kie*.

emperor presumably contained primary sources concerning the battle. Also, when Wang Mang sent his army against the rebels, his power was not yet seriously shaken. His administration still functioned, and his archives must have contained material concerning the battle itself. Even if not all of these sources were preserved, still at least some of them should have found their way into the archives of the Later Han dynasty at Lo-yang and were thus available to the historian. This material has been compiled into the Later Han histories, obtaining its final form in the HHS, but it also has been used for the biography of Wang Mang in the HS.

In our attempt to analyze what really did happen, we should first of all eliminate from the account all passages which represent a technique of writing, but do not provide facts and therefore are of no historical value. Formalizations occur frequently:

»Banners, standards, and military equipment were not interrupted for a thousand li.»

»Since the abundance of military operations during Ts'in and Han, there never yet had been [a thing like this].»

»Standards and pennons concealed the ground, fine dust extended to heaven, and the sound of gongs and drums was heard over several hundreds of li.»

»The arrows fell down like rain. In the city they carried doors on their backs when they drew water from the wells.»

». . . there was not one who was not equal to one hundred.»

»A terrifying shouting shook heaven and earth.»

»They fled and fell down over a distance of more than one hundred li.»

»The tiles of the houses all flew off. Rain came down like running water.»

»The tigers and leopards all trembled in their haunches.»

»Those who died through drowning were to be counted by tens of thousands, and because of that the water did not flow.»

»The chariots, armour, and valuables were uncountable.»

The account also contains a great number of speeches. Hardly any of them could have been directly recorded. Therefore it seems evident that they were invented by the historian. He did so mainly in order to let the various persons state the motives for their actions, and the speeches are such as he thought might have been given. A comparison of the different texts provides the final proof. Thus, the TKK which constitutes the earliest account has no direct speeches at all, except the remark of the soldiers about Kuang-wu's courage. This remark is copied practically verbatim in the HHS.¹⁾ The account which comes next chronologically, is found in the HS (99 C: 21 b—22 b). There, the biography of Wang Mang records three speeches: Yen Yu's advice to Wang Yi, Wang Yi's answer, and a further advice of Yen Yu not mentioned in the HHS. Of these speeches the first one is close to the version given in the HHS.²⁾ Wang Yi's answer, however, is quite different. It is interesting to place both versions side by side:

¹⁾ TKK 1: 3 b. Cf. *supra* p. 77.

²⁾ HS 99 C: 22 a. Cf. *supra* pp. 75—76.

»An army of one million ought to exterminate whatever it passes. Now we butcher this city. We advance through flowing blood. The van sings and the rear dances. Should one regard this as unsatisfactory?»

»Formerly, when I in the capacity of Tiger's Teeth General surrounded Chai Yi, I was sentenced for not having obtained him alive and was therefore reprimanded. Now that I command one million troops, come across a city and cannot bring it to fall — what will be said about that?»

There is, in fact, not the slightest resemblance between these speeches. The reason is that Pan Ku invented one speech while another was adopted by Fan Ye.

Having eliminated the formalizations and speeches as unreliable, there remains an account of the deployment of the armies and a vivid and dramatic description of the siege and the battle. How reliable is this account?

No doubt the description contains authentic elements. The date of the battle, July 7, A. D. 23, proves in itself that primary sources of some kind must have existed. However, apart from a few main facts, the account is much too vivid not to have been improved by the historian. The description is highly dramatic and therefore highly unreliable. Take for instance the army figures. The reliability of such figures depends largely on when a battle has occurred. If a dynasty stands at its height, if the administration functions irreproachably and the country is peaceful, then the figures given for instance for an expedition against the Hiung-nu might be quite reliable. The archives in such a case were filled with documents telling about the preparations for the campaign and the provisions required for soldiers and horses. The historian could use this material and give a dry and accurate account. It is quite otherwise with the battle of K'un-yang. This is not just one of the many battles of a disturbed time, it is THE BATTLE of the civil war. The crushing defeat of Wang Mang's army sealed his and his dynasty's fate and founded the fame of Kuang-wu. It is one of the greatest events of Kuang-wu's career. Is it then surprising that the historian warms to his subject? In the same way as a Livy, he makes the victory even greater by attributing to the enemy more troops than he actually had. He states in the HHS that Wang Mang sent an army of 1 million men, that the armoured soldiers among them were 420,000, and that the troops surrounding K'un-yang were nearly 100,000. The HHK records that Wang Mang sent Wang Sün and Wang Yi to command 400,000 soldiers »styled as a crowd of 1 million» (1: 9 a). It also states that the troops besieging K'un-yang were nearly 100,000 men. The HS says that Wang Mang ordered the mobilisation of 1 million soldiers and that the troops assembling in Lo-yang numbered more than 420,000 (99 C: 21 b). Thus, all histories agree that Wang Mang's army consisted of at least 400,000 soldiers, and both the HHK and HHS state unanimously that K'un-yang was besieged by roughly 100,000 men. Fortunately for us, the TTK, giving the oldest extant account, has quite another figure. It says that the enemy

troops at K'un-yang were 50,000 to 60,000 men (1: 3 a). Thus it becomes apparent that the later histories have doubled the number of enemies. Of course, we have no way of knowing whether the figure of the TKK is correct either. But it is certain that the troops were not more than 60,000 men, and were probably even less.

The description of the siege itself is so vivid that the reader can actually visualize it. The reason again is that the historian roams into the sphere of phantasy. But the account was not necessarily the product of his unaided imagination. J. J. L. Duyvendak has admirably shown that the description of a certain battle in the HS was inspired by a painting.¹⁾ The same may be true of the battle of K'un-yang. Being the greatest event of the civil war, later it almost certainly became the subject of paintings. The HHS tells (22,52: 13 b) how in the time of Emperor Ming (58—75) the portraits of 28 of Emperor Kuang-wu's famous generals were painted and placed on the Cloud Terrace of the Southern Palace. If the famous generals were painted, it seems reasonable to suppose that the famous battles were also painted. Even if a painting of this type might to some extent have been based on records, it also, probably to a greater degree, must have been the result of the imagination of the artist. Of course, it is also possible that the historian, not a military man himself, in his imaginative description of the famous battle was influenced by the only battles he had seen, battles in painting.

The final defeat of Wang Mang's army is also coloured to the advantage of Kuang-wu. According to the HHS, Kuang-wu led the vanguard and conquered the troops which had been sent against him. He then attacked the enemy center and scattered his battle formation. Wang Sün was killed, the garrison of K'un-yang made a sally, and Wang Mang's soldiers turned in full flight. However, this description omits certain essential factors, which can be shown by comparison with the account of the HS (99 C: 22 a—22 b). It turns out that Wang Sün and Wang Yi misjudged the power of the attack launched against them. They did not want to raise the siege of K'un-yang and therefore ordered the main bulk of their army to stand by and not to move without authority. However, the troops detached to stop Kuang-wu's advance were defeated. Kuang-wu realized the tactical mistake of the enemy. He immediately took advantage of the situation and attacked the besieging troops from the rear. When the garrison of K'un-yang made the sally, the enemy troops found themselves attacked from both sides, were seized by panic, and fled in disorder. Thus, by suppressing the tactical mistake of the enemy, the HHS attributes the victory entirely to the courage and zeal of Kuang-wu and his soldiers.

It is finally by no means sure that Kuang-wu himself was the chief commander of the campaign. Wang Feng, being Supreme Duke Who Perfects the State, and Wang Ch'ang, being General-in-chief, had a higher rank than he. If the text states that Kuang-wu «ordered» them to stay behind and protect K'un-yang (1 A : 5 b), this can only be because the HHS tries to place him in the foreground. The facts

¹⁾ 75. Duyvendak.

seem to indicate that Kuang-wu was a subordinate general who took orders from others, but this apparently does not lessen his achievement in having decided the outcome of the battle.

Consequently, the description of the battle of K'un-yang contains some authentic as well as many unauthentic elements. The authentic elements are affected and distorted by additions and omissions. The historian is biased because he regards Wang Mang as an outlaw while Kuang-wu was going to obtain the mandate of Heaven. Therefore he colours the account to support the fall of the former and the rise of the latter.

The historical facts which can be deduced are few but sufficient. It is evident that the Han troops were outnumbered at Yang-kuan and therefore retreated to K'un-yang. Kuang-wu later personally left the city. K'un-yang was besieged, and the situation became serious. On July 7, A. D. 23, the garrisons of Yen and Ting-ling made an attempt to break the siege. Because of a tactical mistake, realized by Kuang-wu, the enemy was defeated. This defeat was disastrous for Wang Mang, militarily as well as politically.

Thus, by analyzing the account, it has proved possible to discard the unreliable material and to reconstruct at least the principal outline of the actual events.

* * *

Let us sum up the main results of this investigation:

1. The HHS is not partial to the gentry, nor to the imperial clan as such. It is a history of important individuals, because the authors consciously or unconsciously regarded history as the result of the actions of individuals.
2. The historian is prejudiced against those who through their actions placed themselves outside what were considered to be orderly relations, and thus opposed the mandate of Heaven.
3. Stylization does not distort facts and implies no bias.
4. Whenever possible, the historian uses primary sources, often without indicating when he gives quotations.
5. The historian does not hesitate to «improve» his sources, e. g. in the rimes.
6. The HHS contains a considerable amount of secondary material:
 - a) Except for speeches of the emperor or such delivered in his presence, a great part of the remaining speeches are more or less free inventions of the historian himself.
 - b) Anecdotes.
 - c) Vivid and dramatic accounts, except those concerning the emperor, are mostly of little historical value.
7. Formalization, an exaggeration and standardization, is part of the technique of historical writing; the formulas should not be taken in a literal sense.

THE RESTORATION OF THE HAN DYNASTY

The history of the restoration of Han is at the same time and to a considerable extent a history of the fall of Wang Mang. With Wang Mang's death his dynasty crumbled to dust, and the Liu clan, the imperial family of Former Han, could claim that the »usurper« was punished and that the »legitimate« clan was back in power. It was to take another thirteen years before all of China was de facto united under the Later Han dynasty. Yet, the overthrow of Wang Mang was the crucial step. The civil war went on, but, after the first few years of fighting, the outcome was no longer in question.

Hence, the fact that the Han dynasty was restored raises two important problems:

1. Why did Wang Mang fall and thereby give room for another dynasty?
2. Why was this other dynasty the same as that which had ruled during the Former Han?

The first of these questions is by far the most difficult to answer, and will require a lengthy analysis. In order to recall the background, it may therefore not be superfluous first to recapitulate Wang Mang's rise to power, and briefly to describe his policy as emperor.

Wang Mang was born in 45 B. C., and was related to the imperial clan through his paternal aunt, Wang Cheng-kün, empress of Emperor Yüan (48—33) and mother of Emperor Ch'eng (32—7). Through her influence in 8 B. C. he was appointed Commander-in-chief after having bided his chance for a long time. Unfortunately for him, Emperor Ch'eng, his cousin, died in the following year. Wang Mang was forced to withdraw from political life and held no office during the major part of the rule of Emperor Ai (6—1 B. C.) However, in 2 B. C. he was recalled, and after the death of the emperor on Aug. 15, 1 B. C., all power was again safely concentrated in his hands. Emperor P'ing (A. D. 1—6), chosen by Wang Mang to succeed Emperor Ai, was but a boy and died as a youth (Febr. 3, A. D. 6). Thereupon Liu Ying,¹⁾ a baby, was appointed his successor but not formally declared emperor. Three years later, on Jan. 10, A. D. 9, Wang Mang took the final step, ascended the throne himself and founded the Sin dynasty. All former Han kings were degraded to become dukes, and in the following year the Han nobles were dismissed entirely.

When in power, Wang Mang enforced several drastic policies. He nationalized all gold and ordered repeated currency reforms which consisted not only in the introduction of new denominations but also in a depreciation of coinage. The abolished denominations were to be exchanged for the new ones at an unfavourable compulsory rate, signifying a heavy loss for all money-holders.

Furthermore, Wang Mang nationalized all land and prohibited its buying and selling. He limited the amount of land which could be owned by one and the same family and ordered that excess land should be distributed among those who had

¹⁾ Also known as Ju tsi, »The Young Prince«.

too little. Also, he tried to introduce the well-field (tsing) system which for a long time had been advocated by the confucianists.

Private owning of slaves was forbidden and the designation of the former slaves was changed to »private adherents» who neither could be bought nor sold.

State monopolies were introduced on salt, iron, fermented liquors, coinage, and the products of mountains and marshes.

An income tax was imposed on hunters, fishermen, sericulturists, artisans, and professional men, amounting to 1/11 of their yearly income.¹⁾

In order to stabilize the market of certain essential commodities, such as especially grain and cloth, Wang Mang founded the so called Five Equalizations. Storehouses were built in Ch'ang-an, the capital, and in 5 important cities of the empire, Lo-yang,²⁾ Han-tan,³⁾ Lin-tsi,⁴⁾ Wan,⁵⁾ and Ch'eng-tu.⁶⁾ The masters of these storehouses were ordered to buy goods when prices were low and to sell goods when prices became high. In this way, prices should be kept from fluctuating. Also, loans should be made to needy persons.

Finally, Wang Mang amplified an earlier system, according to which the salaries of the officials were not stable but calculated in proportion to the state of the harvest in the empire.

These policies have been the source of endless discussions among scholars, and little agreement has been reached. The questions which have been asked are mainly the following: What were the real intentions of Wang Mang and what were the consequences of his reforms? Was he a revolutionist, a socialist, an idealistic dreamer, or a clever intriguer without any real views at all?

Many years ago, Hu Shī offered a very favourable opinion. He described Wang Mang as a socialist emperor, a man of visionary and selfless intentions who failed because he was ahead of his time.⁷⁾ The opposite viewpoint is advanced by H. H. Dubs in his stimulating article about Wang Mang's economic reforms. He says: »My own study of the documents, however, has convinced me that Wang Mang really cared little or nothing for the interests of the people.»⁸⁾ »I began my study with a decided prejudice against Pan Ku⁹⁾ in favor of Wang Mang, but the weight of the primary sources quoted by Pan Ku and facts he recounts forced me to

¹⁾ Cf. 74. Dubs, p. 256.

²⁾ The Lo-yang of Han times was situated 20 li NE of the present hien with the same name, Ho-nan.

³⁾ Cf. supra p. 69, note 1.

⁴⁾ The Lin-tsi prefecture during Han belonged to the Ts'i commandery and was situated 8 li N of the present hien with the same name, Shan-tung.

⁵⁾ Cf. supra p. 75, note 2.

⁶⁾ The Ch'eng-tu prefecture during Han belonged to the Shu commandery and is identical with the present hien with the same name, Si-ch'uan.

⁷⁾ 79. Hu Shī, pp. 218 ff.

⁸⁾ 74. Dubs, p. 219.

⁹⁾ The author of the HS (32—92) who devoted the biographies 99 A—C to the description of Wang Mang's life.

reverse my opinion.»¹⁾ »Wang Mang was in no sense a revolutionist. He was merely a clever intriguer, . . .»²⁾ Sargent follows a middle course and believes that the truth might be somewhere between the extremes mentioned above. He maintains that Wang Mang was a product of the conditions which prevailed towards the end of Former Han times. The emperors increasingly lost prestige. The court was corrupt and influenced by cliques of rival clans. The administration was inactive. Large fortunes were collected in few hands, and the nobility lived in unrestricted extravagance. »It was inevitable that out of these conditions there should arise someone who, either with the selfish and unquenchable thirst of an ambitious opportunist or with a fundamental concern for the welfare of the empire regardless of the dynasty, would challenge the ineffective and abused authority of the throne. This man happened to be Wang Mang.»³⁾ »During his career he fearlessly and frequently pushed his ideas, embittering everyone and rapidly stimulating growth of the opposition which constantly impeded his success and eventually brought about his ruin (spaced by me).»⁴⁾

Hu Shī, Dubs, and Sargent exemplify, so to speak, the three standard opinions about Wang Mang: the positive, the negative, and the middle course. It therefore seems unnecessary here to repeat the views of other scholars as they all belong to one or other of these categories. However, the majority of them has arrived at a negative opinion.

Unfortunately, the available material about Wang Mang is quite scarce. It consists mainly of his biography in HS, k'üan 99 A—C. To make things even worse, this biography does not concern him alone but also incorporates data about his chief adherents. In this way much is crowded into the biography which certainly is interesting in itself but on the other hand is of minor or no importance for the understanding of Wang Mang's personality and policies. Thus, Pan Ku records his reforms, yet he hardly mentions anything at all about their background nor how they were received by the officials and people. If, for instance, he states that the common people cried on the market places and highways (HS 99 B: 9 a), this really implies nothing. It merely is a formalization, not the description of a historical fact.⁵⁾

As Wang Mang was a highly interesting and much discussed figure, this shortage of material is most unfortunate. Many scholars have been attracted by his meteor-like career and by his short but fascinating share in Chinese history. Yet, the mere fact that the opinions of scholars differ so widely seems to me quite significant. It seems to prove the impossibility, on the basis of Pan Ku's laconic enumeration of Wang Mang's reforms, to arrive at any safe conclusions whatsoever

¹⁾ 74. Dubs, p. 222.

²⁾ Ibid., p. 261.

³⁾ 85. Sargent, p. 29.

⁴⁾ Ibid., p. 26.

⁵⁾ Cf. supra pp. 97 ff.

regarding the main purpose behind them, and, what is more, their consequences. Hence, the discussion could go on indefinitely as to whether Wang Mang was an idealist or a realist, a dreamer or a self-concerned intriguer.

In a way it even seems to me of little value to trace the main incentive behind Wang Mang's activities. It would appear more sensible simply to accept the fact that Wang Mang decided on certain enactments and to concentrate on an attempt to establish their consequences. Actually, in his above-mentioned article, Dubs has already tried to deduce the consequences of these various reforms. The results are briefly as follows:

The changes of coinage forced money-holders into counterfeiting. Wang Mang countered this by condemning the guilty persons to execution or exile, later lightened to enslavement. The farmers were hardly severely affected by the depreciation of coins. »Probably the farmers used very little money. They stored their grain and used it themselves or sold small amounts in order to purchase articles in the markets. The farmers who possessed money were probably only those who accumulated surplus wealth. The poorer people affected by Wang Mang's changes in coinage were chiefly those who were in debt. Interest rates were quite high. We have no way of knowing how many farmers were involved in debt, but there were probably not many, for we hear nothing of farm debts. Since merchants were prohibited from owning cultivated fields, they would hardly lend money on farm land, since they could not foreclose such a mortgage.»¹⁾ »Merchants and wealthy persons were the ones who felt the depreciations of the coinage, for they possessed most of the money not in the hand of the government.»²⁾

The nationalization of gold »probably succeeded in mulcting the wealthy, especially the nobility, who were the only persons likely to have possessed much gold.»³⁾

Through the nationalization of all land, this »ceased to have any market-value and wealthy land-owners were compelled to get rid of all but a small part of their land.»⁴⁾ »The limitation of the amount of cultivated land that could be owned by a single family was plainly an attempt to distribute the land more widely among the people. It only affected large land-owners» and was »a benefit to the poor farmers. It prevented them from losing their land in time of drought.»⁵⁾ As the nobles had to distribute their surplus land to relatives and neighbours, this could force them to leave the capital and »civilisation» and withdraw to live on their distant remaining estates.

»In the abolition of slavery and the restriction of land holdings, Wang Mang undoubtedly hit upon a measure that would have benefited society, but these

¹⁾ 74. Dubs, pp. 239—240.

²⁾ Ibid., p. 241.

³⁾ Ibid., p. 237.

⁴⁾ Ibid., p. 245.

⁵⁾ Ibid., p. 249.

reforms were all rescinded within two years... If that had not been done, rebellion would have come sooner (spaced by me).¹⁾

As regards the monopolies on salt, iron, fermented liquors, coinage, and products of mountains and marshes, »only the monopoly in liquors was really new in the time of Wang Mang. Its effect was to take away the livelihood of these merchants who had engaged in brewing and liquor dealing, and, probably, to raise the price of liquor for the common people.» The effect of the monopoly on products of mountains and marshes »was to deprive of their livelihood the country's poor, who had engaged in hunting and such occupations, and to compel them to pay for the privilege of continuing their occupations. It constituted an additional tax upon the poor.»²⁾

The economic effect of the Five Equalizations was probably slight. »If the price for equalization was set too high, the storehouses would be filled with goods unsalable at the current price. Hence the Masters, in order to protect their offices from losing money, probably set their prices for equalization low, with the result that they refused to take goods from the common people, because the current price was too high. Then farmers would not bring their goods to the storehouses except under stress of necessity. We are told that the storehouses remained empty. When a scarcity was impending, the grain remaining in these storehouses was probably sold rapidly, before famine actually arrived, for goods had to be sold as soon as prices advanced above the price for equalization. In times of abundant harvest, because prices were set every quarter, the price for equalization decreased seasonally before the harvest, as grain was expected to become more plentiful. Thus the farmers were not helped, unless there was a sudden and unexpected fall in prices, such as that caused by a glut on the market... The economic effect of these storehouses was thus slight. The Masters were former merchants, who sympathized with other merchants and treated the farmers just as other merchants did.» As regards the loans, probably few were made because the rate of interest was too high.³⁾

Wang Mang's regulations for the salaries of the officials »proved cumbersome, for officials did not know what their salary was to be until the year was almost over.»⁴⁾ Moreover »all officials were required to make regular additional contributions out of their salaries... It is not surprising that when serious rebellion finally arose against Wang Mang, the bureaucracy did little to stop it.»⁵⁾

Dubs concludes that Wang Mang »seems to have antagonized all classes in turn (spaced by me).»⁵⁾

¹⁾ Ibid., p. 247.

²⁾ 74. Dubs, p. 255.

³⁾ 74. Dubs, p. 261.

⁴⁾ Ibid., p. 256.

⁵⁾ Ibid., p. 257.

The study of Professor H. H. Dubs is the most thorough and detailed which so far has been undertaken.¹⁾ However, brilliant as it is, the results represent a viewpoint rather than established facts. Again, the brief statements of the HS constitute the starting-point, but on the basis of these terse facts we cannot reach any definite answers. We fumble in darkness and can only guess what probably or perchance might have happened. Thus, Dubs points at possible consequences of the reforms while at the same time other consequences also might be conceivable. To mention only one example, Fan Wen-lan believes that Wang Mang never was able categorically to carry through his reforms,²⁾ which would imply that there were no serious consequences at all. In this way, the discussion could go on for ever, becoming more and more sterile.

Is there then no way at all of tackling the problem? I think there is. Instead of asking why Wang Mang decided on certain reforms, or which consequences this or that reform might have had, we should turn the question backwards: Why did Wang Mang fall, i.e. why did people rebel? We should on the basis of the abundant material in the HHS try to establish the reasons for the final rebellion. The general belief has been that Wang Mang's reforms brought about his own downfall. If then the reasons for the rebellion are found to be the direct consequences of Wang Mang's policies, this would prove that he was responsible for the disastrous end of his own dynasty. It would retroactively indicate that the reforms themselves were either unpractical and foolish or that the way in which they were enforced was unwise. On the other hand, if Wang Mang's fall was not a consequence of his activities, we would be forced to revise our opinions about him. In this way we will at last find a platform from which to judge one of the most interesting figures of Chinese history.

Thus, the present study will try to answer two connected questions: why Wang Mang fell and why the Han dynasty was restored. At the same time, the reasons we discover for the rebellion will throw light backwards on Wang Mang himself and on his reforms.

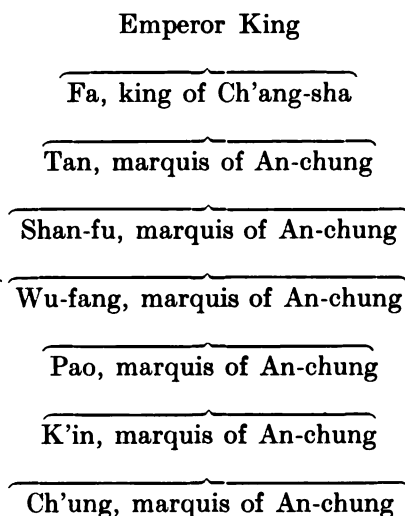
The final rebellion was only the last in a series of revolts or attempted revolts which were all subdued. It will be necessary first to describe these earlier revolts as they constitute an important component of the whole picture.

When after the death of Emperor P'ing, Liu Ying on April 17, A. D. 6, was appointed successor to the throne, it became obvious to all intelligent people in the empire that Wang Mang intended to stay in power. In A. D. 6, there lived 5 kings and no less than 48 marquises who all were descendants of Emperor S'uan (73—49). Among them it would have been easy to find a suitable emperor (HS 99 A:

¹⁾ The earlier Chinese historians never interpreted their facts, and it is therefore no use to look to them for the solution of our problem.

²⁾ 25. Fan, p. 122.

25 a). Nevertheless Wang Mang appointed a baby. Having thus revealed his real intentions, it only took a short time before the first rebellion attempted to nip his aspirations in the bud. The leader of this revolt was the marquis of An-chung¹), Liu Ch'ung, a member of the imperial clan. His genealogy is given in HS 15 A: 34 b:



Thus, Liu Ch'ung was a descendant of Emperor King (156—141), yet his affiliation with the ruling branch of the imperial clan was distant. He was only one of many marquises, and under normal conditions he never could have had any claims to the throne.

Liu Ch'ung made plans together with his Chancellor Chang Shao. He obtained a following of some hundred men and attacked the city of Wan. This was one of the big cities of Han times, the capital of the Nan-yang commandery, and later the seat of one of the storehouses of the Five Equalizations. Liu Ch'ung must have expected that people all over the empire would follow his example. Nothing of the sort happened. The city of Wan defended itself easily, and Liu Ch'ung was defeated. In fact, relatives of Liu Ch'ung and Chang Shao rushed to the palace in the capital in order to prove their devotion to Wang Mang. Officials and people of the Nan-yang commandery who had distinguished themselves were rewarded. Liu Ch'ung's residence was levelled to the ground. (HS 99 A: 27 a—29 b).

Subsequently some minor rebellions occurred. They must have been very unimportant because the only reference to them is in a memorial of A D. 10 (HS 99 B: 13 b). It mentions that Liu Ts'eng, Liu Kuei, and others had plotted to rebel. Liu Ts'eng was a great-grandson of Emperor S'üan and marquis of the Ling district²):

¹) The An-chung prefecture during Han belonged to the Nan-yang commandery and was situated SE of the present Chen-p'ing hien, Ho-nan.

²) The emplacement of this district is not known.

Emperor Süan
 ———
 Ao, king of Ch'u
 ———
 Yen, king of Ch'u
 ———
 Ts'eng, marquis of Ling (HS 14: 22 b; 15 B: 50 b)

He consequently was a reasonably close relative of the ruling branch of the Liu clan. Liu Kuei was marquis of Fu-en¹⁾, but his relation to the imperial family is unknown. Both Liu Ts'eng and Liu Kuei were in all probability executed.

The most serious of the earlier rebellions occurred in A. D. 7. The leader was Chai Yi, youngest son of the former Lieutenant Chancellor Chai Fang-tsin. Chai Yi had passed through several offices and finally become Grand Administrator of the Tung commandery. When, after the death of Emperor P'ing, Wang Mang acted as regent, Chai Yi began to plot together with Ch'en Feng, the son of his elder sister. They obtained the assistance of Liu Yü, the Chief Commandant of the Tung commandery, and also the support of two other members of the imperial clan, Liu Sin and Liu Huang. The latter were brothers and great-grandsons of Emperor Süan:

Emperor Süan
 ———
 Yü, king of Tung-p'ing
 ———
 Yün, king of Tung-p'ing
 ———
 Sin Huang (HS 15 B: 50 a—50 b)

In October of A. D. 7, Chai Yi held his annual review with the troops of his commandery, and using this opportunity he proclaimed Liu Sin as Son of Heaven. He himself became Commander-in-chief and General-in-chief Who is Pillar of Heaven. Wang Su-lung who had been Tutor of the king of Tung-p'ing was appointed Lieutenant Chancellor, and the former Palace Commandant of Tung-p'ing, Kao Tan, became Grandee Secretary. Thus, the pretender was in control of the Tung commandery and the Tung-p'ing kingdom. He had appointed his own high officials. Now everything depended on whether he could obtain a wider support. Consequently, a call-to-arms was sent to the various commanderies and kingdoms, accusing Wang Mang of having poisoned Emperor P'ing and of having intentions of overthrowing the Han dynasty. This is the very first time that the extant sources mention any accusation against Wang Mang of having murdered Emperor P'ing.

¹⁾ In Han times there was no prefecture with this name. Fu-en seems therefore to have been a district. The emplacement is not known.

However, Chai Yi and his new emperor found little support. Only in the Yu-fu-feng commandery there was some response. Two men from the Huai-li prefecture¹⁾, Chao Ming and Ho Hung, raised troops and put themselves in control of an area extending from the Mao-ling prefecture²⁾ westwards to the K'ien prefecture³⁾. They thus dominated the greater part of the Yu-fu-feng commandery. This secondary rebellion constituted a certain amount of danger to Wang Mang as it occurred close to the capital (cf. map 2).

Wang Mang by no means treated the situation lightly. He appointed several generals and ordered Wu Jang to guard the Han⁴⁾-ku pass, Lu Ping to guard the Wu pass, and the famous Liu Hin, son of Liu Hiang, to protect the city of Wan. In this way he sealed the main entrances to the area within the passes and the capital, and also prevented the rebellion from spreading southwards into the rich commandery of Nan-yang. Furthermore, he ordered Chen Han to station troops in the Pa-shang area east of the capital, Wang Yün to station troops in the Shang-lin park west of the capital, and Wang Yen to station troops directly north of the capital. Thus, Ch'ang-an was safely protected, in the east, north, and west by troops, and in the south by mountains. Within Ch'ang-an itself, troops patrolled night and day. Wang Mang also issued a proclamation to the empire declaring that he was nothing but a regent and that he intended to return the government to the Young Prince, i. e. Liu Ying, as soon as he had grown up.

In the meantime, an expeditionary force under the command of Wang Yi, Sun Kien, and other generals marched against the Tung commandery. A battle took place at the Tsai prefecture⁵⁾ which proved to be fatal for the pretender and his troops. The defeat was disastrous, and Liu Huang, the younger brother of Liu Sin, was killed. The pretender and Chai Yi fled to the Yü prefecture.⁶⁾ Again they were defeated and escaped to Ku-shi⁷⁾. There, Chai Yi either committed suicide or died fighting. His corpse was later exposed in the capital. Liu Sin was able to escape once more and to disappear for good. Nothing is known about his later fate. The greater part of Chai Yi's and Liu Sin's followers capitulated. However, the HHS (45, 75: 10 b) mentions a certain Wang Weng who refused to surrender

¹⁾ The Huai-li prefecture during Han belonged to the Yu-fu-feng commandery and was situated 10 li SE of the present Hing-p'ing hien, Shen-si.

²⁾ The Mao-ling prefecture during Han belonged to the Yu-fu-feng commandery and was situated NE of the present Hing-p'ing hien, Shen-si.

³⁾ The K'ien prefecture during Han belonged to the Yu-fu-feng commandery and was situated S of the present Lung hien, Shen-si.

⁴⁾ Another reading is hien. I follow 67. Bodde and 72. Dubs.

⁵⁾ The Tsai prefecture during Former Han belonged to the Liang kingdom and was situated SE of the present K'ao-ch'eng hien, Ho-nan.

⁶⁾ The Yü prefecture during Former Han belonged to the Huai-yang kingdom and was situated 50 li SW of the present K'i hien, Ho-nan.

⁷⁾ The Ku-shi prefecture during Former Han belonged to the Huai-yang kingdom and was situated NE of the present Huai-yang hien, Ho-nan.

and kept on fighting. Supposedly he later was burned alive by order of Wang Mang. The whole rebellion lasted no longer than about 3 months. After the return of the victorious army, the rebels of the Yu-fu-feng commandery were defeated within one month, and the empire again was pacified. (HS 84: 10 a—21 a; 99 A: 30 a—31 a).

After Chai Yi had failed, only minor attempts were made to overthrow Wang Mang, none of them successful. In January of A. D. 9, Chang Ch'ung, a Gentleman Attendant at the Gate, plotted together with 5 other persons. They wanted to set up a great-grandson of Emperor Sūan, but their intention became known and all were executed (HS 99 A: 35 a).

In April or May of the same year a new rebellion occurred. The marquis of Sū-hiang¹⁾, Liu K'uai, raised troops in his state. He was a descendant of Emperor King and a younger brother of Liu Yin, the last of the kings of Kiao-tung²⁾:

Emperor King	
<u>Ki, king of Kiao-tung</u>	
<u>Hien, king of Kiao-tung</u>	
<u>T'ung-p'ing, king of Kiao-tung</u>	
<u>Yin, king of Kiao-tung</u>	
<u>Shou, king of Kiao-tung</u>	
<u>Yin, king of Kiao-tung</u>	<u>K'uai, marquis of Sū-hiang</u>

(HS 14: 18 a; 15 B: 46 b)³⁾.

This very year Liu Yin, together with all the other kings of the Liu clan, had been degraded to duke. He continued to live in the Tsi-mo prefecture⁴⁾, the capital of his former kingdom. Liu K'uai marched against Tsi-mo, in all probability expecting the support of his brother. Instead, Liu Yin closed the gates and surrendered himself to the officials of the city. Liu K'uai was defeated, fled to Ch'ang-kuang⁵⁾ and died. Wang Mang executed his wife and children but pardoned the rest of his relatives (HS 99 B: 7 b—8 a).

¹⁾ The Sū-hiang prefecture during Former Han belonged to the Tung-lai commandery and was abolished under Later Han. It was situated 50 li SW of the present Huang hien, Shan-tung.

²⁾ A small kingdom in Shan-tung.

³⁾ Here the name is written Kuei instead of K'uai which probably is a mistake.

⁴⁾ Situated SE of the present P'ing-tu hien, Shan-tung.

⁵⁾ Identical with the present Lai-yang hien, Shan-tung.

Still another attempt was made in A. D. 9 to overthrow Wang Mang. Liu Tu and others in the former kingdom of Chen-ting¹⁾ formed a plot but were promptly executed even before they went into action (HS 99 B: 12 b).

This was the last open insurrection, because an event in A. D. 10 can hardly be classified as a rebellion. In the end of that year, Sun Kien memorialized that according to a report from Turkestan two officers, Ch'en Liang and Chung Tai, had killed their colonel, Tiao Hu. They had called themselves Generals-in-chief of Han and fled to the Hiung-nu. Their fate was horrible, because in A. D. 14 they were surrendered to the Chinese by the Hiung-nu and burned in public (HS 99 B: 13 a, 25 b).

Discounting the last event, from A. D. 6 to 9 at least 6 moves were made against Wang Mang,²⁾ and in at least 3 of these cases it came to open action. In practically all these insurrections, members of the Liu clan were actively involved. It therefore seems unfair to blame the Liu family for lack of strength and apathy as sometimes has been done.³⁾ Yet, the fact remains that all the rebellions were easily put down. Only the revolt in the Tung commandery caused Wang Mang some anxiety and lasted for a while. Hence, we will later on have to consider why all these earlier attempts were failures, and why, on the other hand, the rebellion of the Liu brothers in the Nan-yang commandery succeeded.

* * *

Towards the very end of Former Han times, a census was taken in the year A. D. 2. The population was found to be close upon 58 million inhabitants, unevenly distributed over China.⁴⁾ The greatest concentration of people was on the Great Plain, especially south of the Yellow River. Other areas with dense population were the Wei valley in Shen-si and the fertile plain around the Min River in Si-ch'uan.⁵⁾ If Northern China is taken to comprise the region north of a line drawn from Ts'in-ling-shan via Huai-shan to the Yang-tsī estuary, this area in A. D. 2 contained no less than ca. 43 million of the total population. This clearly shows how at that time the vast majority lived in the north while the rest of China, with the exception of Si-ch'uan, was very thinly populated. The region south of the Yang-tsī was still colonial land situated outside China proper, a fact which was changed only through the great internal migration from the north to the south during Later Han. Actually, until conditions had been affected by this migration, the term «the southern area» (nan fang) did not refer to southern China at all but

¹⁾ Situated in Ho-pei.

²⁾ We are not told whether Liu Ts'eng and Liu Kuei (cf. supra pp. 88—89) rebelled together or separately.

³⁾ Cf. for instance 77. Franke, I, p. 383.

⁴⁾ Cf. 64. Bielenstein, plate II.

⁵⁾ In order to simplify the description I use here and infra the modern names of provinces.

only to the region directly north of the Yang-tsi, especially to the area of present Hu-pei.¹⁾

Within northern China, the Wei River valley for a long time had been a region of the greatest importance. Here, Ch'ang-an, the capital, was situated, and therefore the emperors devoted much attention to the agricultural development of the surrounding area. A number of canals were constructed for irrigation purposes, guaranteeing an adequate supply of water to the capital region. As in this way the danger of droughts was eliminated, the capital henceforth could count on a constant production of grain. Thus, Kuan-chung, the Land Within the Passes, with its point of gravity at the Wei River, came to dominate the economic picture during the greater part of Former Han and has therefore justly been called the Key Economic Area by Chi Ch'ao-ting. However, towards the end of Former Han, the southern part of the Great Plain increasingly gained in economic importance, a process which was speeded up by the collapse of the irrigation system in Kuan-chung. As a consequence, the centre of gravity shifted from Kuan-chung to the Great Plain, which by the end of Former Han had «risen from the position of a supplementary base to replace Kuan-chung as the main Key Economic Area».²⁾ Chi Ch'ao-ting founds his analysis on the irrigation system. His results are in every respect supported by my own study, based on the distribution of population. In A. D. 2 as much as 35 million of the 43 million inhabitants of Northern China were concentrated on the Great Plain, and of these in turn ca. 28 million, practically half of the total population, were settled on the plain south of the Yellow River. As will be seen, this fact proved to be of paramount importance for the political developments which followed later.

During Former Han another process continued which had started earlier: the concentration of land within the hands of the gentry.³⁾ Theoretically no family could own more than a certain amount of land, but regulations to check the growth of large estates were never seriously enforced. In this way all over Northern China and also Si-ch'uan, certain clans became prosperous and, as a consequence of their wealth, influential. Yang Lien-sheng gives a list of such clans and the commanderies to which they belonged.⁴⁾ As he points out himself, this survey could be considerably supplemented.

It was a common practice for these landlords to attach to themselves followers, literally «guests» (pin k'o or simply k'o), often in large numbers. This implied an agreement of mutual responsibilities. The landowner clothed and fed his followers, and they repayed him by performing various services in his interest. These

¹⁾ Cf. for instance HHS 11,41: 1 a; 14,44: 1 a; 15,45: 6 a; 17,47: 12 b, 19 a.

²⁾ 70. Chi, p. 92.

³⁾ By gentry I mean the ruling class in contrast to the uneducated and primarily inactive commoners. The gentry invested their wealth in land which enabled it to remain educated. The members of the gentry either served as officials or lived as junkers on their estates.

⁴⁾ 63. Yang, pp. 1020—1021.

services could range over a large field, from protecting the patron against assault to murdering his enemies. The followers increased the influence of the patron who in turn, thanks to this influence, could protect them against the state. The standard of mutual loyalty required that the followers shared the misfortunes as well the fortunes of their patrons. The situation was embarrassing for the state as the local officials were often unwilling to interfere with the interests of these powerful clans which in consequence felt free to engage in bloody feuds with their enemies, besides avoiding taxes and disobeying the law in all kinds of other respects.

The situation as sketched above was typical for the greater part of northern China, thus also for the Nan-yang commandery. This commandery was not situated on the Great Plain but in southern Ho-nan and northern Hu-pei, around a system of water courses tributary to the Han River. Northwards Nan-yang was separated from the Yellow River by the foothills of the Ts'in-ling-shan, while eastwards it bordered on the Huai-shan. Only the boundary area between these two different mountain ranges formed a corridor between the Nan-yang commandery and the Great Plain. The capital of Nan-yang was the Wan prefecture¹⁾, one of the largest cities of Han times. Apart from Wan, Nan-yang in A. D. 2 had 35 other prefectures²⁾ and a population of almost 2 million. The land was fertile, and the many rivers guaranteed an adequate supply of water most of the time. Furthermore, between 38 and 34 B. C. the Kan-lu reservoir, comprising 6 sluices, had been constructed at the Yü River. This reservoir was said to have irrigated 93,000 acres.³⁾ If the general conditions were favourable, it is thus not surprising that the commandery contained a considerable number of wealthy clans, many of them probably closely linked by intermarriage (cf. map 3):

The Li clan of the *Wan prefecture* was well-known and became with each generation more wealthy (15,45: 1 a). Other important families in Wan were the Chang (31,61: 6 b) and Chu clans (22,52: 1 a; 43,73: 1 a). Of minor influence in the same prefecture were the Wu, Jen, and Chao clans (18,48: 1 a; 21,51: 1 a; 26,56: 13 a).

The Yin clan of the *Sin-ye prefecture*⁴⁾ claimed descent from the famous Kuan Chung alias Kuan Yi-wu († 654 B. C.). He had been a native of Ts'i and for a period chief minister of this state, the same person to whom later the work Kuan ts'i was attributed. According to the family tradition, a descendant of Kuan Chung moved from Ts'i to the state of Ch'u where he obtained the rank of Yin Grandee. Consequently he chose Yin as his clan name. Since Ts'in or beginning of Han, the family had been settled in Sin-ye (32,62: 8 b). In the time of Emperor S'üan (73-49), a certain Yin Ts'i-fang⁵⁾ increased the wealth of the family to more than

¹⁾ Identical with the present Nan-yang hien.

²⁾ As everywhere in China, the prefectures (hien) were divided into districts (hiang). The districts were in turn divided into communes (t'ing), and the communes into hamlets (li).

³⁾ Cf. 70. Chi, p. 89.

⁴⁾ Situated S of the present hien with the same name, Ho-nan.

⁵⁾ Cf. supra pp 60-61.

3,300 acres of land (32,62: 11 b). Other great clans in the same prefecture were the Teng clan (15,45: 7 a) and the Lai clan (15,45: 9 a) whose members for generations had been high officials. The HHS mentions still another Teng clan from Sin-ye, written with the same character as the one above. Its most famous member was Teng Yü, one of Kuang-wu's chief assistants. It seems probable that we here have two branches of one and the same clan. However, the HHS says nothing about any relationship between them (16,46: 1 a).

The Fan clan was settled in the *Hu-yang prefecture*.¹⁾ It regarded as ancestor a certain Chung Shan-fu (8th century B. C.), mentioned in *Shi king* as well as SK.²⁾ He was enfeoffed as marquis of Fan, and later the name of the marquissate became the name of the clan. Towards the end of Former Han times, Fan Chung became a great landlord and merchant. He opened more than 1,400 acres of new soil and built an extensive irrigation system. Furthermore, he constructed artificial pools for fish breeding and took up cattle breeding. He clearly attempted to make the estate self-supporting. Thus, in order to be able to manufacture his own implements, he planted camphor and varnish trees. Also he gave loans to farmers, presumably at high rates of interest. The HHS makes the probably exaggerated statement that he yearly doubled his property, that at his death he had outstanding loans amounting to several 100,000 of cash, and that his will ordered that the loan contracts should be cancelled (32,62: 1 a-1 b). — The Feng clan of the Hu-yang prefecture traced its genealogy back to a branch of the ruling house of Wei, one of the feudal states of Chou times. This branch once had Feng-ch'eng as fief, and thus Feng became the name of the clan. When Ts'in had destroyed the state of Wei, the clan moved to Hu-yang where it became influential (33,63: 7 a-7 b). Other important families in the same prefecture were the Yü clan (33,63: 7 b) and the perhaps less influential Ma clan (22,52: 10 a).

The Li family was the most powerful clan in the *Wu-yin prefecture*³⁾ (26,56: 13 a).

The Ts'en clan lived in the *Ki-yang prefecture*⁴⁾ (17,47: 10 b). A minor family in the same prefecture was a Ma clan (22,52: 6 b).

The Kia clan was settled in the *Kuan-kün prefecture*⁵⁾ (17,47: 17 b).

The Ch'en clan belonged to the *Si-o prefecture*⁶⁾ (18,48: 10 b).

The Chang clan, probably less important, lived in the *Lu-yang prefecture*⁷⁾ (38,68: 1 b).

In order to simplify the survey, let us sum up the prefectures and their influential clans:

¹⁾ Situated 80 li S of the present T'ang-ho hien, Ho-nan.

²⁾ There written 𠂔 instead of 𠂔. Cf. 68. Chavannes, I, p. 277; *Shi king* 260.

³⁾ Situated NW of the present Pi-yang hien, Ho-nan.

⁴⁾ Situated NE of the present Sin-ye hien, Ho-nan.

⁵⁾ Situated 40 li NW of the present Teng hien, Ho-nan.

⁶⁾ Situated S of the present Nan-yang hien, Ho-nan.

⁷⁾ Identical with the present Lu-shan hien, Ho-nan.

Wan: Li, Chang, Chu, Wu, Jen, and Chao clans.
Sin-ye: Yin, two (?) Teng, and Lai clans.
Hu-yang: Fan, Feng, Yü, and Ma clans.
Wu-yin: Li clan.
Ki-yang: Ts'en and Ma clans.
Kuan-kün: Kia clan.
Si-o: Ch'en clan.
Lu-yang: Chang clan.

One family still remains to be mentioned, the Liu clan, most important of them all. The other clans of the Nan-yang commandery were influential because of their wealth. They belonged to the gentry but not necessarily to the nobility. The Liu clan, on the other hand, constituted a branch of the imperial family, and this was the source of their riches and power.

One of the sons of Emperor King (156—141), Liu Fa, had formerly been enfeoffed as king of Ch'ang-sha in present Hu-nan.¹⁾ Fa's son Mai became marquis of the Ch'ung-ling district²⁾. His son Hiung-k'ü inherited the marquisate. However, Hiung-k'ü's son Jen, who in turn had become marquis of Ch'ung-ling, memorialized and begged to be transferred. As reason for his request he mentioned the dampness and poisonous air of his fief (14,44: 9 a—9 b). TTKK (7: 2 b) is more detailed. It states that Jen's marquisate comprised 476 households. He begged that the number of his households should be diminished but that he should be transferred northwards. Emperor Yüan (48—33) granted the request, and in 45 B. C. Jen was enfeoffed with the Po-shui district³⁾ in the Nan-yang commandery. The name of this district was changed to Ch'ung-ling, and thus the new marquisate had identically the same name as the old one.⁴⁾ After Jen had moved to his new marquisate, his father's brother's son, Hui, and others followed his example and moved there also together with their families (14,44: 9 b).

A brother of Mai, Tan, had been enfeoffed with the An-chung prefecture⁵⁾ in Nan-yang. This marquisate was successively inherited by his descendants down to his great-great-great-grandson Ch'ung, the very one who tried to overthrow Wang Mang in A. D. 6.⁶⁾ He was defeated and killed, and subsequently the marquisate was abolished. Thus, when Wang Mang ascended the throne, the

¹⁾ Cf. the appendix for the genealogy of the imperial clan.

²⁾ This district was situated within the area of the Han prefecture of Ling-tao in the Ling-ling commandery. The Ling-tao prefecture was situated E of the present Ning-yüan hien, Hu-nan.

³⁾ The Po-shui district belonged to the Han prefecture of Ts'ai-yang, situated SW of the present Tsao-yang hien, Hu-pei.

⁴⁾ The geographical treatise of HS (28 A b: 16 a) lists Ch'ung-ling as one of Nan-yang's prefectures. This is a mistake. Ch'ung-ling remained a district until March 9, A. D. 30 when Emperor Kuang-wu promoted this district to become a prefecture and changed its name to Chang-ling (HHS 1 B: 1 a).

⁵⁾ Situated SE of the present Chen-p'ing hien, Ho-nan.

⁶⁾ Cf. supra p. 88.

Nan-yang commandery only had a single marquis of the house of Liu. This was Liu Ch'ang, marquis of Ch'ung-ling and son of Liu Jen. Together with all the other Han marquises, he was degraded to viscount (tsi) and in the following year (A. D. 10) dismissed entirely (14,44: 10 a—10 b). Hence, after A. D. 10 all the members of the Liu clan in Nan-yang, as in the rest of China, were deprived of their former positions. They remained settled especially around the Ch'ung-ling district in the Ts'ai-yang prefecture, and in the An-chung prefecture, i. e. the two former marquisesates. Some of these Lius were later to play an important political role.

Liu Jen had a brother with the name of Li, who had filled the office of Grand Administrator of the Ts'ang-wu commandery. When Jen's marquiseate was transferred to Nan-yang, Li probably followed his brother and settled in his neighbourhood in the Ts'ai-yang prefecture. It is at any rate certain that Li's son Tsi-chang definitely lived in this prefecture. SHS (2: 3 b) indicates that he stayed in the Fu-hou commune, possibly situated within the Ch'ung-ling district itself. This Tsi-chang together with his son Huan, the later Keng-shi Emperor, became involved in one of the bloody and long-lasting feuds which are so typical for the gentry of this time. After Wang Mang had become emperor and the members of the Liu clan had been deprived of their particular and agreeable position as relatives of the imperial house, the prefect of the Fu-hou commune¹⁾ once in a state of intoxication abused Liu Tsi-chang. The latter became angry and took revenge by killing the prefect. Apparently the authorities did not interfere at all. More than ten years passed by. Then, the son of the former prefect struck and murdered Tsi-chang's son K'ien, a younger brother of Huan. Now it was the turn of the Liu family to continue the killing. Tsi-chang's nephew Hien gathered followers to revenge the death of his cousin. However, before he was able to take any action, his followers were unwise enough to rob some completely innocent people. Hien was arrested and killed in prison. Thereupon Hien's younger brother Tsi and Hien's son Sin sold part of their property, distributed money, and obtained as followers 9 men, among them a certain Ch'en Cheng. Together they killed the wife and children of the former prefect, in all 4 persons. Liu Tsi and Liu Sin escaped but were later pardoned and returned to their estates (SHS 2: 3 b—4 a; HHS 14,44: 12 a). Liu Huan also was involved in the revenging of his brother but had less luck than the cousins. He escaped from the Ts'ai-yang prefecture and hid in the P'ing-lin area²⁾. However, the officials promptly arrested

¹⁾ SHS actually writes Fu t'ing hou chang. The Ki ku ko edition has 候 instead of 侯 and thus seems to understand the text as «the prefect of the watch-tower of the Fu commune.» This is accepted by *Kiao pu*. However, the eldest extant edition, the Shao-hing edition, writes 侯, which is followed by the Palace edition. Liu Pin, amending the text, suggests that the characters t'ing and hou have been reversed (Cf. HHS 14,44: 12 a *Tsi kie*).

²⁾ This area was situated NE of the present Sui prefecture in Hu-pei. Later, the Tsin dynasty established here the P'ing-lin prefecture.

his father, Tsī-chang. Hūan was not taken aback. He pretended to die, and followers carried him, to all appearance a corpse, back to Ch'ung-ling. The officials released Tsī-chang to attend to the funeral, whereupon he and his son immediately escaped together. Nothing is known about the later fate of Tsī-chang. Liu Hūan again hid in the P'ing-lin area (11,41: 1 a).

Still another branch of the Liu family stayed in Ch'ung-ling. It has already been said above¹⁾ that Liu Hui followed Liu Jen and settled with him in the Nan-yang commandery. Jen's and Hui's fathers were brothers and thus both great-great-grandsons of Emperor King. Hui's son K'in married Fan Hien-tu²⁾, a daughter of the wealthy Fan Chung in the Hu-yang prefecture.³⁾ She bore her husband 3 sons, Yen, Chung, and Siu, and 3 daughters, Huang, Yüan, and Po-ki (14,44: 5 b). Yüan married Teng Ch'en, belonging to one of the powerful clans of the Sin-ye prefecture. Liu Yen is commonly known under his style Po-sheng. Liu Siu later became the Emperor Kuang-wu.

From the above it is evident that Liu Siu and all the other members of the Liu clan in Nan-yang were descended from Emperor King and consequently also from Kao, the founder of the Han dynasty.⁴⁾ Strangely enough, Tsien Po-tsan⁵⁾ regards it as doubtful whether Liu Siu's genealogy is genuine. He remarks that the pretenders Wang Lang and Lu Fang also claimed to be the descendants of Han emperors.⁶⁾ However, Tsien Po-tsan is biased in favour of the «common people» and harbours suspicions against the gentry. This entices him here clearly to go too far. If Liu Siu later had wanted to invent an imaginary genealogy in order to strengthen his claims to the throne, he could obviously have made a better one. Thus, Wang Lang asserted himself to be a son of Emperor Ch'eng (32—7), while Lu Fang maintained that he was a great-grandson of Emperor Wu (140—87). These rulers reigned later than Liu Siu's ancestor, Emperor King (156—141). Obviously, the further back an affiliation with the ruling branch, the less convincing were any claims to the throne, simply because these claims were then shared with so many other descendants. Furthermore, if one had tampered with

¹⁾ P. 96.

²⁾ HHK 1:1 a writes Kuei-tu.

³⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 95.

⁴⁾ HHS 1 A:1 b states that Liu Siu was Kao's descendant in the 9th generation. This is not quite correct. Ts'ien Ta-hin points out (cf. *ibid.* *Ts'i kie*) that including Kao and Liu Siu, the line of descent consists of 9 persons (cf. appendix). This means that Liu Siu in reality was a descendant in the 8th generation. In the same way 10 B:11 b states that the Empress née Fu was Fu Chan's descendant in the 8th generation. The line of descent, including Fu Chan and herself, consists of 8 persons which indicates that in reality she was a descendant in the 7th generation. However, 12,42: 3 a records that Liu Yung was a descendant in the 8th generation of the Filial King of Liang, Liu Wu. Here, the line of descent, starting with Wu and ending with Yung, comprises 9 persons (cf. appendix) and hence Liu Yung actually was a descendant in the 8th generation as stated by the text. These instances prove that the HHS is not consistent in calculating the generations.

⁵⁾ 45. Tsien, p. 424.

⁶⁾ Cf. *infra* pp. 163—164.

the genealogy of Liu Siu, this would have involved the mutual kinship of also all the other Lius of Nan-yang. Hence, a completely new genealogy would have been necessary not only for Liu Siu but for the houses of the marquises of Ch'ung-ling and An-chung together with all their relatives as well. This seems highly improbable.

Liu Siu was born on Jan. 13, 5 B. C., in the yamen of the Tsi-yang prefecture¹⁾ where his father K'in at that time was prefect (1 B: 23 a). In this connection it is interesting to observe that Siu is stated to have been a man from Ts'ai-yang²⁾ (1 A: 1 a) in spite of the fact that he was born in Tsi-yang. However, the residence of the family was in the Ts'ai-yang prefecture. There was the real home as well as the graves of the ancestors. In this respect it therefore appeared as quite irrelevant where Siu himself happened to be born.

Little is known about Liu Siu's youth. When he was 9 years old according to Chinese reckoning, his father died. Siu was then sent to his father's younger brother, Liu Liang, who at that time was prefect of the Siao prefecture³⁾ (1 A: 2 a). It seems as if all three brothers were educated by this uncle (14,44: 8 a). TTK (1: 1 b) mentions that Liu Siu entered school in Siao.

When Liu Siu had grown up, he supposedly was 7 feet 3 inches tall (Chinese measures⁴⁾): »[He had] beautiful beard and eyebrows, a big mouth, a prominent nose, and a sun-shaped bone [on his forehead]» (1 A: 1 b). The description is similar to the one given in HS (1 A: 2 b) of Emperor Kao: »Kao-tsu was a man with a prominent nose and a dragon forehead. He had a beautiful beard on his chin and cheeks».⁵⁾ The beautiful beard and high nose are continuously re-occurring descriptions of outstanding emperors. The sun-shaped bone is also a common attribute. As Ki Sien-lin remarks, it is out of question that so many emperors had the same physiognomical characteristics.⁶⁾ Instead the description is nothing but a formalization. To great emperors, especially to founders of dynasties, were attributed certain standard features, irrespective of what their real physiognomy might have been. These imaginary characteristics became sometimes successively more and more marvellous. Thus the Hing wang p'ien, composed by Emperor Yüan (552—554)⁷⁾ of the Liang dynasty (502—556), states about Liu Siu that

¹⁾ The Tsi-yang prefecture during Han belonged to the Ch'en-liu commandery and was situated 50 li N of the present Lan-feng hien, Ho-nan.

²⁾ 37. Hung Liang-ki remarks (7: 1 a) that the text ought to have said Ch'ung-ling instead of Ts'ai-yang. However, the HHS always mentions the home prefecture of its heroes (cf. *supra* p. 48), never the subdivisions of prefectures. As Ch'ung-ling was a district within the Ts'ai-yang prefecture, the HHS consequently states the name of this prefecture, not the name of the district.

³⁾ The Siao prefecture during Han belonged to the P'ei commandery and was situated 1 li N of the present hien with the same name, Kiang-su.

⁴⁾ 1.69 m; 5 ft. 6.4 inch.

⁵⁾ 72. Dubs, I, p. 29.

⁶⁾ Cf. 71. Chi Hsien-ling, p. 97.

⁷⁾ He called himself Kin lou tsai, »The Master of the Golden Towers».

he was 8 feet 7 inches tall (Chinese measures) and that the soles of his feet had lines in the shape of a silver seal.¹⁾

It was the custom for young men of wealthy families to go to the capital to finish their education. The fact that Wang Mang was emperor and ruled in Ch'ang-an, by no means prevented Liu Siu from following this custom. During the t'ien-feng period (14—19) he went to the capital and «studied» the Shu king (1 A: 2 a). TKK (1: 1 b) mentions that his teacher was the Palace Grandee Hū Tsī-wei, a native of the Lu-kiang commandery²⁾. It is not likely that Liu Siu studied very hard. Instead he probably had a pleasant time in Ch'ang-an together with other young men of his class. The stay in the capital served for a final polish of manners as well as for study. The HHS mentions some of the co-students of Liu Siu. Several of them were from the same commandery as he, such as his relatives Lai Hi (15,45: 9 a) and Teng Yü (16,46: 1 a), both belonging to powerful clans in the Sin-ye prefecture. Chu Ts'en (43,73: 1 a—1 b) and probably also Chang K'an (31,61: 6 b) from Wan studied at the same time in Ch'ang-an. Other fellow students were K'iang Hua (1 A: 15 a), according to SHS (1: 1 b) from the Ying-ch'uan commandery³⁾, and Kao Huo from the Sin-si prefecture⁴⁾ (82 A, 112 A: 5 b). As regards Liu Siu's brothers, the HHS states that Po-sheng studied in Ch'ang-an (14,44: 13 b—14 a). This reasonably should hold true about Chung as well, even if it is not expressly recorded.

After Liu Siu had finished his studies in Ch'ang-an, he returned home to Ch'ung-ling and settled down as a landlord. The HHS states that he was interested in agriculture (1 A: 2 a). TKK (1: 1 b) mentions his fields. Therefore he seems to have had an estate of his own. He also actively engaged himself in furthering the economic interests of his clan. Thus, his great-grandfather's brother's grandson, Ch'ang, the former marquis of Ch'ung-ling, owed taxes on produce to the state up to the end of A. D. 20. This debt amounted to 26,000 hu of grain.⁵⁾ We are not told whether he had entirely neglected to pay the tax or whether he had paid too little. It is also not clear whether the deficit concerned only the year A. D. 20 or included previous years. However, the fact that the government had detected his debt indicates that it kept an eye on evasion of taxes. Therefore it seems improbable that the debt concerned any more considerable number of years. The tax on produce was only a fraction, during Former Han 1/15, of the total produce. It thus becomes evident that Liu Ch'ang's estate must have been of substantial size.⁶⁾

¹⁾ 29. Hou K'ang, p. 1.

²⁾ Situated in present Hu-pei and An-hui.

³⁾ In present Ho-nan.

⁴⁾ The Sin-si prefecture during Han belonged to the Ju-nan commandery and is identical with the present Si hien, Ho-nan.

⁵⁾ Ca. 520,000 liters; 15,000 U. S. bushels.

⁶⁾ Actually, 26,000 hu seems to be a rather high figure. However, the mere fact, that Liu Siu found it worthwhile to travel all the way to Ch'ang-an for the lawsuit proves that the debt must have been considerable and hence the estate large.

This indicates in turn that Ch'ang had found ways to avoid Wang Mang's ordinance regarding the redistribution of land. When after a few years this ordinance was rescinded, he and his family apparently were as rich as before. — It was probably in A. D. 21 that Liu Siu went to Ch'ang-an in order to bring an action against the government on behalf of his relative. Nothing is known about the outcome of the lawsuit. Another young man from Nan-yang, Chu Yu, belonging to one of the powerful clans in the Wan prefecture, was at the same time and on a similar errand in the capital (1 A: 4 b *commentary* quoting TKK; TKK 1: 1 b).

In this way, Liu Siu had settled down as a landlord. He was related to other rich landowners and apparently interested in his occupation. If it had not been for the political ambitions of his eldest brother Po-sheng, he might have finished his days as a junker like many others.

As regards the following period it is, historically speaking, most unfortunate that the events are recorded in the texts mainly as they affected the life of Liu Siu, the future emperor. Originally he was by no means a principal figure. In fact, at first he played a very modest role. Hence, the texts give rather sporadic information regarding the subsequent development, whereas their accounts would have been much more coherent had they concentrated on Liu Po-sheng.

The HHS makes it clear that Liu Po-sheng was quite different from his youngest brother. He seems to have been a man of aspirations and considerable ability for whom peaceful occupations held little interest. Instead, he made contacts with relatives and other wealthy men in the Nan-yang commandery, at the same time as he obtained followers by seeing to their livelihood and distributing gifts (1 A: 2 a; 14,44: 1 a). While Siu apparently had reconciled himself to the fact that Wang Mang had overthrown the Han dynasty and made himself emperor, Po-sheng resented the «usurpation» of the throne. Also, ambitious as he was, it must have been an incitement to avenge the death of his relative Liu Ch'ung, last marquis of An-chung, who in A. D. 6 had rebelled and died in the same commandery.

It is impossible to decide when Liu Po-sheng first harboured the idea of revolt. However, so much is clear that he got into trouble before his plans had crystallized. The HHS states: «The followers of the various families were often small bandits» (1 A: 2 b). Po-sheng's followers were no exception and started to rob people (SHS 1: 1 a). The situation became precarious, and in order to avoid arrest, Liu Siu went to the Sin-ye prefecture where he stayed with his brother-in-law Teng Ch'en. This was in the earlier part of A. D. 22. As usual, the texts tell nothing about the movements of Po-sheng (1 A: 2 b; 15,45: 7 b).

In Sin-ye, Liu Siu seems to have been fairly safe. On a much later occasion, his sister Huang, then the Elder Princess of Hu-yang, referred to this time and said that the officials did not dare to go to his gate (77,107: 2 b—3 a). Moreover, the Steward of the prefecture, P'an Lin,¹ seems to have been on friendly terms with Teng Ch'en.

¹) Wang Mang changed the title of Prefect to Steward. — The present text writes P'an Shu. However, TKK 7: 1 a and HHS 14,44: 3 a have P'an Lin. Cf. 15,45: 7 a *Tsi kie*.

During an earlier visit to Sin-ye, Teng Ch'en and Liu Siu had once taken a trip by chariot. They met a messenger from the capital but did not salute him as the rites required. When the messenger resented this and asked for their names, the two relatives gave false ones. They were arrested but soon released through the intervention of P'an Lin (TKK 11: 1 a). On some of these visits to Sin-ye, Liu Siu for the first time saw Li-hua, a girl of the wealthy and powerful Yin clan, and became infatuated with her. In A. D. 23, at an age of 19, she was offered to him as a concubine (10 A: 5 b—6 a). Many years later, on Dec. 1, A. D. 41, she became his empress (1 B: 13 b; 10 A: 6 b).

Liu Po-sheng was in a difficult position. By getting involved with followers he had brought himself and his family into trouble, and Liu Siu and probably his brothers as well had been forced temporarily to leave their homes. Being already in some sort of difficulty with the authorities, it would therefore have been a relatively easy step to proceed to open insurrection. However, it seems that Po-sheng still had no definite plans of rebellion against Wang Mang. Things first started to move after contacts had been established with the influential Li clan in Wan.

It seems that the Li clan originally formed a completely independent group. The head of this clan was Li Shou, a former pupil of Liu Hin. At this time he was an official in the capital. Li Shou's son T'ung had filled some minor offices, evidently without being much interested. Finally he resigned and returned to Wan. There, T'ung was approached by his father's brother's son Yi, and together they deliberated the possibilities of a rebellion against Wang Mang (15,45: 1 a—1 b). Somewhat later, Liu Siu left Sin-ye and came to Wan where he engaged in selling grain (1 A: 2 b). Being a member of the former imperial family and a prominent man in the commandery, the Li group sought to get in touch with him. The situation proved to be somewhat delicate as a feud existed between the Liu and Li clans. At an earlier occasion, Liu Po-sheng had killed a half-brother of Li T'ung, and this murder was apparently still unavenged (TKK 10: 5 a; SHS 2: 4 b).¹⁾ Li Yi approached Liu Siu who, quite naturally, was highly suspicious and feared an ambush. Finally he was persuaded to meet Li T'ung. However, he still was not at ease and came armed to the rendezvous (TKK 1: 2 a; 10: 5 a). During the meeting Li T'ung proposed that they together should rebel against Wang Mang (1 A: 2 b; 15,45: 1 b—2 a). These circumstances make it clear that the initiative must have come from the Li group.

It seems improbable that Liu Siu would have taken the responsibility of going ahead on his own. Most certainly his eldest brother, Po-sheng, was informed about the proposal and took an active part in the succeeding negotiations. As a result of these discussions the Li and Liu groups merged. In preparing the detailed plans for the rebellion, a certain Chang Shun, Division Head at the yamen of the Nan-

¹⁾ TKK renders the name of the half-brother as Kung-sun Ch'en. SHS writes Shen-t'u Ch'en. HHK 1: 2 a follows SHS.

yang commandery at Wan, somehow was involved (TKK 1: 2 a). He is not mentioned in the HHS, and nothing more is known about him. It was decided to begin the rebellion the same year (A. D. 22) on the day of the annual review of troops of the commandery, held at the beginning of the winter. This was the very same occasion on which Chai Yi had revolted in A. D. 7. The reason for choosing the day of the review was the consideration that it might be possible through a coup to gain control over the assembled troops (15,45: 2 a).

Thus, the two groups of anti-Wang Mang forces in the Nan-yang commandery had successfully united through the initiative of the Li clan. However, from now on Liu Po-sheng by virtue of his qualifications became the actual leader of the movement.

As the next move, Liu Siu was commissioned to buy weapons. The HHS states that he purchased crossbows (1 A: 2 b). This was the crucial step from which there was no returning. In A. D. 10, Wang Mang had prohibited the private possession of crossbows and cuirasses (HS 99 B: 13 a). By violating this law, the conspirators once and for all marked themselves as rebels. They had passed the Rubicon and could now only go forward.

The secret activities of the conspirators by no means received the wholehearted support of their relatives. The father of the Liu brothers had died long ago. Their mother passed away at about this time. Because of the urgency of the moment, her sons could not even give her a proper funeral. She was buried by her relative Fan Kü-kung (14,44: 6 a). However, the uncle and educator of the Liu brothers, Liang, was still alive and seems bitterly to have resented the plot (14,44: 8 a).

One of the problems was to warn relatives who were staying in the capital. This proved to be especially serious for Li T'ung as his own father, Shou, was in Ch'ang-an. T'ung sent his father's brother's son Ki to go to the capital and secretly inform Shou. Unfortunately Ki died en route, but Li Shou somehow learned about the plot. However, the death of the messenger must have caused delay, and this became fatal. Immediately after Shou had obtained news about the imminent rebellion in Nan-yang, he hurried to hand in a memorial asking for the permission to retire and return home. His request had not yet been granted when the rebellion broke out. Li Shou was arrested and imprisoned. Shou had a good friend in the capital, the General of the Gentlemen-of-the-Household, Huang Hien. This man did his utmost to help his friend. He suggested that both of them should be permitted to go to the Nan-yang commandery in order to persuade Li T'ung to surrender. In case this proved fruitless, Huang Hien promised that he would force Li Shou to commit suicide. According to HHS Wang Mang at first was inclined to accept the proposition. However, when more detailed reports arrived about the rebellion he changed his mind and not only had Li Shou executed but Huang Hien as well (15,45: 2 a—2 b). A relative of the Liu brothers and later one of Liu Siu's chief assistants, Lai Hi, was more fortunate. He was also staying in Ch'ang-an at the time the rebellion began and was promptly arrested. However, his followers

liberated him, and he was able to escape (15,45: 9 a). The fact that it proved impossible to warn all relatives shows how short the interval was between the decision to revolt and the actual outbreak of the rebellion. The reason can only have been this: the shorter the time, the less the danger of leakage. It also indicates that a strong mind, Liu Po-sheng's, was behind the preparations. He was willing to sacrifice even the life of close relatives of the conspirators for the ultimate goal rather than risk the whole undertaking.

Everything seems to have proceeded as planned. The exact day on which the rebellion started is not given in either HS or HHS. However, HHS 1 A: 2 b does state that it began in the 10th month of A. D. 22. At first sight there seems to be a contradiction here, as the day of the annual review was in the 9th month, not in the 10th. We know this with certainty as Chai Yi's biography in HS states that he rebelled on the day of the annual review in the 9th month of A. D. 7 (HS 84: 11 a; 99 A: 30 a). Actually, this only seems to be a contradiction. Wang Mang as emperor had changed the calendar in such a way that his 1st month became the same as the 12th month of the Han calendar. This means that the respective numbers of the months of his calendar moved one step back compared with the Han calendar. From the enthronement of the Keng-shī Emperor (March 11, A. D. 23) and onwards, the HHS with certainty records all dates according to the Han calendar. However, for the time previous to this event, the pen ki give three other dates:

The 10th month of A. D. 22 which saw the start of the rebellion (1 A: 2 b).

The 11th month of A. D. 22 when a comet was visible in the Chang constellation (1 A: 2 b).

The 1st month of A. D. 23 when Chen Fou and Liang-k'iu Ts'i were defeated (1 A: 3 b).

We would be at a loss to decide to which of the calendars these dates refer if it were not for the comet in the 11th month and the battle in the 1st month. The comet is mentioned in Wang Mang's biography (HS 99 C: 19 b), and the same is the case with the defeat of Chen Fou and Liang-k'iu Ts'i (ibid.). As this biography records the events according to the calendar of Wang Mang and as it also dates the comet and the battle on the 11th and 1st month respectively, this proves that the HHS follows Wang Mang's calendar up to the reestablishment of the Han dynasty. From then on the HHS adopts the Han calendar, which is proved by the fact that the enthronement of the Keng-shī Emperor is recorded under the 2nd month (1 A: 4 a) in contrast to the 3rd month in Wang Mang's biography (HS 99 C: 20 a). Thus, the rebellion of the 10th month recorded in the text refers to Wang Mang's calendar and corresponds to the 9th month of the Han calendar (Oct./Nov.). Hence, the revolt started in the very month in which the annual review customarily was held. However, the sources say nothing about any coup

in order to gain control over the assembled troops of the commandery. If the coup was attempted at all, it evidently did not succeed.

The rebels rose in different places at the same time. Liu Siu and Li Yi revolted in Wan, the capital of the Nan-yang commandery. Liu Po-sheng rebelled in the Ch'ung-ling district and his brother-in-law, Teng Ch'en, in the Sin-ye prefecture (1 A: 2 b; 14,44: 1 a).¹⁾ However, this should not be understood to mean that the various groups tried to take possession of the prefectures in which they revolted. Their forces, consisting only of the followers of the various junkers, were much too small for attempts like that. The followers were too undisciplined and, above all, too few to withstand the garrisons of the cities. It therefore was necessary first of all to unite the different groups, and the Ch'ung-ling district had been selected as the meeting place. This is significant. The rendezvous had to be arranged outside the prefectural cities where no prompt action was to be feared from the prefectural troops. Also, the chosen place was the area in which a great part of the Liu clan was settled and in which apparently it had a firm foothold.

Thus, Liu Siu and Li Yi hurried from Wan to the Ch'ung-ling district. At this time Siu was 28 years old (1 A: 2 b). As he was the youngest of the brothers, Liu Po-sheng must have been between 30 and 40 years of age. Several other members of the Liu clan in Nan-yang from the beginning took an active part in the rebellion, and it is reasonable to suppose that most of them joined the forces already in Ch'ung-ling. Expressly mentioned are Liu Ch'i, son of the last marquis of Ch'ung-ling Liu Ch'ang (14,44: 10 b),²⁾ Liu Ts'i (14,44: 12 a),²⁾ and Liu Kia. Kia was the great-grandson of Liu Siu's great-grandfather's brother. He was early orphaned and had been educated together with Siu and his brothers (14,44: 14 a).

So far the rebels were few. Some of the great clans of the commandery together with their followers joined the revolt, but the greater part of the powerful families preferred cautiously to await how the situation would develop. Some of them took refuge behind the walls of the prefectural cities. Thus, the members of the Chu clan hastened to enter the city of Wan (43,73: 1 a).³⁾ Others were powerful enough to protect themselves alone. Thus, HHS 33,63: 7 b states that Feng Fang of the wealthy clan in the Hu-yang prefecture made an encampment in which he and his followers took shelter. Such building of private encampments is a phenomenon which is typical of the whole civil war.⁴⁾

It is impossible to ascertain the number of the rebels. Liu Po-sheng supposedly commanded 7000 to 8000 men (14,44: 1 a), but there is no way of knowing whether this figure is at least approximately correct, nor how many followers were taken to

¹⁾ For this and the following operations cf. map 4.

²⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 97.

³⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 65.

⁴⁾ Cf. for instance *supra* pp. 57–58.

the meeting by the other junkers. Furthermore, even if Liu Siu previously had bought some weapons, the troops were hardly fully equipped. Thus, Liu Siu himself had not even a horse but supposedly rode an ox (1 A: 3 a). Liu Po-sheng was the undisputed leader and gave himself the title Chief of the Companies Who is Pillar of Heaven (14,44: 1 a).

Previous to this, the Kiang-hia and Nan commanderies¹⁾ had been the scene of great disturbances. People had flocked together in large bands and harassed the country. In the summer of A. D. 22 one of these bands, the so-called Troops from Sin-shī²⁾ had crossed the border to the Nan-yang commandery and unsuccessfully attacked the Sui prefecture³⁾. After their appearance in Nan-yang another insurrection broke out in the nearby P'ing-lin area⁴⁾ (11,41: 2 a). These bands were still in the southern parts of the commandery when Liu Po-sheng assembled his troops in the Ch'ung-ling district.

Po-sheng realized that the only hope for success lay in rapidly increasing his soldiers. He therefore ordered his relative Liu Kia to approach the Troops from Sin-shī and the Troops from P'ing-lin and persuade them to make common cause with the rebels of Nan-yang. Liu Kia's mission was successful, and as a result the number of troops was effectively augmented (1 A: 3 a; 11,41: 2 a; 14,44: 1 b). However, a completely new element had been added to the situation.

Originally, the rebellious movement had consisted solely of a limited number of men, belonging to powerful clans in the commandery. The main body of their troops had been formed by personal followers. The bands, however, which now joined their cause consisted of commoners, simple and uneducated people who were led by men of the same calibre. The leaders of the Troops from Sin-shī were Wang K'uang, Wang Feng, Chu Wei, and Ma Wu (11,41: 2 a). Of these only Ma Wu seems to have belonged to the gentry. He was a member of the Ma clan in the Hu-yang prefecture of Nan-yang. Because of a feud, he had left his home as a young man and withdrawn to the Kiang-hia commandery. Later he joined the insurgents (22,52: 10 a). Nothing is known about the background of the other leaders, a fact which probably indicates that their origin was humble. The Troops from P'ing-lin were commanded by Ch'en Mu and Liao Chan. They also were of unknown origin. Liu Hūan who earlier had escaped to the P'ing-lin area⁵⁾ followed Ch'en Mu and Liao Chan and held a minor rank among their troops (11,41: 2 a).

¹⁾ Situated in Hu-pei, southeast and south of the Nan-yang commandery. Cf. map 3.

²⁾ No Sin-shī prefecture is recorded for Former Han. However, in Later Han times a Nan-sin-shī prefecture was established in the Kiang-hia commandery. It is probable that earlier a district or hamlet existed with this name. The Nan-sin-shī prefecture was situated NE of the present King-shan hien, Hu-pei.

³⁾ Identical with the present hien with the same name, Hu-pei.

⁴⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 97, note 2.

⁵⁾ Cf. *supra* pp. 97—98.

As the army now had been considerably increased, Liu Po-sheng felt able to take the offensive. He marched westwards and captured the Ch'ang agglomeration¹⁾. Then he attacked and conquered the T'ang-tsī district²⁾ (1 A: 3 a; 14,44: 1 b).

Petty places like districts or hamlets were scarcely defended. Moreover, their possession was of little value to the rebels. The smaller a place, the smaller the loot. This was a question of importance, as the reward of the heterogeneous and undisciplined troops consisted of what they could rob. It therefore was unavoidable that they should sooner or later attack the prefectural cities themselves. These, however, were surrounded by walls and defended by garrisons. Yet, could they be captured, the recompense was great. In the earlier stages of the war, the cities could be looted. Later, when the troops had been forced into discipline, the cities could be taxed. Also, young men could be mobilized to increase the number of soldiers. In this way, the power of the rebels would grow with each conquered prefecture. Hence, after the initial stage, the civil war developed into a fight for the control of prefectures.

Thanks to the Troops from Sin-shī and P'ing-lin, the initial stage was shortened to a minimum. Already after the T'ang-tsī district had been looted, Liu Po-sheng marched against Hu-yang, one of the prefectural cities of the commandery. However, he was clever enough to combine the attack with a stratagem. He ordered his great-grandfather's brother's great-grandson Liu Chung to enter Hu-yang and to profess himself an official from the Kiang-hia commandery (TKK 1: 2 b). In this capacity Chung was able to rouse the population of the city to murder their Military Governor (14,44: 11 a). Thereupon Hu-yang was captured, apparently without difficulty.

At this time, the first crisis seems to have broken out in the army. The various members of the Liu clan were accused by the common soldiers of appropriating for themselves more of the loot than should reasonably be their share. The HHS gives Liu Siu the credit for having restored order through quick and drastic action. Supposedly he gathered together the entire loot his relatives had obtained and distributed it all among the soldiers (1 A: 3 a). As pointed out before, the HHS puts Liu Po-sheng into the background and centres events around Liu Siu. However, Po-sheng was still the commander while Siu continued to play a very minor role. It is therefore most probable that the former saved the situation, and not Siu.

The army of the rebels now began to march against Wan itself, the capital of the Nan-yang commandery and one of the richest cities of the empire. However, Liu Po-sheng did not choose the shortest route. Instead he turned towards the northwest and en route took the city of Ki-yang (1 A: 3 a; 14,44: 1 b).

In Ki-yang the army received additional reinforcements. Teng Ch'en and his followers arrived from Sin-ye (15,45: 7 b). A member of the Ma clan in the Ki-yang prefecture, Ma Ch'eng, probably joined the insurrection at the same time (22,52: 6 b).

¹⁾ The situation of this place is unknown.

²⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 57, note 6.

Teng Ch'en apparently had met little difficulty in Sin-ye. As pointed out before, the Steward of the prefecture, P'an Lin, was a friend of Ch'en. He therefore seems to have preferred to stand aside and see how things developed. On the other hand, the Military Governor of Sin-ye had been killed (1 A: 3 a). No attempt was made to take possession of Sin-ye. After Teng Ch'en had left the prefecture, the rebels had no control over this city. It was up to the Steward which course he would decide to follow. The reinforcements brought to Ki-yang by Teng Ch'en must have been very welcome. Thus, now for the first time Liu Siu obtained a horse (1 A: 3 a). One of the original conspirators who also came to Ki-yang was Li T'ung (15,45: 2 b). Either then or not much later still another prominent man joined the rebellion. This was Yin Shī of the Yin clan in Sin-ye. When the revolt broke out, he was studying in Ch'ang-an. He then returned to Nan-yang, led his relatives and followers, according to HHS more than 1000 men, and followed Liu Po-sheng. Po-sheng made him a Colonel (32,62: 8 b).

According to Sie Shen's *Hou Han shu* (2 a) the troops next tried to capture the city of Yü-yang²). When they failed in their attempt to take this city, Liu Po-sheng turned directly against Wan itself. His calculation must have been that could he only take possession of the capital of Nan-yang, the other prefectures would then hardly offer any organized resistance.

So far the army had met no serious opposition. But, by now the chief officials of the commandery had organized their counter-attack. The Grand Administrator of Nan-yang, Chen Fou, and the Chief Commandant, Liang-k'iu Ts'i,¹) led their troops and met the rebels at Siao-ch'ang-an²) (1 A: 3 b; 14,44: 1 b). According to Sie Shen's *Hou Han shu* (2 a), the battle occurred near the Yü River. It was fought in thick fog (14,44: 1 b). Under such conditions, disciplined troops had a clear advantage over undisciplined bands. Therefore Liu Po-sheng's men suffered a disastrous defeat and hurried back to seek refuge within the walls of Ki-yang.

HHS states that several tens of members of the Liu clan were killed in this defeat (14,44: 1 b). All relatives lost contact with each other. Liu Siu is said to have fled alone on horseback. He passed his younger sister Po-ki and lifted her up beside him. Riding together they saw another sister, Yüan, the wife of Teng Ch'en, in front of them on the road. Liu Siu wanted to take her also on the horse. However, Yüan heroically refused to accept this and said she did not want to be responsible for the death of all of them. Siu and Po-ki rode away. Yüan was overtaken by the enemy soldiers and killed together with her three daughters (15,45: 7 b).

¹) Actually Wang Mang had changed their titles. The Nan-yang commandery was called Ts'ien-sui, its Grand Administrator *ta fu*, and its Chief Commandant *shu cheng*.

²) Siao-ch'ang-an was an agglomeration within the Han prefecture of Yü-yang (*chi* 22: 15 a—15 b). The Yü-yang prefecture was situated 60 li S of the present Nan-yang hien (identical with the Wan of Han times). According to Tu Yu's (735—812) *T'ung tien*, Siao-ch'ang-an was situated 37 li S of the Wan prefecture (cf. 1 A: 3 b *Tsi kie*). Thus, Siao-ch'ang-an seems to have been situated about half-way between the Han prefectures of Yü-yang and Wan.

There is of course no way of knowing whether this description is truthful. For instance, no one was present to record any possible remark from Liu Yüan. Her speech is either a free invention of the historian or a version given much later by Siu or Po-ki. In neither case is it plausible that the future emperor would have been presented in a clearly unfavourable light. It therefore is impossible to know whether Liu Siu really tried to save his sister or simply deserted her to rescue himself.

Po-sheng and Siu did not only lose their sister Yüan together with her daughters, but their brother Chung was also killed (14,44: 1 b, 6 a). Their uncle Liu Liang lost his wife and two sons (14,44: 8 a). Li Ch'ih lost his mother, his younger brothers, his wife, and his children. They were not killed in battle but arrested in Wan and executed after the defeat at Siao-ch'ang-an (14,44: 10 b). Liu Kia lost his wife and children (14,44: 14 a).

The Liu clan was not the only one to suffer. Either now or earlier it is said that 64 members of the Li clan were executed in Wan and their corpses burned in the market place (15,45: 2 b).

The defeat at Siao-ch'ang-an had other unfortunate results. It now seemed reasonable to expect that the rebels were crushed for good and that it was only a matter of time before they all were exterminated. The various officials in the prefectures who so far had hesitated to commit themselves were therefore forced to take action if they did not want to be charged with complicity. Thus, in spite of his friendly relations with Teng Ch'en, the Steward of Sin-ye, P'an Lin, now destroyed the houses of the Teng clan and burned its grave-mounds. HHS makes the obvious remark that this was resented by Teng Ch'en's relatives (15,45: 7 b).

Also, worst of all, the army of the rebels, which up to now had kept together only because their victories meant loot, threatened to split up. Liu Po-sheng and the other junkers could still count on their own followers. However, the Troops from Sin-shih and P'ing-lin, whose cooperation was indispensable, wanted to separate and withdraw. From their point of view it seemed meaningless to continue a struggle which promised annihilation instead of booty (14,44: 2 a). It also was obvious that if the junkers lost the support of these bands, their defeat was certain. The perspective seemed menacing, but Liu Po-sheng showed again that he could quickly adjust himself to a new situation.

Shortly after the defeat at Siao-ch'ang-an, an independent group of bandits had halted at the Yi-ts'iu agglomeration¹⁾. Like the Troops from Sin-shih and P'ing-lin, this band consisted of commoners. They called themselves the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsi-] kiang. HHS gives their number as about 5000 men, a figure which can hardly be taken for granted (14,44: 2 a). The leaders of the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsi-] kiang were Ch'eng Tan, Chang Ang²⁾, and

¹⁾ Yi-ts'iu was an agglomeration within the Han prefecture of P'ing-shih. The P'ing-shih prefecture belonged to the Nan-yang commandery and was situated 90 li SE of the present T'ang-ho hien, Honan.

²⁾ SHS 2: 1 b writes Yin 𠂔 and HKH 1: 7 b writes Kin 𠂔 instead of Ang 𠂔.

Wang Ch'ang (11,41: 2 a; 15,45: 4 b).¹⁾ Nothing is known about the background of Ch'eng Tan and Chang Ang. Wang Ch'ang on the other hand had previously murdered a man in order to avenge a younger brother (15,45: 4 b). Feuds of this type were typical for the gentry and therefore it seems highly probable that Wang Ch'ang was a member of the gentry. After the murder he had fled to the Kiang-hia commandery where he had joined the lawless bands.

Once before, Liu Po-sheng had strengthened his forces by summoning separately operating groups of bandits. That was when the Troops from Sin-shī and P'ing-lin had merged with the rebellious movement in Nan-yang. After the defeat at Siao-ch'ang-an it was therefore quite logical to continue on this same path. The Yi-ts'iu agglomeration was not far from Ki-yang, and thus Liu Po-sheng in person together with his brother Siu and Li T'ung hurried to this place. Ch'eng Tan and Chang Ang seem to have felt their own inferiority. They deputed Wang Ch'ang to represent the Troops of the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang in the discussion with Po-sheng. This strengthens the impression that Ch'eng Tan and Chang Ang, unlike Wang Ch'ang, were men without education. As a result of the deliberations, the Troops of the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang agreed to unite with the army of Liu Po-sheng (15,45: 4 b—5 b).²⁾ Thereby the impending catastrophe was averted, and the rebels again could match Chen Fou's and Liang-k'iu Ts'i's army which was loyal to Wang Mang. However, the element of commoners was now further strengthened and the balance in the extremely heterogenous agglomeration of troops became increasingly unfavourable for the gentry of the Nan-yang commandery.

In order to bring his troops into fighting trim, Liu Po-sheng first of all provided food. He made them take an oath, and let them rest for three days. Thereupon he divided the army into 6 sections and was ready to go to battle (14,44: 2 a).

In the meantime, Chen Fou and Liang-k'iu Ts'i had advanced in the direction of Ki-yang. They reached the Lan district, situated within the Ki-yang prefecture, and decided to leave the heavy equipment there. The army advanced further and encamped between two rivers. According to HHS, the generals ordered that the bridges be burned in order to demonstrate their intention not to retreat (14,44: 1 b—2 a). It seems, however, more probable that the burning was a precautionary measure against a surprise attack. The encampment is said to have counted 100,000 men (14,44: 1 b), a figure which again cannot be verified but in all probability is much too high.

Liu Po-sheng attacked in the »1st month» (HS 99 C: 19 b; HHS 1 A: 3 b). Emperor Kuang-wu's pen ki records that the attack was on the day kia-tsī, the 1:st day of the month. This statement has puzzled the commentators, and they remark that kia-tsī was not the first day of this month. The authors of the *Kiao pu* try to

¹⁾ 11,41: 2 a states that Chang Ang belonged to the Troops from Sin-shī. However, Wang Ch'ang's biography (15,45: 5 a) makes it quite clear that Chang Ang was one of the leaders of the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang.

²⁾ Cf. *supra* pp. 55—56.

avoid the problem by suggesting the elimination from the text of the character shuo 朔, meaning »1st day of the month«. Chou Shou-ch'ang,¹⁾ on the other hand, believes that the three characters kia-tsī shuo are simply dittography for exactly the same date given for the 1st month of A. D. 26 (1 A: 17 b). The commentators do not seem to realize that the date in question is recorded with reference to the calendar of Wang Mang, and not to the Han calendar which was reintroduced only with the enthronement of the Keng-shī Emperor.²⁾ This means that the date, in all probability taken from a report in Wang Mang's archives, refers to the 1st month of Wang Mang's calendar which corresponds to the preceeding month, i. e. the 12th, according to the Han calendar. Unfortunately even then the 1st day of this month has not the cyclical characters kia-tsī nor any other characters which even remotely resemble them. In this respect it seems quite futile to try to ascertain which of the commentators is right. We will have to be satisfied with the fact that the attack was launched in the 1st month of Wang Mang's calendar, corresponding to Jan./Febr. A. D. 23.

During the night, part of Liu Po-sheng's troops made a surprise charge against the Lan district and seized the equipment of the enemy. This news must have had a demoralizing effect on the soldiers of Chen Fou and Liang-k'iu Ts'i. Furthermore, Liu Po-sheng gave them no time to recover from the shock. Already on the next morning, the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang attacked the encampment from the southeast, while the rest of the rebels attacked from the southwest. The victory was overwhelming. Chen Fou and Liang-k'iu Ts'i were killed in battle, and their scattered troops were pursued and routed (1 A: 3 b; 14,44: 2 a). HS states that several ten-thousands were killed (99 C: 19 b). HHS gives the number as more than 20,000 (14,44: 2 a). Both figures must be highly optimistic. It is interesting to observe that in this battle the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsī] kiang continued to operate as a separate unit. The same presumably is true of the Troops from Sin-shī and P'ing-lin. Thus, even if Liu Po-sheng was the highest commander, the bands which had joined the rebellion continued to be led by their own chieftains.

The victory in the battle between the rivers was the first decisive success over Wang Mang's troops. It had a double effect. First of all, the bands of rebels who after the disastrous defeat at Siao-ch'ang-an had been about to disperse, were again sure of their victory. They had proved to themselves that they together could defeat a regular army led by trained officers. Also, this knowledge strengthened the tie between the various groups and lessened the danger of a new split. The second important effect was the seizure of the equipment of the enemy. All at once, the rebels were in the possession of weapons, provisions, draught-animals, chariots etc., in short everything which was needed to keep a regular army fit for fighting. The consequences of this can hardly be overestimated. As will be seen

¹⁾ 22. Chou, 1: 2 a.

²⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 104.

again, the decisive step, in all the insurrections discussed in this paper, invariably was whether a major defeat could be inflicted on the enemy. After the implements of a well-equipped army had been seized, the program of the bandits broadens, and the movement enters into a new phase.

This very same month, i. e. Jan./Febr. A. D. 23, there occurred a new battle. In the spring of 22, Wang Mang had specially dispatched two of his ministers to put down the bands in the Kiang-hia commandery, the very same bands which later joined the rebellion in Nan-yang. These ministers were the Communicator and General, Yen Yu¹), and the Arranger of the Ancestral Temples and General, Ch'en Mao²) (HS 99 C: 18 a). Yen Yu and Ch'en Mao had inflicted a minor defeat on the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsi-] Kiang which thereupon had marched northwards and finally united with Liu Po-sheng's army (HS 99 C: 19 b).

After the situation in the Nan-yang commandery had become dangerous, Yen Yu and Ch'en Mao moved their army northwards. In January of A. D. 23 this army was stationed in the Yü-yang prefecture, situated directly west of Ki-yang. Liu Po-sheng again took an oath from his troops and then attacked the enemy. The battle took place below the walls of Yü-yang and resulted in a new great victory for the rebels. Yen Yu and Ch'en Mao fled and their army was scattered (1 A: 3 b; 14,44: 2 a—2 b).

Thus, within less than one month Liu Po-sheng had won two major victories. As a result, the greater part of the Nan-yang commandery was now in the hands of the rebels. The success was spectacular as the whole revolt had lasted for only about 4 months. The credit belonged first of all to Liu Po-sheng who had been able to assemble, keep together, and lead to victory the heterogeneous mass of outlaws. On the other hand, these bands of commoners with some justification attributed the victories to their own participation and fighting-spirit. Also, the armies of Wang Mang had shown a distinct lack of cooperation. If Chen Fou and Liang-k'iu Ts'i on the one side and Yen Yu and Ch'en Mao on the other had simultaneously attacked the rebels from the north and south, their victory would have been almost certain. Instead, each of the armies operated separately and hence was separately defeated.

Now, nothing prevented Liu Po-sheng from marching against Wan itself, the capital of the commandery. However, the city was strong and stoutly defended.

¹) Huan T'an's (died ± 25 A. D.) Sin lun mentions this person but calls him Chuang Yu, style Po-shi. Chuang was the tabooed personal name of Emperor Ming (58—75). This is the reason why HS as well as HHS write Yen Yu instead of Chuang Yu in order to avoid the taboo. Cf. 1 A: 3 b *commentary*.

²) Communicator and Arranger of the Ancestral Temples are titles mentioned in the Shu king. Neither the Ts'in nor Han dynasty used these designations. Wang Mang, however, changed the title of the Grand Minister of Agriculture to Communicator and the title of the Grand Master of Ceremonies to Arranger of the Ancestral Temples. In the present connection they also have the title of generals because they were in command of troops. Cf. 1 A: 3 b *commentary*. Actually HHS (1 A: 3 b; 14, 44: 2 a) calls them generals while HS (99 C: 18 a) writes Generals-in-chief.

The rebels therefore did not attempt an immediate attack but began instead a siege of the city.

So far the rebellion had been limited to the Nan-yang commandery only. The initial stage had consisted in the seizure and looting of districts and hamlets. In the second stage, the rebels had attacked the prefectural cities themselves and engaged in battle with the regular armies of Wang Mang. This stage ended with the great victories in the battle between the rivers and in the battle below Yü-yang. Thanks to the complete defeat of the enemy, the rebels now were well-armed with seized equipment. They controlled the greater part of the commandery, and their number increased daily through the influx of newcomers who wanted to join the victorious side. As a result, the rebellion moved into its final stage. It was openly declared that Wang Mang should be overthrown. Messages were sent to the various parts of the empire, enumerating the «crimes» of Wang Mang (HS 99 C: 20 a) and undoubtedly asking officials and people to join the rebellion. Liu Po-sheng advanced his title from Chief of the Companies Who is Pillar of Heaven to General-in-chief Who is Pillar of Heaven¹⁾ (14,44: 2 b). Liu Hsüan, minor leader of the Troops from P'ing-lin and the favourite of the bands of commoners, became the General of a New Beginning (11 41: 2 a). It seems somewhat strange that this title was chosen as Wang Mang had used exactly the same designation for one of his officials²⁾.

Wang Mang became increasingly aware of the unfavourable developments in Nan-yang and put a reward on Liu Po-sheng's head supposedly of the income of 50,000 households, 100,000 kin of real gold,³⁾ and the status of Supreme Duke. HHS also states that he ordered the various yamens in the empire to paint Liu Po-sheng's figure on a wall and to practice archery in the mornings with this painting as a target (14,44: 2 b).

So far, the leaders of the insurrection were technically nothing but rebels. This was not changed by the fact that in messages they accused Wang Mang of various crimes. However, they were now on the verge of carrying the war into the commanderies adjoining Nan-yang. They hoped for response from officials and people all over the empire. It was therefore desirable, so to speak, to legalize the rebellion; and this could be done in only one way: by appointing an emperor of their own.

¹⁾ HHK 1: 7 a writes General Who is Pillar of Heaven.

²⁾ Cf. HS 99 B: 2 a.

³⁾ According to the figures given by 72. Dubs, I, p. 280, 100,000 kin correspond to 24,400 kg (53,750 lb). Calculating from the present (1952) prize of gold, this would equal \$ 22,575,000. The figure is amazingly high but technically not impossible. At Wang Mang's death 60 chests of gold were found in the imperial apartments alone, and each chest contained 10,000 kin (cf. HS 99 C: 25 a). Hence the 100,000 kin of the text would have corresponded to 10 chests. Wang Mang could have afforded to pay this amount. However, in a later edict he promised a considerably smaller reward (cf. infra p. 117). There seems to be no reason at all why Wang Mang should have diminished the reward, since in the meantime the situation had far from improved. Hence, it looks as if the 100,000 kin of real gold is an exaggeration. The same might be true of the 50,000 households as well, because the corresponding figure of the later edict is likewise smaller.

From the very moment the movement claimed to have obtained the mandate of Heaven, the tables would be drastically turned. As long as their own forces remained undefeated, they alone would represent the «legal» authorities and everyone opposing them would be a rebel. In this theoretical way, Wang Mang would be degraded from emperor to outlaw. The political advantages of such a step were obvious, and, since the rebellion had swung into its final stage, the situation was psychologically ripe for it.

In one respect the rebels were unanimous: the new emperor should be chosen among the members of the Liu clan, the imperial family of Former Han. It apparently was never even hinted that anyone else should be elected. But here the accord stopped short. The gentry of the Nan-yang commandery had their obvious candidate in Liu Po-sheng. None of his relatives had been as instrumental as he in the success of the rebellion. However, the junkers together with their followers were in a minority. Three bands had at different times merged with them, the Troops from Sin-shī, the Troops from P'ing-lin, and the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang. These bands consisted of commoners and were mostly led by uneducated men. Hence, there were many occasions for disagreements. The commoners were suspicious and seem to have feared that in the end they might be cheated by the junkers. This not quite unjustified suspicion was hardly lessened through the early discovery that the junkers had tried to withhold for themselves the greater part of the loot.¹⁾ The leaders of the bands were also aware of the fact that the rebellion in Nan-yang would have failed without their cooperation. They therefore had the right to demand a reward in proportion to their contribution. However, they were uneducated, and the junkers who had studied first at home and later in the capital in all probability conformed to the habit of the time of looking down upon the «stupid» people. Thus, if Liu Po-sheng became emperor, he would surround himself with his own kind of men, and the leaders of the bands would find themselves smoothly outmanoeuvred from political influence. There was only one way in which this could be prevented: the bands had to bring forward a candidate of their own. It was not difficult to find one. Liu Hüan had early joined the Troops from P'ing-lin. He belonged to the former imperial family, but, as things stood, he had no chance whatsoever of becoming emperor other than by accepting the candidacy offered to him by the leaders of the commoners. He could ascend the throne only with the backing of the bands.

The pen ki makes the dry remark that Liu Hüan became Son of Heaven (1 A: 4 a). However, the events preceding his accession had been very dramatic. The normal procedure would have been to assemble all the officers, to discuss the question and to agree on one candidate. Yet it seems as if the leaders of the Troops from Sin-shī, P'ing-lin, and the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang had no inclination towards such a course of action, maybe because they feared a trap or did not trust their own ability to stand up against the assembled gentry. The text is very laconic on this point, but this much appears to be clear: that the chieftains of the commoners

¹⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 107.

mad a coup which took the gentry by surprise. They seem to have assembled alone and decided to install Liu Hüan as emperor. However, in the very last moment they became irresolute. A horse-man was sent to Liu Po-sheng, informing him of their plans and asking him to join the meeting (HS 99 C: 20 a; HHS 14,44: 2 b). Po-sheng's biography records a long speech which he is supposed to have delivered after his arrival at the meeting. Allegedly he pointed out that Wang Mang was still living and that the whole situation in the empire was fluid and undecided. It would be better for the time being to postpone the instalment of an emperor and meanwhile only to appoint a king. He is said almost to have convinced the assembled chieftains, but Chang Ang, one of the leaders of the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang, made such violent objections that Po-sheng's proposition was rejected (14,44: 2 b—3 a).¹⁾ Now as it happens, it is difficult to see how any speech of Liu Po-sheng could possibly have been recorded at this very moment. The leaders of the commoners were uneducated and not accustomed to bureaucratic habits. In all probability no scribes were present to take down the discussion. Hence, the speech of Liu Po-sheng was either much later retold from memory by someone present at the meeting or it is an invention of the historian, being what he thought Po-sheng might have said on this occasion. The overwhelming probability favours the latter alternative. The objection by Chang Ang can be proved a free invention of the historian,²⁾ and this is probably true also of the directly preceding speech of Liu Po-sheng. However, if this speech is an invention, it nevertheless is quite a clever one. Liu Po-sheng was up against a powerful group of men, unanimously opposing him. As things stood, he had no chance at all to force his own candidacy. Furthermore, nothing could be more unfavourable for him than the election of Liu Hüan. The instalment of an emperor was something final which left little hope for later changes. Therefore, the best Po-sheng could do was to suggest postponement of the entire question and to hope for better chances in the future. He therefore very well might have talked along the lines proposed by the historian.

Whatever Liu Po-sheng might have argued, he was unsuccessful. The only chieftain who went over to his side was Wang Ch'ang, one of the leaders of the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang (15,45: 5 b). This is highly suggestive, as Wang Ch'ang himself seems to have belonged to the gentry.³⁾

An altar was built on the sand at the shore of the Yü River.⁴⁾ On March 11, A. D. 23, Liu Hüan ascended the throne, and troops paraded. An amnesty was conferred upon all the people of the empire, meaning that they had nothing to fear

¹⁾ Cf. *supra* pp. 58—59.

²⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 59.

³⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 110.

⁴⁾ According to Shui king chu, this river passed south of the Wan prefecture (cf. 11,41: 2 a *Tsi kie*). As the troops at this time were concentrated around Wan and besieged this city, it seems probable that the altar was built at the part of the Yü River which was closest to Wan.

for their former affiliation with Wang Mang if they now recognized Liu Hūan as their legitimate emperor. The title of the reign (nien hao) became keng-shī, «A New Beginning». Probably the choice of this reign-title was influenced by Liu Hūan's former title as a general. After his death, no posthumous title or temple name was ever bestowed upon Hūan, and he is therefore known in history by his reign-title as the Keng-shī Emperor (11,41: 2 a).

The first and most important step of the new emperor was to select his high officials, as no one would have taken seriously an emperor without a court. The highest dignitaries appointed were 6 men. Liu Liang, the paternal uncle of Po-sheng and Siu, became Thrice Venerable of the State, Wang K'uang Supreme Duke Who Establishes the State, and Wang Feng Supreme Duke Who Perfects the State. Liu Po-sheng was appointed Grand Minister over the Masses, Chu Wei Commander-in-chief, and Ch'en Mu Grand Minister of Works (11,41: 2 b). Po-sheng's position was too strong to be passed over in silence. Liu Liang, on the other hand, was a quite obscure member of the clan who neither now nor later made any stir in the world. All the others belonged to the party which had made Liu Hūan their candidate. Wang K'uang, Wang Feng, and Chu Wei were leaders of the Troops from Sin-shī. Ch'en Mu was one of the chieftains of the Troops from P'ing-lin. The proportion was therefore 4 representatives of the party of Liu Hūan against only 2 representatives of the party of the gentry in Nan-yang.

The election of Liu Hūan and the dominance of his party was a tragedy for Liu Po-sheng, and this even more so as his own followers now began to desert him. If he had been the candidate of the gentry, this was not because of any personal affection towards him but only because the junkers expected to share his fortune after he had become emperor. Instead, he was now outmanoeuvred and therefore worse than useless. In fact, continued affiliation with Liu Po-sheng could prove dangerous, and the gentry knew this.

In this connection it should be pointed out that the rivalry between the gentry and commoners was not merely the result of social contrasts. It is obvious that at the same time each of the groups involved strove to gain political advantage over the others, quite apart from their social background. On the other hand, this political rivalry was greatly strengthened by the fact that the two main groups were recruited from different social strata. This made the dividing-line between them very clear and prevented an early merging or regrouping. Thus, a double element of mutual suspicion and opposition undoubtedly existed. All this, however, was completely changed from the very moment Liu Hūan's party had gained the victory. The leaders of the commoners now automatically became members of the gentry themselves and were interested in preserving their new position. Hence, one of the previous elements of rivalry ceased to exist. The new as well as the old gentry had exactly the same interests, and as things no longer could be changed, one might as well accept the situation and start to cooperate. It is symptomatic that from now on the separate designations of the various bands disappear. The diverse

troops merge de facto into one and the same army, the »Army of Han«, and the generals of the new and old gentry fight side by side. The newcomers into the gentry had no reason whatsoever to persecute the members of the old gentry as long as these accepted Liu Hüan as their emperor. The junkers realized in turn that they had no other choice but to make terms with the victorious party. They knew on which side their bread was buttered and understood that continued backing of Liu Po-sheng was identical with political suicide. In this way, the other element of rivalry, at least for the time being, also ceased to exist. The old gentry, en bloc, swung over into the opposite camp, and Liu Po-sheng found himself deserted. Socially speaking, none of the alternatives would in any way have altered the existing circumstances. The revolution was entirely political, not social. The only difference was that the victory of Liu Hüan's party brought more new members into the gentry than would have been the case if Liu Po-sheng had got the upper hand.

It is rather an irony of history that Liu Po-sheng was defeated by the very forces whose support he had been compelled to seek. Without them he would have lost the war, and with them he lost his personal goal and later his life.

In spite of all, Liu Po-sheng continued to be a potential danger to the Keng-shī Emperor. He was a man of unusual talent and invested with one of the highest offices in the new hierarchy. His fame was undiminished, and it still happened that some of his relatives or others openly declared themselves for him. When for instance Sin-ye at this time was attacked, the Steward of the prefecture, P'an Lin, who was a friend of Teng Ch'en and the Liu brothers,¹⁾ declared that he would capitulate only to Po-sheng personally and to no one else. As soon as Po-sheng arrived, P'an Lin promptly opened the gates (14,44: 3 a—3 b).

In the very same month that Liu Hüan had ascended the throne, Wang Mang issued an edict. It does not mention Liu Hüan, which indicates that the latest news not yet had reached the capital. The edict conferred an amnesty upon the empire but specifically excluded Liu Po-sheng and his relatives. Wang Mang repeated his promise to pay a reward for the arrest of Liu Po-sheng, consisting of the position as Supreme Duke, the income of 10,000 households, and 50,000,000 cash²⁾ (HS 99 C: 20 b—21 a). In another edict Wang Mang gave strict orders to suppress the rebellion. The Communicator and General, Yen Yu, and the Arranger of the Ancestral Temples and General, Ch'en Mao, who had already suffered one defeat at the hands of the Han troops,³⁾ together with the Grand Minister over the Masses

¹⁾ Cf. supra pp. 101—102.

²⁾ 1 kin of gold was worth 10,000 cash (cf. 74. Dubs, p. 237). Hence, 50,000,000 cash corresponded to 5000 kin of real gold. This figure is drastically smaller than the 100,000 kin of real gold mentioned in a previous edict. Also the present edict promises the income of only 10,000 households against 50,000 in the preceding one. Cf. supra p. 113.

³⁾ In the battle below Yü-yang. Cf. supra p. 112.

and General of Chariots and Cavalry, Wang Sün, and the Grandee of Tso-sui¹⁾, Wang Wu, were commanded to lead their troops, described as amounting to 100,000 men. If the rebels of Nan-yang surrendered, their life should be guaranteed. Otherwise they should be attacked and annihilated (HS 99 C: 21 a—21 b). Wang Mang also sent 72 men to go to the various parts of the empire and proclaim an amnesty. Among them was a certain Wei Ao who was later to play an important role as a warlord in the northwest (HS 99 C: 21 b).

Meanwhile, the Han troops continued to besiege Wan. The defense of this city was led by two men, Ts'en P'eng and Yen Shuo²⁾. Nothing is known about Yen Shuo. Ts'en P'eng, on the other hand, had his home in the Ki-yang prefecture and was originally its prefect. When Ki-yang was attacked by the rebels, he did not dare to stay but fled together with his family to the administrator of the commandery, Chen Fou. The latter resented the fact that Ts'en P'eng had unsuccessfully defended Ki-yang and seems to have doubted his loyalty. Therefore he took Ts'en P'eng's mother and wife as hostages. Whatever P'eng's sympathies might have been, he now was forced to fight for Wang Mang. After the death of Chen Fou he fled to Wan and was still in this city when the siege began (17,47: 10 b).

At this time, the Han army was already strong enough to carry on other activities, simultaneously with the siege of Wan. One of these was to conquer such prefectures of the Nan-yang commandery as had not yet surrendered. Thus, the Wu-yin prefecture was stubbornly defended by its most powerful family, the Li clan. However, this clan declared its willingness to capitulate to a certain Chao Hi, an orphan of the influential clan in the Wan prefecture. The text does not state why the Li clan was anxious to surrender especially to him. The Keng-shi Emperor consequently appointed Chao Hi as Gentleman-of-the-Palace and Lieutenant General, and as soon as Hi arrived at Wu-yin, the gates of the city were opened (26,56: 13 a—13 b). Thereupon Chao Hi led an expeditionary corps in a half circle through the Ying-ch'uan and Ju-nan commanderies, bordering on Nanyang in the northeast and east,³⁾ after which he successfully returned to his base (26,56: 13 b).

In the 3d month (Apr./May) of A. D. 23, another expeditionary army penetrated into the Ying-ch'uan commandery, led among others by Liu Siu who had been appointed Grand Master of Ceremonies and at the same time held the comparatively humble rank of Lieutenant General. It is from now on that Liu Siu steps into the limelight of history. The expeditionary army conquered three prefectures, K'un-yang,⁴⁾ Ting-ling,⁵⁾ and Yen,⁶⁾ whereupon horses, oxen, and grain were sent to

¹⁾ Wang Mang had changed the name of the Ying-ch'uan commandery to Tso-sui and the title of its Grand Administrator to Grandee. The Ying-ch'uan commandery bordered on Nan-yang in the north-east. Cf. map 3.

²⁾ TTK 9: 2 a writes Yen Yu.

³⁾ Cf. map 3.

⁴⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 75, note 1.

⁵⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 75, note 6.

⁶⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 75, note 5.

Wan to serve as provisions for the besieging army under Po-sheng (HS 99 C: 21 b; HHS 1 A: 4 a). This latter fact illuminates one of the strategic principles of the time. To seize territory as such remained only one aspect of the campaigns. The other factor, just as decisive, was to mobilize fresh troops and to confiscate provisions for the ever increasing demands of the army.

After the Han army had widened its base of operation to include parts of the Ying-ch'uan commandery, Wang Mang issued additional orders. Earlier, he had commanded Wang Sün together with Yen Yu, Ch'en Mao, and Wang Wu to put down the rebellion.¹⁾ Now he sent the Grand Minister of Works, Wang Yi, in haste to Lo-yang to take charge of the situation. Wang Yi was granted extraordinary authority. He obtained the right to make final decisions without first having to ask sanction from Wang Mang. He also was allowed to distribute rewards, including enfeoffment, and to confer noble titles. All the arsenals were opened, and every attempt was made to assemble crack troops and to equip them well (HS 99 C: 21 b; HHS 1 A: 4 a—4 b).

Wang Yi met Wang Sün in Lo-yang where the picked troops from the surrounding commanderies soon started to arrive. The mobilization was facilitated by the fact that Wang Mang had already, in A. D. 20, ordered the setting up of a great army (HS 99 C: 6 b—7 a). In the 5th month (June/July) the army was assembled and began to move in the direction of Wan. Marching southeastwards, the troops entered the Ying-ch'uan commandery and united with the soldiers of Yen Yu and Ch'en Mao. Wang Wu, the administrator of Ying-ch'uan who had been mentioned in Wang Mang's previous edict,²⁾ is not again referred to in the texts (HS 99 C: 22 a; HHS 1 A: 4 b).

The HHS states that the Han troops tried to intercept the enemy at the Yang-kuan agglomeration. However, the soldiers of Wang Yi were superior in number, and the Han army was forced to retreat to K'un-yang. The enemy followed, surrounded the city and started a siege. Liu Siu himself, together with the General-in-chief of Agile Cavalry, Tsung Tiao, and the General of the Five Majestic [Principles], Li Yi, escaped by night through the southern gate. The Supreme Duke Who Perfects the State, Wang Feng, and the Commandant of Justice and General-in-chief, Wang Ch'ang, stayed behind in order to defend the city. Liu Siu hurried to the prefectures of Ting-ling and Yen and mobilized all troops that were available. Chao Hi who in the meantime had been appointed Lieutenant General of the Five Majestic [Principles] also joined the forces (26,56: 13 b). On July 7, A. D. 23, they returned in order to relieve K'un-yang. By then, the siege could not have lasted more than a couple of weeks. Liu Siu personally commanded the vanguard. Wang Yi and Wang Sün did not wish to raise the siege and therefore ordered only a minor contingent of troops to stop the attack. The rest of the army was commanded not to move from its positions around the city. Liu Siu was able to

¹⁾ Cf. *supra* pp. 117—118.

²⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 118.

overthrow the troops sent against him. He realized the tactical mistake of the enemy and, in order to make the most of it, immediately attacked the besieging troops from the rear. The garrison of K'un-yang at the same time made a sally. Wang Yi's army found itself attacked from both sides and was utterly defeated. Wang Yi, Yen Yu, and Ch'en Mao escaped. Wang Sün died on the battle-field (HS 99 C:22 a-22 b; HHS 1 A:5 b-7 a).¹⁾

Through the defeat of Wang Mang's great army, the Han troops seized a tremendous amount of equipment (1 A:7 a). Already this fact shifted the balance still further to their advantage. Of even greater importance was the radical failure of Wang Mang's great and well-organized attempt to crush the rebellion. The Han army began to gain the upper hand, and the political consequences of this were soon apparent. The credit for the success seems chiefly to have been Liu Siu's. Even if apparently he was not the supreme commander of the campaign, he seems to have been the one who realized the tactical blunder of the enemy, immediately pushed forward, and thereby decided the outcome of the battle.²⁾

The city of Wan had capitulated 3 days before the battle of K'un-yang, after a siege of about 5 months (1 A:6 b). The officers wished to execute Ts'en P'eng and Yen Shuo, the defenders of the city, but their lives were saved through the intervention of Liu Po-sheng (17,47: 10 b). Ts'en P'eng later became one of Emperor Kuang-wu's famous generals. In the following month (July/Aug.), the Keng-shī Emperor entered Wan and chose the city as his provisional capital (11,41: 2 b).

Liu Po-sheng had successfully completed the siege of Wan, and this might have stimulated the fears of the new emperor. He could hardly forget that Po-sheng himself had harboured justified ambitions for the throne and that his plans perhaps had suffered only a temporary check. As long as Po-sheng was alive, the Keng-shī Emperor could never feel quite safe. Under these circumstances things soon came to a head. The emperor, advised by his officials, came to the decision to have Liu Po-sheng executed as soon as a pretext could be found. Thus, on one occasion when the officials were assembled, the emperor took the sword of Po-sheng and examined it. At this moment, the Secretary for Embroidered Clothes, Shen-t'u Kien, offered the emperor a küe of jade³⁾. As the küe had the form of a ring of which one half was missing, it had the symbolical meaning of separation, which on this occasion of course referred to Po-sheng. The emperor hesitated however at the last moment and did not accept the küe. After the audience was over, Liu Po-sheng was warned by his maternal uncle Fan Hung but is said merely to have laughed (14,44: 3 b). As he seems to have taken no precautions whatsoever, he apparently did not realize the seriousness of the situation. Even his closest assistants from the earlier part of the rebellion plotted now for his death,

¹⁾ For a detailed description of the battle see the previous chapter, pp. 74 ff.

²⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 136.

³⁾ The küe was a half-circle shaped girdle pendant.

among them was none less than Li Yi, the son of Li T'ung's father's brother (14,44: 3 b; 17,47: 3 b).

The Keng-shī Emperor soon found the pretext he needed. One of Po-sheng's subordinate officers was his relative Liu Tsi. This man made derogatory remarks about the emperor which seem to have been reported to the court.¹⁾ The emperor first tried to silence him by offering advancement to a generalship. Liu Tsi refused to accept the bribe. The Keng-shī Emperor then ordered that several thousands of soldiers be deployed, evidently as a precaution for what he had in mind. Thereupon Liu Tsi was arrested and led to his execution. Po-sheng immediately came to his assistance and interceded earnestly in his behalf. In doing so, he went into the carefully prepared trap. Li Yi and Chu Wei made an accusation against Liu Po-sheng, whereupon he also was arrested and without delay executed together with Liu Tsi (14,44: 3 b-4 a). Through this action, the emperor freed himself from his dreaded rival, but at the same time the Han forces probably lost their most capable man. Liu Siu, deeply shocked by the death of his brother, and fearing for his own life, hurried from the newly conquered prefectures Ying-yang²⁾ and Fu-ch'eng³⁾ southwards to Wan in order to assure the emperor of his loyalty (1 A:6 b). For the time being, the position of the Keng-shī Emperor was uncontested among the Han troops.

Wang Mang's power was seriously shaken. From now on he was on the defensive and never again able to take the initiative. The most urgent need was to prevent the rebellion from spreading into the area within the passes. As long as Kuan-chung could be held intact there still was hope. Wang Mang therefore made desperate attempts to calm the people. The Han troops had repeated the accusation of Chai Yi that Wang Mang had poisoned Emperor P'ing.⁴⁾ Wang Mang consequently had a metal box opened in which he had deposited a document during an illness of Emperor P'ing. Imitating the Duke of Chou, in this document he had offered his own life in exchange for that of the emperor. He also had oracles quoted according to which the rebellion would be put down. Finally he ordered that a certain number of men in cages should be transported to the capital and publicly executed under the pretext that they were the leaders of the rebellion (HS 99 C: 22 b).

In spite of all these efforts, the political disintegration spread, and Wang Mang had to face a plot against his life even at his own court. Influenced by astrological speculations of the taoist Si-men Kün-hui, the General of the Guards, Wang She, approached the Commander-in-chief, Tung Chung, in order to conspire

¹⁾ Cf. *supra* pp. 51–52.

²⁾ The Ying-yang prefecture during Han belonged to the Ying-ch'uan commandery and was situated SW of the present Hsi-ch'ang hien, Ho-nan.

³⁾ The Fu-ch'eng prefecture during Han belonged to the Ying-ch'uan commandery and was situated 40 li E of the present Pao-feng hien, Ho-nan.

⁴⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 89.

against Wang Mang. Several times they tried to contact the State Master, Liu Hin, the famous son of the equally famous Liu Hiang. However, Liu Hin was at first not inclined to listen to them. Finally Wang She saw him alone and persuaded him to head the plot against Wang Mang. During the secret conversation, Wang She is said to have mentioned that the circumstances of Wang Mang's birth were obscure. Supposedly his father had been suffering from bad health while his mother was a drunkard. This was a delicate way of suggesting that Wang Mang was an illegitimate son (HS 99 C: 22 b-23 a). The HS states as the reason for Liu Hin's participation that three of his children had been executed by Wang Mang (HS 99 B: 16 a; 99 C: 11 b). The conspirators had every reason to hope for success. Tung Chung was the Commander-in-chief. Wang She was in charge of the guards at the palace. Furthermore, Liu Hin's eldest son, Tie, was General Over All the Offices of the Gentlemen-at-the-Palace. He would be a valuable asset but was not yet initiated into the plot. The idea seems to have been to take possession of the person of the emperor and to surrender him to the Han troops. Wang She and Tung Chung wanted to take immediate action, but Liu Hin, not quite knowing on which foot to stand, postponed the coup. The plot would probably still have succeeded if the conspirators had contented themselves with the arrangements they already had made. They were in command of a great body of troops, and therefore the situation was well in their hands. However, as can be seen from an endless number of other conspiracies, prolonged waiting proves most difficult and often fatal. It clearly was a mistake of Liu Hin to postpone the action as the nerves of the others did not hold under the strain. They started to «improve» the scheme. Tung Chung approached a certain Sun Ki, a high palace official who also was in control of troops. It is difficult to see how these troops, which can hardly have been great in number, could have affected the situation in one way or the other. The move was a great blunder and its consequences disaster. Sun Ki seems to have been deeply scared by the secret and unable to hide his anxiety from his wife. She found out the reason of his fear and in her turn told her younger brother, Ch'en Han. The latter was inclined to denounce the plot, and finally in the 6th month (July/Aug.) he and Sun Ki together gave information to the emperor. Thereupon Wang Mang sent messengers separately to summon the conspirators. At this very moment, the Commander-in-chief, Tung Chung, held a review with his troops. Thus, the initiative still rested with him. One of his subordinate officers, Wang Hien, guessed that something was wrong. He urgently warned Tung Chung and advised him to execute the messenger, enter the palace, and arrest Wang Mang. Tung Chung did not listen to him and treated the situation lightly. He followed the messenger into the palace and was confronted with Liu Hin and Wang She below one of the gates. From then on there could no longer be any doubt why they had been sent for, but it was too late to do anything about it. They were interrogated by an official by the name of Tai Yün, and all confessed to the conspiracy. Then, surrounded by guards with swords in their

hands, they were led to one of the chambers in the palace. Tung Chung had not yet been disarmed. He drew his sword, presumably with the intention of committing suicide. Before he could carry out his purpose, he was killed by the guards. Some panic seems to have broken out in the palace, but calm was restored through interference of the General of a New Beginning, Shī Shen. As usual, the circumstances of the plot were exhaustively investigated, and the report of this investigation must be the source of the detailed description in the HS. The members of Tung Chung's family were arrested and executed. Liu Hin and Wang She committed suicide. Liu Tie, who had never been informed of the conspiracy, and was thus quite innocent, was pardoned (HS 99 C:23 a-23 b).

One of Liu Hin's subordinate officials had been Wei Ao, the very person who previously together with 71 other men had been sent as a special messenger to proclaim an amnesty in the empire.¹⁾ After Liu Hin's death, Wei Ao returned to his home in the Ch'eng-ki prefecture²⁾ of the T'ien-shui commandery (13,43: 1 a). He soon became the central figure of a new rebellion, claiming to be pro Han but in reality pursuing a quite independent goal. Here it is a question of a typical secondary revolt, made possible only by the preceding unrest and disorder in other parts of the empire. Wei Ao's paternal uncles, Wei Ts'ui and Wei Yi, had heard about the success of the Han troops and the continuous defeat of Wang Mang's forces. This put into their heads the idea of starting a revolt of their own. As a preliminary step they joined with Yang Kuang and Chou Tsung, both also natives of the northwest. According to HHS, Wei Ao originally opposed the plot as he was afraid of the consequences. He was however overruled. The rebels assembled an army, attacked P'ing-siang³⁾, the capital of the T'ien-shui commandery⁴⁾, and killed the administrator (13,43: 1 a) whose name according to HS was Li Yü (HS 99 C: 24 b). The various leaders of the rebellion then decided that the time had come to elect an over-all commander, and as Wei Ao was the best educated member of his clan the choice fell on him. After the usual excuses he accepted the dignity and assumed the title of Supreme General. His first action was to summon a certain Fang Wang from P'ing-ling⁵⁾ to become Master of the Army. This Fang Wang seems to have been an ambitious man with considerable influence in the northwest of the country. He strongly advised Wei Ao openly to proclaim himself for the Liu clan and pointed out that this step would produce confidence among the common people (13,43: 1 b). Evidently, Fang Wang did not advocate recognition of the Keng-shī Emperor as such, but only recognition of the justified cause of Han against Wang Mang. He did not wish to deprive himself of the initiative within this frame

¹⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 118.

²⁾ Identical with the present Ts'in-an hien, Kan-su.

³⁾ Situated SW of the present T'ung-wei hien, Kan-su.

⁴⁾ Wang Mang had changed the name of this commandery to Chen-jung.

⁵⁾ The P'ing-ling prefecture belonged to the Yu-fu-feng commandery and was situated 15 li NW of the present Hien-yang hien, Shen-si.

to work for any combination which seemed most favourable. This is proved by the fact that Fang Wang later broke with Wei Ao (13,43: 5 a—5 b), obtained the person of the unfortunate Young Prince, Liu Ying, the one who as a baby had been dethroned by Wang Mang, and in the spring of A.D. 25 set him up as Son of Heaven (1 A: 13 a).

Influenced by Fang Wang, Wei Ao openly declared himself for Han. A temple was built for Emperor Kao (206—195), the founder of the Han dynasty, and sacrifices were made to him, to Emperor Wen (179—157), and to Emperor Wu (140—87). Sacrificial animals were killed, and the troops took an oath to be loyal to the Han dynasty. After this, blood was given in spoons to all the officers. Finally a document was buried on which characters had been written in blood, probably an account of the ceremony (13,43: 1 b—2 a).

After the ritual had been carried out, a proclamation was sent to the various parts of the empire. This proclamation, dated August 6, A. D. 23, and issued by Wei Ao, Wei Ts'ui, Wei Yi, Yang Kuang, Chou Tsung, and a certain Wang Tsun, consists of accusations against Wang Mang and is therefore a typical propaganda pamphlet. Its existence is mentioned in HS (99 C: 24 b), and it is quoted in extenso in the HHS. As this document constitutes the only pamphlet against Wang Mang which has been preserved it deserves to be translated:

13,43: 2 b—4 b. »The former marquis of Sin-tu, Wang Mang, has treated rudely and insulted Heaven and Earth, acted contrary to principles, and opposed order. He poisoned and killed Emperor Hiao-p'ing and snatched away his throne. He pretended [to have received] the mandate of Heaven and forged writings about verifications [of his mandate through auspicious omens]. He cheated and misled the masses and aroused to anger the Lord on High. He turned and twisted ornamental expressions in order to fabricate auspicious omens. He made game of the Spirits of Heaven and Earth and praised misfortunes and calamities in song. The bamboos of Ch'u and Yüe are not sufficient to write down his wickedness. It is manifest to the [whole] empire and has been heard and seen by all. Now we [only] bring forward in summary the main points in order to instruct officials and people.

It is namely so that Heaven constitutes the father and Earth constitutes the mother¹⁾. The response of misfortune or fortune comes down in each case in accordance with the affair. [Wang] Mang understood it clearly and yet he blindly went against this without regard for the great taboos. He offended and confused the devices of Heaven, and quoted the historical records after his own convenience.

Formerly, Ts'in-shih-huang broke down the rule of conferring posthumous titles and wished by counting from 1 to 2 etc. to reach 10,000 generations²⁾. Thus, Wang Mang issued a calendar of 36,000 years and said that he personally should exhaust this measure. He followed the path of Ts'in which had perished and applied calculations which were infinite. This is his great crime against Heaven.

He divided the commanderies and kingdoms and cut off the connections of the areas. The fields became the sovereign's fields, and to sell or buy them was not permitted. He

¹⁾ Allusion to Shu king, t'ai shi A.

²⁾ Contrary to all practice in China before and after him, Ts'in-shih-huang wanted to number the rulers who would be his descendants, starting with himself as The First.

closed off the mountains and marshes and snatched away the basic occupation of the people. He constructed and erected nine ancestral temples and pushed labour to the utmost point¹⁾. He opened the graves east of the Yellow River and plundered the tumuli. This is his great crime against Earth.

He honoured and gave office to cruel murderers, trusted and employed villainous flatterers, and executed and massacred loyal and upright men. He investigated and examined oral statements²⁾. The red chariots travelled quickly³⁾. Wearers of Law caps⁴⁾ day and night unjustly arrested people without guilt. He recklessly annihilated the masses and put into practice the punishment of burning and roasting⁵⁾. He abolished the law [that actions had] to be in accordance with the seasons⁶⁾. He poured down pure vinegar⁷⁾ and ripped open with the Five Poisons⁸⁾. The ordinances of the government were changed daily, the names of the offices were changed monthly, and the currency was altered yearly. Officials and people were confused and did not know what to follow. The merchants became impoverished and distressed and wailed and wept in the market-places and roads. He established the Six Controls and increased the levies and contributions. He cruelly fleeced the Hundred Clans but amply nourished himself. Bribery prevailed, and wealth entered [into the pockets of] ministers and clerks. High and low coveted bribes, and nobody examined the others. People were condemned for hoarding copper and coal and were seized [as governmental slaves] for the Bell-Office⁹⁾. Convict-labourers became numerous and accumulated to several hundred-thousands of persons. The artisans died of starvation so that all Ch'ang-an stank.

When he once had brought disorder over all China, his crazy ambitions became still more violent. Northwards he attacked the powerful Hu. Southwards he annoyed the strong Yüe. Westwards he encroached upon the K'iang and Jung. Eastwards he troubled the Wei-po. [Thus] he brought it about that [the tribes] outside of the Four Borders all entered [the empire] and caused harm, [with the result that] in the commanderies of the borders and at the shores of the [Yang-tsü-] kiang and the sea the land was swept clean and nothing was left behind. Therefore the number of those who have fallen in the fighting, who have been struck down by cruel punishments, who have died prematurely because of famine, and who have been stricken by epidemics amounts to hundreds of millions. As to those of them who died, the exposed corpses were not covered, and as to those who lived, they ran away and became vagrants. The young ones, orphans, wives, and daughters drifted and scattered and became slaves. This is his great crime against Mankind.

¹⁾ Liu Pin corrects the 土作 of the text to 工作. Chou Shou-ch'ang wants to maintain the t'u and understands the text as: 'He pushed the works of earth to the utmost point'. Cf. 13,43: 3 a —3 b *T'ei-kie*.

²⁾ Hui Tung says: 'Oral words are things like single statements without corroborative evidences'. Cf. 13,43: 3 b *T'ei kie*.

³⁾ According to chi 29: 13 a, the chariots of minor messengers had red naves, white canopies, and red curtains. They had an escort of 40 cavalymen.

⁴⁾ According to chi 30: 7 b, the caps of law were 5 ts'un high (11.6 cm; 4.6. in. Eng. meas.) and were carried by the Attending Secretaries.

⁵⁾ In this way he burned for instance Ch'en Liang and Chung Tai (HS 99 B: 25 b). Cf. supra p. 92.

⁶⁾ Since February 9, A. D. 20, executions were carried out during all seasons. Cf. HS 99 C: 6 b.

⁷⁾ When the members of Tung Chung's family were arrested and executed (cf. supra p. 123), pure vinegar was poured over their corpses.

⁸⁾ They were used to destroy the corpses of the ancestors of the rebel Chai Yi. Cf. HS 84: 19 b.

⁹⁾ This office was in charge of casting coins. Cf. 13,43: 4 a, *commentary*.

For this reason, the Lord on High felt pity. He sent down punishment to Wang Mang: his wife and sons perished or committed suicide¹⁾. The great officials revolted and grasped territories, and the configuration of Wang Mang's downfall has already taken on form. The Commander-in-chief, Tung Chung, the State Master, Liu Hin, and the General of the Guards, Wang She, all formed a plot to break through inwards²⁾. The Director of Mandates, K'ung Jen, the Communicator, Yen Yu, and the Arranger of the Ancestral Temples, Ch'en Mao, capitulated with their troops outwards³⁾.

Now the soldiers of east of the mountains are more than two million. They have already pacified Ts'i and Ch'u⁴⁾, they have brought Shu-Han⁵⁾ to fall, they have consolidated Wan and the Lo River area⁶⁾, they hold the Ao Granary⁷⁾, and they defend the Han-ku pass. Their majestic orders are spread everywhere, and their proclamations influence the Central Mountain Peak⁸⁾. They revive the extinguished [states] and restore the interrupted [succession of feudal families]. They [re-]define the Ten-thousand States, follow the old decrees of the Eminent Founder, and cultivate the bequeathed virtue of Emperor Hiao-wen. If there are [those who] do not follow orders, the armies of war pacify them. They send galloping messengers to the Barbarians of the Four Directions and restore their feudal ranks and appellations⁹⁾. Thereafter they recall their armies, rest the host, case the bows, and put the drums to sleep. We repeat the order to the Hundred Clans that everyone shall dwell peacefully at his place so that there shall not be the burden of children carried on the back¹⁰⁾.»

The whole pamphlet is highly rhetorical, and its sweeping statements should not be understood verbatim. Thus, the Han troops by no means had control of Shan-tung, Hu-pei, and Si-ch'uan. Lo-yang was not yet even attacked, and neither the Han-ku pass nor the Ao Granary, which were both situated close to the Yellow River, had been taken. The Han army in reality only possessed two commanderies, Nan-yang and Ying-ch'uan. In fact, the Ju-nan commandery, situated immediately east of Nan-yang, was already in the hands of another rebel. This was Liu Wang,¹¹⁾ a member of the imperial clan and former marquis of Chung-wu¹²⁾. Yen Yu and

¹⁾ Wang Mang executed several of his sons. His wife became blind.

²⁾ They plotted within the court itself. Cf. *supra* pp. 121—123.

³⁾ They surrendered to forces opposing Wang Mang. Cf. *infra* 126—127. K'ung Jen after his capitulation committed suicide. Cf. HS 99 C: 28 a.

⁴⁾ This refers to present Shan-tung and Hu-pei respectively.

⁵⁾ I. e. the commanderies of Shu and Han-chung in present Si-ch'uan.

⁶⁾ I. e. the area around the city of Lo-yang.

⁷⁾ Cf. *infra*.

⁸⁾ According to the *commentary* (13,43: 4 b) this means that the Keng-shī Emperor arrived at Lo-yang. However, at this time Lo-yang still was in the hands of Wang Mang.

⁹⁾ Wang Mang had degraded the rulers of non-Chinese tribes.

¹⁰⁾ The *commentary* says (13,43: 4 b) that the people carried their children strapped on their backs when they migrated. Ts'ien Ta-hin maintains that this is a mistake. He believes that 負子之責 is an allusion to Shu king (Kin t'eng), meaning «to shoulder the duty of a son». Cf. *Tai kie* (*ibid.*). A sentence in SK 33 has exactly the same four characters. Cf. 68. Chavannes, IV, p. 90. who understands the expression in the same way as Ts'ien Ta-hin.

¹¹⁾ HS 99 C: 28 b writes Liu Sheng. His family connection is not quite clear.

¹²⁾ The Chung-wu prefecture during Han belonged to the Kiang-hia commandery and was situated SE of the present Sin-yang hien, Hu-pei.

Ch'en Mao, mentioned in Wei Ao's pamphlet, had after their defeat at K'un-yang preferred to join him rather than to capitulate to the Keng-shī Emperor. In the 8th month (Sept./Oct.) of A. D. 23, Liu Wang went so far as to proclaim himself Son of Heaven and appointed Yen Yu and Ch'en Mao as Commander-in-chief and Lieutenant Chancellor respectively (11,41: 2 b). Their glory, however, did not last very long. In the 10th month (Nov./Dec.) of the same year, all three of them were defeated and killed by the Keng-shī Emperor's General-in-chief Displaying Majesty, Liu Sin¹⁾ (11,41: 3 a).

One month before Wei Ao had issued the pamphlet against Wang Mang, another secondary rebellion occurred which was destined to benefit the Han forces. It broke out west of the Nan-yang commandery on the road to Ch'ang-an, the capital of the empire. This was a stroke of luck for the Han troops and a new catastrophe for Wang Mang. The rebellion was headed by Teng Ye and Yü K'uang, both natives of the Si prefecture²⁾ in the Hung-nung commandery. They did not revolt in their home prefecture but in Nan-hiang³⁾, situated a couple of miles south of Si. The reason seems to have been that the Steward of Si was in command of troops and in the beginning inclined to oppose the rebels. However, he was persuaded to surrender to Teng Ye and Yü K'uang. Through his capitulation the army of the insurgents became sufficiently strong to permit a decisive attack on the nearby Tan-shui prefecture⁴⁾ (HS 99 C: 24 b).

Teng Ye and Yü K'uang, who had called themselves General of the Left and General of the Right Supporting Han, realized the advantage of their sudden and successful revolt. They did not wait to make contacts with the Han army but turned instead westwards and attacked the Wu pass. This pass was defended by the Chief Commandant, Chu Meng, who soon surrendered (HS 99 C: 24 b—25 a). Thereupon Teng Ye sent messengers to the Han troops, inviting them to follow him through the Wu pass (HS 99 C: 26 a). Meanwhile he continued to advance, attacked and killed Sung Kang, the administrator of the Hung-nung commandery⁵⁾, and seized the Hu prefecture⁶⁾ (HS 99 C: 25 a).

In the 8th month (Sept./Oct.), the Keng-shī Emperor dispatched expeditionary armies against the two most important cities of the empire. The first of these armies was under the command of the Supreme Duke Who Establishes the State, Wang K'uang, and attacked Lo-yang, defended by Wang Mang's Grand Master,

¹⁾ He was the grandson of the Keng-shī Emperor's father's brother.

²⁾ Situated N of the present Si-ch'uan hien, Ho-nan.

³⁾ The Nan-hiang prefecture during Han belonged to the Nan-yang commandery and was situated SE of the present Si-ch'uan hien, Ho-nan.

⁴⁾ The Tan-shui prefecture during Former Han belonged to the Hung-nung commandery and was situated W of the present Si-ch'uan hien, Ho-nan.

⁵⁾ By Wang Mang changed to Yu-sui.

⁶⁾ The Hu prefecture during Former Han belonged to King-chao-yin, the capital commandery, and was situated E of the present Wen-hiang hien, Ho-nan.

Wang K'uang¹), and the State General, Ai Chang. The city was taken in the 9th month (Oct./Nov.), after the death of Wang Mang. The other army was sent to penetrate the Wu pass and attack Ch'ang-an itself. This army was led by the General-in-chief Who Shields Westwards, Shen-t'u Kien, and the Director of Service of the Lieutenant Chancellor, Li Sung (11,41: 2 b). The latter was the great-grandson of Li T'ung's great-grandfather's brother. Li Sung followed the invitation of Teng Ye, marched through the Wu pass, and caught up with him in the Hu prefecture (HS 99 C: 26 a).

In the meantime, Wang Mang had made his last attempts to organize the defense of the capital area. After the plot against him had been discovered, the Commander-in-chief, Tung Chung, had been killed and the State Master, Liu Hin, and the General of the Guards, Wang She, had committed suicide, the first and most urgent matter had been to reorganize the government, i. e. to appoint new high officials. Wang Mang's intention was to summon his relative, the Grand Minister of Works, Wang Yi, to the capital. However, Wang Yi had suffered the disastrous defeat at K'un-yang and therefore had every reason to fear the disfavour of his emperor. This fact was pointed out by Ts'ui Fa. Wang Mang realized that drastic measures were necessary. He ordered Ts'ui Fa to hurry to Wang Yi and to inform him that he had been chosen successor of Wang Mang. Upon his arrival, he was appointed Commander-in-chief. Thus, Wang Yi de facto had become Heir-apparent and was entrusted with extraordinary authority. Ts'ui Fa himself succeeded Wang Yi as Grand Minister of Works. Chang Han became Grand Minister over the Masses after the unfortunate Wang Sün who had been killed at K'un-yang. Wang Lin was appointed General of the Guards. Wang Mang himself is said to have been so deeply worried that he hardly ate. He studied military books deep into the night until he fell asleep in his chair (HS 99 C: 24 a).

It seems at first sight surprising that Wang Mang did not increase the defence of the passes in time. In A. D. 7, when Chai Yi revolted, Wang Mang had promptly and ably sealed the land within the passes against any attack. He had stationed generals at the Wu pass and the Han-ku pass and in addition ordered troops to encamp in and around the capital.²) This time, however, the Wu pass was defended only by a Chief Commandant. As Chief Commandant is the title of precisely those officials who were in charge of the important passes in normal times, this proves that Wang Mang had not increased the garrison. It would be hard to believe that Wang Mang in A. D. 23 failed in military competence after having given proof of the opposite in A. D. 7. The explanation must simply be that Wang Mang was now short of troops. His great army had been defeated and scattered. He was also cut off from the most densely populated areas of the empire, which made any additional mobilization impossible. In the dilemma of how to use his remaining troops, he

¹) The name of the Grand Master, Wang K'uang, is written with the same characters as the name of the Supreme Duke Who Establishes the State.

²) Cf. *supra* p. 90.

therefore seems to have decided to concentrate them for the immediate defense of the capital. Because of this, Teng Ye met little resistance in the Wu pass. The sudden weakness of the enemy was a complete surprise to the Han troops, and, as presently will be seen, they continued to overestimate the strength of Wang Mang's remaining army. Actually, nothing would have prevented Teng Ye, and Li Sung who followed close upon his heels, from marching from the Wu pass directly northwestwards against Ch'ang-an. Instead they cautiously moved northwards to Hu.

Wang Mang appointed nine generals who all had the word »tiger» as part of their title. They therefore were called the »Nine Tiger Generals» (HS 99 C: 25 a). These generals arrived at the entrance of the Wei River valley and took up their position in the Hua-yin prefecture¹⁾ (HS 99 C: 25 b). The road to Ch'ang-an went along south of the Yellow River and the Wei River. Thus, by blocking the strip of land from the mountains in the south to the Yellow River in the north, probably at a place close to the mouth of the Wei River, the entrance to the Wei Valley was sealed off.

The HS gives the impression that the Nine Tiger Generals were defeated by Teng Ye and Yü K'uang alone. Yü marched straight westwards from Hu and feigned a frontal attack. Meanwhile, Teng Ye went southwards from the Wen district, situated in the Hu prefecture, made a half-circle detour and came out in the rear of the enemy. As a result, the Han troops won a complete victory (HS 99 C: 25 b). HHS on the other hand states that the Nine Tiger Generals were defeated by Li Sung and Teng Ye together (ch'i 10: 5 b). However this may have been, Wang Mang had now lost his last army worth mentioning. Four of the Tiger Generals fled, while two committed suicide. Only three of them, Kuo K'in, Ch'en Hui, and Ch'eng Chung continued to put up a fight and entrenched themselves in the Capital Granary (HS 99 C: 25 b). This granary, according to Yen Shī-ku's commentary, was situated within the Hua-yin prefecture.

Teng Ye and Li Sung advanced and surrounded the Capital Granary (HS 99 C: 26 a). It was stubbornly defended and did not surrender before the death of Wang Mang was announced (HS 99 C: 28 b). This fact seems to have impressed the Han generals and added to their respect for Wang Mang's remaining resources. They did not dare to attack Ch'ang-an itself but stayed in Hua-yin and waited for reinforcements. Because of their exaggerated caution they did not arrive at Ch'ang-an before all was over. However, while they themselves stayed behind in Hua-yin, they dispatched two officers to pursue the enemy. Wang Hien, who had been a Division Head in the Hung-nung commandery, was appointed Colonel and sent northwards. He crossed the Wei River, entered the Tso-p'ing-yi commandery and conquered as far as the P'in-yang prefecture²⁾. Shen Tang from Yü-yang³⁾ and

¹⁾ The Hua-yin prefecture belonged to King-chao-yin and was situated SE of the present hien with the same name, Shen-si.

²⁾ The P'in-yang prefecture during Han belonged to the Tso-p'ing-yi commandery and was situated 50 li NE of the present Fu-p'ing hien, Shen-si.

³⁾ The Yü-yang prefecture during Han belonged to the Tso-p'ing-yi commandery and was situated 70 li NE of the present Lin-t'ung hien, Shen-si.

Wang Ta from Hia-kuei¹⁾, both belonging to influential clans, led their followers and joined his forces. The Lieutenant General, Han Ch'en, was sent to follow the southern shore of the Wei River toward Ch'ang-an. When he reached the Sin-feng²⁾ prefecture, he encountered Wang Mang's general Tou Jung and defeated him (HS 99 C: 26 a; HHS 23,53: 1 b). Han Ch'en continued the pursuit and came to the Ch'ang-men commune³⁾, situated a few miles east of Ch'ang-an (HS 99 C: 26 a; HHS ch'i 10: 5 b). — Of these two officers, Wang Hien, with certainty, and Han Ch'en, in all probability, participated in the attack on Ch'ang-an. However, the latter is not again mentioned in the texts.

The appearance of the Han troops within the passes had been the final signal. All around the capital, members of the great clans assembled their followers and made themselves ready to enter Ch'ang-an. The HS mentions Yen Ch'un from the T'ai prefecture⁴⁾, Tung Hi from the Mao-ling prefecture⁵⁾, Wang Meng from the Lan-t'ien prefecture⁶⁾, Ju Ch'en from the Huai-li prefecture⁷⁾, Wang Fu from the Chou-ch'i prefecture⁸⁾, Yen Pen from the Yang-ling prefecture⁹⁾, and T'u-men Shao from the Tu-ling prefecture¹⁰⁾. They all called themselves generals of Han. After a while it was rumoured that the troops of the Wei clan of the T'ien-shui commandery were arriving, i. e. troops sent by the rebellious Wei Ao.¹¹⁾ Now a mad scramble started. Everyone wanted to be the first in Ch'ang-an because the treasures of the city promised a rich booty (HS 99 C: 26 a).

Wang Mang's last effort was to release the convicts from the prisons in Ch'ang-an. They were asked to take an oath to Wang Mang's dynasty, and were placed under the command of the General of a New Beginning, Shih Shen. He had hardly

¹⁾ The Hia-kui prefecture during Han belonged to King-chao-yin and was situated 50 li NE of the present Wei-nan hien, Shen-si.

²⁾ The Sin-feng prefecture during Han belonged to King-chao-yin and was situated NW of the present Lin-t'ung hien, Shen-si.

³⁾ According to ch'i 19: 22 a, the Pa-ling prefecture had a Ch'ang-men commune. The Pa-ling prefecture during Han belonged to King-chao-yin and was situated E of the present Ch'ang-an hien, Shen-si. HS 99 C: 26 a writes the «Ch'ang-men palace» which must be a mistake.

⁴⁾ The T'ai prefecture during Han belonged to the Yu-fu-feng commandery and was situated 20 li SW of the present Wu-kung hien, Shen-si.

⁵⁾ Cf. supra p. 90, note 2.

⁶⁾ The Lan-t'ien prefecture during Han belonged to King-chao-yin and was situated 30 li W of the present hien, with the same name, Shen-si.

⁷⁾ Cf. supra p. 90, note 1.

⁸⁾ The Chou-ch'i prefecture during Han belonged to the Yu-fu-feng commandery and was situated E of the present hien with the same name, Shen-si.

⁹⁾ The Yang-ling prefecture during Han belonged to the Tso-p'ing-yi commandery and was situated 40 li E of the present Hien-yang hien, Shen-si.

¹⁰⁾ The Tu-ling prefecture during Han belonged to King-chao-yin and was situated SE of the present Ch'ang-an hien, Shen-si.

¹¹⁾ Cf supra pp. 123 ff.

marched out of the city before the ex-convicts dispersed and ran away, so that he found himself a general without troops (HS 99 C: 26 b).

The bands of the various clans now closed in on the city. They opened and looted the graves of Wang Mang's grandfather, father, wife, and sons, and burned his magnificent ancestral temple. The fire was visible from the city (HS 99 C:26 b).

The weakest points in the defense of Ch'ang-an were the gates, and therefore 600 men had been placed at each of them under the command of a Colonel. On October 4, the Grand Minister over the Masses, Chang Han, inspected the gates and had come to the Sūan-p'ing gate, according to Yen Shī-ku's commentary situated in the northern section of the east wall, when the rebels broke through. In the fighting Chang Han was killed. Thereupon the invaders fought their way in the direction of the northern entrance of the Wei-yang Palace. The Commander-in-chief, Wang Yi, the General of the Guards, Wang Lin, and others resisted them. The street fighting continued until sundown, and by then the adjacent parts of the city had been deserted by officials and people. On the next day, October 5, the tumult spread and some young people within the city led by Chu Ti¹), Chang Yü, and others made common cause with the rebels. They burned down one of the side gates of the Wei-yang palace and entered. The fire spread and reached the harem apartments (HS 99 C: 26 b; HHS chī 10: 5 b).

Wang Mang put on a purple garment and was girdled with the imperial seal. Sitting on a mat, he changed his position according to the hour of the day, deeply engaged in magical astrological practices (HS 99 C: 27 a).

On the morning of October 6, Wang Mang seems to have been so weakened that he was almost unconscious. When it became light, he was supported by courtiers and led out through the White Tiger Gate on the western side of the palace. He was placed on a chariot and taken to the Tsien Terrace. This terrace was surrounded by water, and here the officials who remained loyal to him, according to HS still more than 1000 men, made their last stand. Wang Yi again joined the defenders. He had been fighting night and day and had lost most of his men. When he arrived, he saw that his son, Mu, was taking off his official robe and cap with the intention of escaping. Wang Yi ordered him to stay (HS 99 C: 27 a—27 b).

The rebels who had in the meantime looted the Wei-yang palace, now heard that Wang Mang had escaped to the Tsien Terrace. They pursued him and surrounded the terrace. The defenders shot at them with their crossbows until their supply of arrows was exhausted. They then drew their swords and continued to fight hand-to-hand. Wang Yi and his son died with many others. In the late afternoon, the rebels finally forced their way up on the terrace, and the last defenders were killed. In the tumult Wang Mang found his death without being recognized.

¹) Wan Sung-ling points out that the Ming edition writes Yü Ti 子弟 Cf. 1 A, *K'ao cheng*. The Shao-hing edition (1 A:9 a) writes Yü 子.

According to HS he was slain by a certain Tu Wu¹). This man did not realize whom he had killed but only looted the corpse. Kung-pin Tsiu²), who formerly had been a Gentleman and now was a Colonel, saw that Tu Wu was carrying Wang Mang's seal. He asked him to point out the body, recognized Wang Mang, and cut off his head. It was delivered to Colonel Wang Hien who in turn sent it to the Keng-shī Emperor in Wan (HS 99 C:27 b-28 a; HHS 1 A:7 a; chi 10: 5 b). According to HHS (11,41: 3 a), the head was personally delivered to the emperor by Kung-pin Tsiu who thus got an honour which he did not quite deserve. Wang Mang's head was displayed on the market-place of Wan (HS 99 C:28 a; HHS 11,41: 3 a).

During the next few days there was an interregnum in Ch'ang-an. Wang Hien lost all sense of perspective, called himself General-in-chief of Han, lived in the Eastern Palace, used Wang Mang's robes and carriages, and took the women of his harem (HS 99 C:28 a).

On October 9, Li Sung and Teng Ye somewhat belatedly entered Ch'ang-an. Because Wang Hien had taken prerogatives which did not belong to him, he was arrested and executed (HS 99 C:28 a). The Grand Minister of Works, Ts'ui Fa, and the General of the Guards, Wang Lin, surrendered and were put to death (HS 99 C:28 b).

* * *

Wang Mang was dead, and the Han dynasty was restored. The rebellion had started in Oct./Nov. of A. D. 22, and one year later, on October 6, 23, the «usurper» was killed on the Tsien Terrace. It therefore looks as if our initial question «why did Wang Mang fall?» has now been answered. His death is the last link in a development which seems to have started one year earlier in the Nan-yang commandery. Nothing, however, could be more wrong. If Wang Mang's death was obviously the last link, the rebellion by no means was the first.

So far we have simply accepted the fact that the revolt in Nan-yang occurred. We have not asked why it occurred and why it succeeded. The complete answer to this question is not that Liu Po-sheng and his followers were more ambitious and abler than others. It would be hard to believe that all the previous rebellions were led by nonentities who failed because of their incompetence. Chai Yi was certainly an able leader but nevertheless was defeated. The same is undoubtedly true of many of the others. The crucial point is that in all the earlier revolts mentioned above the rebels failed to obtain a wide support from the people. They stood alone and died alone. For instance, when Liu Ch'ung in

¹) Tu Wu was a man from the Shang prefecture (Shang jen), not a «merchant» (shang jen) as Hu Shi believes (cf. 79. Hu, p. 230). TTK 23: 2 b writes Tu Yü. Hui Tung says that wu 吳 and yü 虞 formerly were interchanged. — According to the San fu kiu shī, composed some 200 years after the events, Wang Mang was killed by Tu Yü and a certain T'u Er. Cf. 1 A: 7 a, *Tsi kie*.

²) HHK 1: 11 b writes Kung-sun Pin-tsiu.

A. D. 6 arose in the Nan-yang commandery, he obtained no support whatsoever.¹⁾ He was isolated from the beginning, an easy target for the troops of Wang Mang. Why then did Liu Po-sheng succeed in the very same commandery where Liu Ch'ung had failed sixteen years earlier? Why did the latter obtain support where the former had been isolated? The traditional explanation would be that Wang Mang's misgovernment had lasted a long time, that officials and people were dissatisfied and embittered, and that they gladly followed the members of the Liu clan when they finally undertook to restore the Han dynasty. Let me state already here that such an interpretation is utterly wrong.

In order to find the truth, the next step must be to analyze which factors were instrumental in making the rebellion in Nan-yang possible and a success.

In one way, Tsien Po-tsan has already given a clue to the answer. In his opinion, the rebellion in Nan-yang was not a primary revolt at all but a secondary one. He sees the real reason for the uprising in the unrest of the Kiang-hia and Nan commanderies, situated southeast and south of Nan-yang. Armed bands penetrated the borders of Nan-yang. The gentry feared for their property and persuaded the Liu brothers to organize a protective corps. Liu Po-sheng and Liu Siu made contacts with the bandits, and thus they automatically found themselves in opposition to the state. Nevertheless, the property of the junkers was saved because »bandits do not attack bandits».²⁾ Tsien Po-tsan is strongly prejudiced for the »common people», which biases his judgment. There is no foundation for his opinion that the rebellious army of Nan-yang developed from a protective corps, nor is there any truth in his assertion that bandits do not attack bandits. Furthermore, the junkers did not rebel primarily in order to save themselves and their property. As pointed out above³⁾, the powerful clans had scores of followers, and in troubled times it was their habit to encamp themselves and thus safely stay behind their walls. In spite of these objections, Tsien Po-tsan is definitely correct in pointing out that the unrest in the south preceded and affected the development in Nan-yang, even if this worked out in another way from the one suggested by him. That this fact was also realized by the authors of the HHS is shown in such statements as, for instance: »When the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsī-] Kiang and from Sin-shī arose, Nan-yang was stirred up» (15,45: 1 b). It will therefore be necessary in the following section to trace the development of the disturbances in the Kiang-hia- and Nan commanderies.

The HHS states that towards the end of Wang Mang's reign there was famine in the »southern area». This refers here roughly to the region of present Hu-pei. Great numbers of people went into the marshes in search of food. Their leaders

¹⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 88

²⁾ 45. Tsien, pp. 425—426.

³⁾ pp. 93, 105.

were two men from Sin-shī¹⁾, Wang K'uang and Wang Feng (11,41: 1 a). HS (99 C:10 b) also mentions a certain Yang Mu and Chang Pa, whose names occur nowhere in the HHS. In the beginning the band consisted of only a few hundred men but increased rapidly. Several fugitives from the north such as Ma Wu, Wang Ch'ang, and Ch'eng Tan joined the group and became chieftains (11,41: 1 b). Only Ma Wu and Wang Ch'ang seem to have belonged to the gentry. All the others were of unknown origin and probably quite uneducated.¹⁾ The band itself clearly consisted of common people who had flocked together because of starvation.

The HHS places the beginning of the insurrection as before A. D. 21 (11,41: 1 a-1 b). The HS is more specific and gives the date as A. D. 20 (HS 99 C:10 b). Regarding the geographical origin of the unrest, HS (99 C:10 b) and HHS (15,45: 4 b) state unanimously that the band arose in the «lü lin 綠林» of the Yün-tu prefecture²⁾. In another context the HHS does not mention the Yün-tu prefecture but merely remarks: «Together they attacked 'li hiang tsü 離鄉聚' and hid in the 'lü lin' »(11,41: 1 b). This «lü lin» has caused a lot of discussion. The commentary of the HS does not explain the expression. However, the T'ang commentary of the HHS makes the often repeated statement that lü lin was a mountain, situated NE of the Tang-yang prefecture³⁾. This identification is repeated by Chung kuo ku kin ti ming ta ts'itien. On the other hand, the commentary to HHS, ch'i 10:25 b, flatly states that lü lin was situated in the Nan-sin-shi prefecture⁴⁾. This has been accepted and repeated in the *K'ao-cheng* by Wan Ch'eng-ts'ang (11,41). Both identifications must be wrong in the light of the fact that HS (99 C: 10 b) and HHS (15,45: 4 b) clearly say «the lü lin of the Yün-tu prefecture». Also, when it came to the first clash between the bandits and the government troops, it was exactly in this very prefecture (11,41: 1 b).⁵⁾ Hence, there can be no doubt that lü lin really was in Yün-tu. The Sin-shi area was situated more than 60 miles NNW of Yün-tu, and the Tang-yang prefecture even farther away, more than 100 miles NW of Yün-tu. Both are clearly far removed from the area where the bandits at that time operated. Yet, as it happens, no geographical chapter or work has ever tried to locate any Lü lin mountain within the Yün-tu prefecture. The explanation must be that lü lin is not a mountain at all. It seems to me quite obvious that these characters mean nothing else but «the green forests». It should be remembered that during Han and for a long time afterwards there was no flood control on the Han River or on the Yang-tsi-kiang. Each year vast areas of the flat land along their shores were inundated, creating tremendous swamps and

¹⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 106.

²⁾ The Yün-tu prefecture during Han belonged to the Kiang-hia commandery and was situated NW of the present Mien-yang hien, Hu-pei.

³⁾ The Tang-yang prefecture of T'ang times is identical with the present hien with the same name, Hu-pei.

⁴⁾ Identical with the Sin-shi area of Wang Mang's time. Cf. *supra* p. 106, note 2.

⁵⁾ For this and the following operations cf. map 5.

jungle-like forests. This then explains the remark in HHS 11,41: 1 b that the bandits »hid in the green forests«. There they were completely safe because no one who did not know his way would have dared to follow them into the jungles and swamps, and military operations were a priori out of question in such an area.

The other expression which has caused some trouble is the »li hiang tsü« above. The commentary to HHS chī 22: 25 b states that a Li-hiang agglomeration (tsü) was situated in the Nan-sin-shī prefecture, which again has been accepted and repeated by Wan Ch'eng-ts'ang in the *K'ao-cheng* (11,41). However, the same is true for li hiang as for lü lin. It could not have been situated as far north as the Sin-shī area. The T'ang commentary to HHS 11,41: 1 b gives another interpretation which to my mind is obviously correct: li hiang tsü means »scattered districts and agglomerations«. Thus, the above sentence reads in its entirety: »Together they attacked scattered districts and agglomerations and hid in the green forests« (11,41: 1 b), i. e. the bandits harassed the open country within the Yün-tu prefecture but withdrew and hid in the inaccessible forests on the shore of the Han River as soon as they met any resistance.

In A. D. 21, the Shepherd of the King province mobilized emergency troops in order to stop the banditry. However, Wang K'uang's band had rapidly increased, and he felt strong enough to resist the government troops. The battle took place in the Yün-tu prefecture, and the army of the Shepherd was utterly defeated. Important for the further development of the bandits' movement was the fact that they obtained possession of the equipment of the enemy (11,41: 1 b). Here, as in so many other instances, it can again be seen that as soon as insurgents are able to defeat a regular army and so obtain its equipment, such strength is added to the movement that the following development rapidly accelerates.

After their victory, the bandits crossed the Han River northwards and seized the King-ling prefecture¹⁾. They returned, conquered Yün-tu, went again over the Han River, and took the An-lu prefecture²⁾. They kidnapped a great number of women and returned to the green forests. According to HHS their number by now had increased to more than 50,000 individuals, a figure which of course cannot be verified (11,41: 1 b).

In the spring of A. D. 22, Wang Mang sent the Communicator and General-in-chief, Yen Yu, and the Arranger of the Ancestral Temples and General-in-chief, Ch'en Mao³⁾ to take charge of the situation in the King province and once and for all put down the insurrection. They travelled by ship from Ch'ang-an down the Wei River into the Yellow River and then on chariots southwards. However, having arrived in Hu-pei, their activities were very limited. They were not free

¹⁾ The King-ling prefecture during Han belonged to the Kiang-hia commandery and was situated NW of the present T'ien-men hien, Hu-pei.

²⁾ The An-lu prefecture during Han belonged to the Kiang-hia commandery and is identical with the present hien with the same name, Hu-pei.

³⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 112, note 2.

to move or to mobilize soldiers on their own authority but in each individual case had to obtain the sanction of the emperor (HS 99 C: 18 a). This seriously obstructed their operations.

In the same year (A. D. 22) an epidemic broke out among the bandits, which according to HHS reduced them to almost half of their previous number (11,41: 1 b). The epidemic might have been the reason why they evacuated the area in which they so far had operated. Apparently they felt unable to make a stand against the army of Yen Yu and Ch'en Mao.

The bandits split into 2 groups: The Troops from Sin-shī and the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang. The Troops from Sin-shī, led by Wang K'uang, Wang Feng, Ma Wu, and Chu Wei advanced northwards and entered the Nan-yang commandery. During the summer of A. D. 22 they attacked the prefecture of Sui¹⁾ but were unable to take it. Close to this prefecture was an area known by the name of P'ing-lin²⁾. In this region, obviously influenced by the fact that the Troops from Sin-shī had entered the commandery, Ch'en Mu and Liao Chan in turn collected a band in order to make common cause with the invaders. A few months later, the Troops from Sin-shī and P'ing-lin joined the army of Liu Po-sheng (11,41: 1 b—2 a).³⁾ From that moment on, the bands of commoners which had assembled because of famine, ceased to be bandits without a political program and became rebels, cooperating in an organized attempt to overthrow Wang Mang.

The Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang under their leaders Chang Ang, Ch'eng Tan, and Wang Ch'ang did not turn the same way as the Troops from Sin-shī but instead went westwards and entered the Nan commandery. For some time they stayed in the Lan-k'ou area⁴⁾ (15,45: 4 b). Thereupon they slowly returned over the Han River and also went into the Nan-yang commandery after having been defeated by Yen Yu and Ch'en Mao (HS 99 C: 19 b).⁵⁾ The Shepherd of the King province tried to resist them at Shang-t'ang⁶⁾ but lost the battle. Thereupon the Troops from the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang arrived at the Yi-ts'iu agglomeration, and around the turn of the year (22—23) they reinforced the army of Liu Po-sheng, which had been weakened by the defeat at Siao-ch'ang-an (15,45: 4 b).⁷⁾

The preceding description of the activities of the two bandit groups shows that Tsien Po-tsan undoubtedly is right in his belief that the rebellion in Nan-yang

¹⁾ Cf. supra p. 106, note 3.

²⁾ Cf. supra p. 97, note 2.

³⁾ Cf. supra pp. 106 ff.

⁴⁾ Lan-k'ou was an agglomeration within the Pien prefecture. Pien during Han belonged to the Nan commandery and was situated W of the present King-men hien, Hu-peì.

⁵⁾ Afterwards Yen Yu's and Ch'en Mao's army remained inactive until the following year when they were ordered to crush the rebellion in Nan-yang but instead were defeated by Liu Po-sheng in the battle below Yü-yang. Cf. supra p. 112.

⁶⁾ The Shang-t'ang district was situated not far from Ch'ung-ling. For the situation of Ch'ung-ling cf. supra p. 96, notes 3 and 4.

⁷⁾ Cf. supra pp. 109 ff.

was influenced by the development in Kiang-hia and Nan. Nevertheless he has overlooked another important component. This factor, which also constituted a background to the revolt, and which, looking at the situation as a whole, proved of far greater importance, was the rise of the Red Eyebrows¹⁾ on the Shan-tung peninsula.

The HHS states that a certain Fan Ch'ung collected a band within the area of the Kū prefecture²⁾. He entered the T'ai-shan commandery³⁾ and adopted the title of Thrice Venerable. At this time there was a famine in the Ts'ing and Sū provinces, and consequently his band grew rapidly. Within one year he supposedly commanded more than 10,000 men. Other chieftains who joined Fan Ch'ung were P'ang An⁴⁾, Sū Sūan, Sie Lu, and Yang Yin. The three latter were all from the Tung-hai commandery.⁵⁾ These chieftains, who all were simple people without education, supposedly increased the band of Fan Ch'ung with additional tens of thousands of men (11,41: 9 a). HS furthermore mentions a certain Li Tsī-tu⁶⁾ and states that he as well belonged to the Red Eyebrows (HS 99 C: 4 a, 4 b). This is, strictly speaking, not quite correct. True, he was a chieftain like the others. His band also consisted of commoners who had flocked together because of famine, and very probably he originally cooperated with Fan Ch'ung. Nevertheless, he did not follow the Red Eyebrows when they started their long march towards the capital. He stayed behind and operated separately in the east (21,51: 2 a).

Since by now Fan Ch'ung's band had gained considerably in strength, he attacked the Kū prefecture together with P'ang An, Sū Sūan, Sie Lu, and Yang Yin. They were unable to take the city and instead plundered the countryside up to the Ku-mo prefecture⁷⁾ (11,41: 9 a).

¹⁾ For the explanation of the name cf. *infra* p. 139.

²⁾ The Kū prefecture during Former Han belonged to the Ch'eng-yang kingdom and is identical with the present hien with the same name, Shan-tung.

³⁾ Hui Tung quotes Shui king chu according to which Fan Ch'ung and his band took protection on the Tsu-lai Mountain, also called Yu-lai Mountain. Cf. 11,41: 9 a *Tsi kie*. This mountain was situated 40 li SE of the present T'ai-an hien, Shan-tung, and is still known under the name of Tsu-lai. For this and the following events cf. map 6.

⁴⁾ The Shao-hing and Palace editions write P'ang; 逋. TTK 23: 3 b, HHK 1: 3 a, and the Ki ku ko edition have Feng 逢. Liu Pin (1022—1088) declares that Feng is wrong. Cf. 11,41: 9 a *Tsi kie*. This indicates that the history originally must have had Feng because otherwise Liu Pin's criticism would have been senseless. As the Shao-hing edition writes P'ang, this proves that the editors on the basis of Liu Pin's criticism changed Feng to P'ang. However, they overlooked a Feng in chī 13: 2 b so that all editions in this single case have Feng An.

According to both TTK 23: 3 b and HHK 1: 3 a, P'ang An was a native of the Tung-kuan prefecture. Tung-kuan during Han belonged to the Lang-ya commandery and is identical with the present Yi-shui hien, Shan-tung.

⁵⁾ TTK 23: 3 b states that Sū Sūan and Sie Lu both were natives of the Lin-yi prefecture, situated 50 li N of the present hien with the same name, Shan-tung.

⁶⁾ He was from the Tung-hai commandery (21,51: 2 a).

⁷⁾ The Ku-mo prefecture during Han belonged to the Lang-ya commandery and was situated 50 li SW of the present Chu-ch'eng hien, Shan-tung.

The chronology of these events is somewhat uncertain. HHS gives no date for any movements of the Red Eyebrows earlier than the year A. D. 24, which is later than any of the events described here. HS on the other hand states that the Red Eyebrows arose in A. D. 18, that they robbed and plundered, and that they numbered tens of thousands. During A. D. 18, Wang Mang therefore mobilized troops in order to defeat the bands but met with no success. (HS 99 C: 4 a). The attack on the Kü prefecture is not mentioned in HS. It seems reasonable to assume that Wang Mang's first action against the Red Eyebrows occurred after they had already become a menace. The administrators of commanderies were in charge of troops to put down insurrections, and only when they had already tried and failed would the court order the mobilization of additional soldiers. As such a mobilization is recorded for the year 18, the beginning of the banditry must have occurred much earlier. Also, as can clearly be seen from the texts, the development was from small separate bands to an alliance of these bands under a more or less unified command. Such a development requires time. It therefore seems safe to conclude that the banditry started many years before A. D. 18, and that unrest had by then reached such proportions as to attract the attention of the court. Whether the attack on Kü occurred in A. D. 18, 19, or 20, is in this respect of minor importance.

Little is known about the operations of the Red Eyebrows during the years A. D. 18 to 20 except that the government was unable to cope with them. It seems that already during this time the bands had a simple but rigorous covenant. If someone killed another, he was executed. If someone wounded another, he had to give compensation. Discipline was maintained by word of mouth. No documents were written. No military units such as companies were formed, and no standards or banners or specific words of command existed. Only three kinds of titles were used: Thrice Venerable, Attendant Official, and *tsu shi*¹⁾. In addressing each other they said »ch'en jen»²⁾ (11,41: 9 a—9 b). Liu Pin has made the interesting observation that Thrice Venerable, Attendant Official, and *tsu shi* are all titles of very low officials such as the uneducated commoners would come in contact with.³⁾ This clearly confirms that the Red Eyebrows were simple people. When they adopted titles for their leaders they naturally chose the only ones they were really acquainted with, the designations of low local officials. In the same way they did not imitate any contemporary military organization since they knew nothing about it, and they had no documents simply because they could not write.

In A. D. 21, T'ien K'uang, the marquis of T'an-t'ang⁴⁾, requested that he should

¹⁾ The text actually has *tsu li* 卒吏. Liu Pin points out that *tsu li* makes no sense and suggests that *li* is a corruption of *shi* 吏. Cf. 11,41: 9 b *T'ai kie*. *Tsu shi* as a title of low officials existed during Former Han. It seems almost impossible to establish the exact function of the *tsu shi* and hence to render the title in English.

²⁾ Ch'en jen means »subjects». HS 99 C: 14 b writes »kü jen» meaning »great men». Ch'en 臣 could be a corruption of kü 巨.

³⁾ Cf. 11,41: 9 b *T'ai kie*.

⁴⁾ Wang Mang changed the name of the Yi prefecture to T'an-t'ang. It belonged during Han to the Pei-hai commandery and was situated 20 li W of the present Shou-kuang hien, Shan-tung.

be allowed to attack the bandits. He was put in charge of the Ts'ing and Sü provinces but was soon dismissed (HS 99 C: 15 b—16 a). According to HHS he fought one battle with the Red Eyebrows and was utterly defeated. Thereupon the bandits crossed the border of the Ts'ing province, plundered in the area of the former feudal state of Ts'i, returned via T'ai shan, and finally halted in the Nan-ch'eng prefecture¹⁾ (11,41: 9 a).

In the spring of A. D. 22, Wang Mang made a final attempt to pacify the east. He put the General of a New Beginning, Lien Tan, and the Grand Master, Wang K'uang, in command of a big army and sent them eastwards (HS 99 C: 17 b; HHS 11,41: 9 b). They marched slowly and did not arrive in the troubled area until the winter. The leaders of the Red Eyebrows knew of course about their approach and realized that a battle was unavoidable. According to HHS they feared that in this fighting their men might get mixed up with the soldiers of the enemy, a confusion which well could prove disastrous. They therefore ordered everyone within their band to dye his eyebrows red (11,41: 9 b). Another reason might have been that the red colour distinguished the bandits and hence forced them to fight, as they no longer could quietly slip aside and pretend to be innocent commoners. Thus the Red Eyebrows obtained the name under which they have become famous in Chinese history.

In the winter of A. D. 22, So-lu Hui of the prefecture of Wu-yen²⁾ rebelled and seized the city. Lien Tan and Wang K'uang recaptured Wu-yen (HS 99 C: 18 b). Shortly afterwards it came to an encounter between them and the Red Eyebrows. The battle which ended in the defeat of the government troops, according to HS took place at Ch'eng-ch'ang (HS 99 C: 18 b). This Ch'eng-ch'ang cannot be identified. It was not a prefecture and hence probably a small village. Fortunately the HHS states that after their victory the Red Eyebrows pursued the enemy to Wu-yen (11,41: 9 b) which indicates that Ch'eng-ch'ang must have been situated relatively close to this prefecture.

The strength of the Red Eyebrows can be judged from the fact that Lien Tan and Wang K'uang were defeated, not by the main bulk of these insurgents, but by a detached band under a certain Tung Hien. It is presumably not a mere coincidence that this band met Wang Mang's troops close to Wu-yen. Probably Tung Hien had been detached to save So-lu Hui but had arrived too late. In the battle Lien Tan lost his life. A special edict of Wang Mang had urged him to conquer or die. A subordinate official, Feng Yen, had advised Lien Tan to disobey the emperor and to rebel. However, Lien Tan remained loyal and died on the battle-field together with his colonels. Wang K'uang escaped (HS 99 C: 18 b; HHS 11,41: 9 b; 28 A, 58 A: 6 a—7 b).

¹⁾ The Nan-ch'eng prefecture during Han belonged to the Tung-hai commandery and was situated 90 li SW of the present Pi hien, Shan-tung.

²⁾ The Wu-yen prefecture during Han belonged to the Tung-p'ing kingdom and was situated E of the present Tung-p'ing hien, Shan-tung.

At about this same time another band of the Red Eyebrows, under Fan Ch'ung himself, again besieged the city of Kü. After a while he raised the siege, supposedly because many of his men had relatives in Kü (11,41: 9 b). Yüan Shan-sung's Hou Han shu gives the much more plausible version that the citizens ransomed themselves by presenting 1000 bolts of silk¹).

The Red Eyebrows finally evacuated Shan-tung and started a long and slow march which eventually took them to Ch'ang-an, the imperial capital²). It is hardly probable that they went in one big group but rather divided into several great bands. In this way, elements of the Red Eyebrows were probably already on the march when Tung Hien fought at Ch'eng-ch'ang and when Fan Ch'ung besieged Kü. However, the chronology again offers some difficulties as the HHS still gives no dates and the HS is silent on this point. We know that the Red Eyebrows entered the Tung-hai commandery³) and that they were defeated by its administrator (11,41: 9 b—10 a). Thereupon they turned in a WWS direction and marched through Ch'u and P'ei straight toward the Nan-yang commandery. In Ju-nan, the commandery situated directly east of Nan-yang, the major part of the Red Eyebrows suddenly turned northwards and arrived near the southern shore of the Yellow River at about the same time that the Keng-shī Emperor selected Lo-yang as his temporary capital (11,41: 10 a). This was at the end of A. D. 23. However, at an earlier date parts of the Red Eyebrows had actually invaded the Nan-yang commandery. Shortly after the Keng-shī Emperor had ascended the throne on March 11, A. D. 23, Fan Hung, the maternal uncle of the Liu brothers, returned to his home prefecture of Hu-yang and there encountered one of the bands of the Red Eyebrows (32,62: 2 a)⁴). If then in the spring of A. D. 23 parts of the Red Eyebrows were in Nan-yang itself, they cannot have been very far away in Oct./Nov. of the previous year when the gentry of Nan-yang rose in rebellion. This is

¹) Quoted by T'ai p'ing yü lan 818. Cf. 11,41: 9 b *T'ai kie*.

²) Before the Red Eyebrows left Shan-tung, they absorbed parts of another group, the band of «Mother Lü». Actually, her activity is a side issue which has nothing to do with the general unrest in this part of the country. The original reasons for her action were entirely personal.

Mother Lü, who seems to have been a colourful woman, was a wealthy citizen of the Hai-k'ü prefecture in the Lang-ya commandery (situated 10 li W of the present Ji-chao hien, Shan-tung). Her son became a low official in the same prefecture. He committed a minor crime and was executed by the Steward of Hai-k'ü. Mother Lü resented the death of her son and blamed the Steward for too harsh a punishment. She liquidated her property and used it for buying weapons, clothes, and for the fermenting of liquor. When young men came to her in order to purchase wine, she gave it to them without asking for payment. If they were poor she in addition presented them with clothes. In this way she obtained a considerable number of followers. According to the code of behaviour these were bound to do her services in recompense. Thus, she led her followers, attacked the prefectural city, captured the Steward, and had him executed. Thereupon she went to the sea and became a pirate queen. After her death the band split up and part of it joined the Red Eyebrows (HS 99 C: 2 a; HHS 11,41: 8 b—9 b). Cf. *supra* p. 54.

³) By Wang Mang changed to Yi-p'ing.

⁴) Cf. *supra* pp. 57—58.

confirmed by the fact that the Red Eyebrows moved very slowly, which can clearly be seen from their subsequent, dated, operations. Thus, at the time of the outbreak of the revolt in Nan-yang, the Red Eyebrows were on their march westwards and one could not yet know whether their main bulk would invade the commandery or not.

This fact then furnishes the last factor needed for the understanding of the background of the rebellion in Nan-yang.

* * *

From A. D. 6 to 9, i. e. during the time when Wang Mang was in power without yet assuming the title of emperor and during the first year of his rule as Son of Heaven, at least 6 rebellions were attempted against him in China proper. All failed. From then on no revolts occurred until A. D. 20 which in itself is an important fact. In A. D. 20, Ma-shī K'iu plotted rebellion in the northern part of the Great Plain. His conspiracy was discovered and reported by a certain Wang Tan. The persons involved were executed (HS 99 C: 10 a). In A. D. 21, Li Yen, the administrator of the Wei commandery¹⁾, formed another plot with the soothsayer Wang K'uang. The latter composed an oracle book for Li Yen in which he predicted the fall of Wang Mang. Li Yen was incautious enough to order a clerk to write out this book. The clerk fled and reported to the court. Thereupon Li Yen was executed together with his followers (HS 99 C: 12 a—12 b). Finally, in the end of A. D. 22 the Liu brothers revolted in Nan-yang, and the events unrolled which have been described above.

Characteristic of each of these rebellions from A. D. 6 onwards is the fact that they were instigated and led by the gentry. Also, they all failed except the last. They failed because, as stressed before, they never obtained any popular support. Only Chai Yi's rebellion in A. D. 7 was successful for a while, and it is highly suggestive that he, as will be shown later, seems to have had certain, if geographically limited, support from the people.

One only of the rebellions succeeded, the revolt of the Liu brothers. It seems to me that the reason can only be the following: In A. D. 22 two powerful groups of bandits were converging on the Nan-yang commandery (cf. map 7). The Troops from Sin-shī, from P'ing-lin, and from the Lower [Yang-tsi-] kiang drew near from the south. The Red Eyebrows approached from the east. As everyone knew, these bands of commoners for years had resisted and defeated the armies of Wang Mang. They had weakened the government and disorganized the administration over large parts of the country. Now they seemed to be converging on Nan-yang. These facts created an abnormal situation in the commandery. According to disposition

¹⁾ By Wang Mang changed to Wei-ch'eng. This commandery was situated north of the Yellow River.

and temperament, the feelings of the people ranged from fear and resignation to resentment and anger against the government which seemed to be responsible. Emotions ran high, and for the first time during Wang Mang's reign conditions were psychologically and politically ripe for rebellion. In this way, the gentry was able to exploit the situation for its own purposes. Liu Po-sheng and his followers succeeded in capturing and channelling the big current of insurgents coming from the south. They were able to float on top of the wave and to benefit from its strength. This later cost Liu Po-sheng his neck but carried the Keng-shī Emperor to Ch'ang-an. The other even more powerful current, the Red Eyebrows, continued to flow separately. It also finally broke against Ch'ang-an, swept away the Keng-shī Emperor, petered out, and left room for Po-sheng's brother, Siu, again to piece together the empire.¹⁾

In the chain of events we thus have arrived at the next to last link. Wang Mang's death was a result of the rebellion in Nan-yang, and this revolt was in turn influenced and made possible by the unrest in the south and east. The rebellion of the gentry is secondary to the insurrection of the commoners. If we can find the reasons for this insurrection, we have found the ultimate explanation for the fall of Wang Mang.

Before turning to the discussion of this last problem, it should be pointed out that the insurrections in Hu-pei and Shan-tung, although powerful and historically decisive, by no means represent the sole examples of popular unrest. Thus, Wang Mang's biography enumerates all the provinces which were harassed by bandits. They are:

¹⁾ The events leading to the victory of Liu Siu can only be sketched here. In October of A. D. 23, he was able to get an independent command north of the Yellow River. However, he soon found himself in the greatest of difficulties. The pretender Wang Lang ascended the throne in Han-tan (Ho-pei) on Jan. 16, 24, and Liu Siu had to flee for his life (cf. supra pp. 69 ff.). Gradually, Liu Siu defeated and finally killed Wang Lang, and in A. D. 25 the whole area north of the Yellow River was pacified. This part of the empire was rich and prosperous. Hence, Liu Siu, being in control of this area, became a powerful figure. Finally, on Aug. 5, A. D. 25, he proclaimed himself emperor. In the meantime, the Keng-shī Emperor had made the fatal mistake of moving his capital to Ch'ang-an. As long as a powerful dynasty easily could defend the roads leading to the Land Within the Passes, Ch'ang-an was the ideal capital. A weak government, however, was trapped inside the passes, an easy victim for any intruder. Thus, when the Red Eyebrows in the beginning of A. D. 25 entered the passes, the power of the Keng-shī Emperor collapsed like a house of cards. While Emperor Kuang-wu (Liu Siu) gradually acquired the support of the leading members of the gentry, the Keng-shī Emperor found himself deserted by the very men who had helped him to the throne. He was forced to capitulate to the Red Eyebrows and finally was murdered by them. Kuang-wu, on the other hand, had proved himself an able politician and strategist who continued to let his enemies weaken themselves. Thus, when the Red Eyebrows, decimated through hunger and cold, again left the Land Within the Passes, they capitulated to Kuang-wu on March 15, A. D. 27, without even offering a battle. The civil war went on, and for more than one decade Kuang-wu fought to unite the empire. The outcome was no longer in question, but only after the defeat and death of his most formidable opponents, Wei Ao († 33) and Kung-sun Shu († 36), this goal was finally achieved.

The Ts'ing province	}	HS 99 C: 5 b, 12 b, 17 a, 21 a
The Sü province		
The Yü province		HS 99 C: 15 a
The King province	}	HS 99 C: 3 a
The Yang province		

Indicating these provinces on a map we obtain the picture given in map 8. Furthermore, apart from the major popular movements earlier discussed and the general statements about the unrest in the five provinces above, the HS in two additional cases gives detailed information. Under the year A. D. 17 it mentions the band of Kua-t'ien Yi from the Lin-huai commandery, operating in the Ch'ang-chou area¹⁾ of the K'uai-ki commandery (HS 99 3: 2 a). In A. D. 21 Kua-t'ien Yi was about to capitulate but died before he could carry out his intention. After his death, the banditry continued undiminished (HS 99 C: 13 a). For A. D. 21 another insurrection is mentioned, headed by Ch'i Chao-p'ing, a woman from the P'ing-yüan commandery. Her band operated along the lower parts of the Yellow River (HS 99 C: 14 a).

All these movements, the Troops from Sin-shi, from P'ing-lin, from the Lower [Yang-tsü-] kiang, the Red Eyebrows, the bands of Kua-t'ien Yi, of Ch'i Chao-p'ing, and all the nameless groups of outlaws in the provinces of Ts'ing, Sü, Yü, King, and Yang, consisted of commoners and were led by commoners. They were originally not rebels, which constitutes a distinct difference between them and the gentry, who pursued a political goal. They were starving peasants who wished no more than to fill their stomachs. In this respect, the HS makes a highly illuminating statement. It says:

«Previously, the Four Regions had become impoverished and depressed because of hunger and cold. The people arose and became bandits, and gradually they flocked together. Constantly they thought that when the harvest was ripe, they would be able to return to their districts and hamlets . . . They did not dare to invade and occupy cities and villages, but went about plundering to obtain food. Only when the day was finished they stopped.» (HS 99 C: 14 b).

When in A. D. 21 a high official fell into the hands of the bandits in the Yü province, they quite simply released him and escorted him to the nearest city (HS 99 C: 15 a). This clearly indicates that the insurgents were not primarily turned against the authorities.

In this connection one point should be stressed which must have become apparent from the preceding description. The Red Eyebrows did not arise because of religious or superstitious reasons, and nothing indicates that they formed a

¹⁾ Ch'ang-chou according to HS was the name of a park. Hu San-sing's commentary to T'ung kien kang mu remarks that the later Ch'ang-chou prefecture, situated SW of the present Wu hien, Kiang-su, was founded in this very area. Cf. HS 99 C: 2 a commentary. During the Republic, the Ch'ang-chou hien was abolished and joined to the Wu hien.

secret society as Sargents believes¹⁾. It is true that the people of Shan-tung, especially in the area of Ts'i, traditionally displayed a tendency to magical practices. Actually, the HHS mentions that one sorcerer from Ts'i was among the Red Eyebrows. It is furthermore by no means impossible that the Red Eyebrows later developed certain religious beliefs and practices. However, the texts offer no information on this point.

Both HS and HHS make it perfectly clear that the peasants were starving and thus resorted to banditry. The question then is, why were they starving? Let us start with the assumption that the traditional view is correct, that all was due to Wang Mang's »reckless reforms». We should thus go back to the beginning of this chapter²⁾ and investigate which of these reforms could have directly affected the common people:

The changes in coinage seem to have affected the farmers very little. As Dubs has pointed out, the farmers probably used very little money themselves. Those hit by the currency depreciation were above all the gentry and the merchants, who were often the same persons.

The nationalization of gold affected the nobility and not the farmers.

The abolition of slavery and the restriction of land holdings were a clear benefit to the poor and disagreeable to the gentry. Even if these reforms were withdrawn after two years, things were not worse for the farmers than they had been before.

The income tax clearly affected farmers who had hunting, fishing and sericulture as subordinate sources of income.

Among the monopolies on salt, iron, fermented liquor, coinage and products of mountains and marshes, only the monopoly on liquor was entirely new. As regards the monopoly on products of mountains and marshes, this included fishing, hunting, and the collecting of honey, wood, etc. It already existed during Former Han, but seems then not to have included hunting, except of course in the imperial parks.³⁾ The majority of the monopolies clearly affected mainly the merchants. Only the monopoly on the products of mountains and marshes placed a direct burden upon the farmers.

The Five Equalizations were an attempt to stabilize the market. Dubs believes that it did not succeed. However, even if this reform failed, the farmers were not worse off than before.

The regulations of the salaries of the officials naturally affected the officials only.

Dubs concludes that Wang Mang antagonized all classes in turn. It will seem, however, as though the gentry had considerably more reasons for discontent than the farmers. The latter were affected only by the income tax on hunting, fishing and sericulture and, theoretically speaking, by the monopolies on the products of mountains and marshes. Actually, it is obvious that the income tax in reality

¹⁾ 85. Sargent, p. 13, note 51.

²⁾ Cf. *supra* pp. 85 ff.

³⁾ Cf. 74. Dubs, pp. 253—254.

was related to the monopoly, i. e. fishing and hunting were still permitted but subject to a special tax. As seen above, only the monopoly on hunting was really new. The burdens which Wang Mang's government had placed on the farmers additional to the regulations of Former Han consequently amounted to no more than a tax on hunting and possibly on sericulture.

Is it imaginable that these measures could have brought the farmers to starvation? The answer is clearly no. It seems utterly absurd to suppose that taxes on hunting and sericulture could have created such unbearable conditions for the farmers as to produce widespread and insurmountable banditry in great parts of the empire. To build a case against Wang Mang on such premises would be more than unreasonable. Besides, and this is important, if the above-mentioned taxes were the reason for the unrest, why then was this unrest restricted to five specific provinces? In the mountainous northwest of the empire, hunting was a much more important additional source of income for the farmers than, for instance, in the southern part of the Great Plain. The same is true of Si-ch'uan where, in addition, sericulture also flourished. Yet, these areas remained peaceful and the unrest was limited to the areas shown on map 8. It would be very illogical to believe that certain general regulations, affecting all farmers in one and the same way, created chaos in one part of the country but did not even make a stir in the other.

The reason for the uprising of the farmers must have been something other than the reforms of Wang Mang. There must have been a factor which affected the above-mentioned provinces especially and Shan-tung, the center of the greatest unrest, specifically, creating famine in these parts of the empire but not in the others. My study has convinced me that this factor was the change of the course of Yellow River.¹⁾

Some years ago I wrote an article about the census of China.²⁾ In this I postulated on the basis of the population map for A. D. 140, drawn in accordance with the census taken during that year,³⁾ that the change of the course of the Yellow River was a much greater event and catastrophe than so far had been realized. Previously, all that was known was the statement of the HS (99 B: 18 a) that the

¹⁾ Wu King-ch'ao, in his article *Si Han ti kie ki ch'i tu* (Ts'ing-hua Journal, no. 10, 1935, pp. 587—629), remarks (pp. 624—629) that the primary reason for the fall of Wang Mang was natural calamities. He considers the second most important reason for the anti-Wang Mang movement to be the campaigns which Wang Mang carried out against the Hiung-nu in the north and the Yi in the southwest. Wu mentions several floods and droughts specifically but does not bring up any major calamity resulting from the flooding of the Yellow River.

As regards the cost of the campaigns, these expenditures might have been some burden for the population, but it seems out of question that it influenced the situation at large. The Chinese government always freed from taxes prefectures hit by calamities, and the people in the flooded areas were therefore hardly affected by any imposts. Furthermore, by mobilizing, clothing and feeding men from these areas, the government actually to some extent might have relieved the famine.

²⁾ 64. Bielenstein.

³⁾ Quoted in the geographical chapters of the HHS (ch'i 19—23). Cf. 64. Bielenstein, plate III.

Yellow River in A. D. 11 broke its dikes in the Wei commandery and flooded several commanderies from the Ts'ing-ho commandery eastwards. This means that the river no longer bent northwards on the Great Plain and emptied near present T'ien-tsin but instead had its mouth in about the same area where it today flows into the Yellow Sea. However, the population map for A. D. 140 revealed the highly interesting fact that a broad belt of considerably reduced population stretched southeastwards to the Huai River from the very point where the Yellow River had started its new course. I therefore concluded: «It looks as if the river at the beginning turned southeast whereby large parts of the plain were flooded». ¹⁾ This observation was at that time entirely founded on the population records. I knew of no textual evidence to confirm the picture rendered by the map. However, I had arrived at the conclusion that the population records investigated, contrary to the general opinion, were of considerable accuracy, and I believed that inferences drawn from comparison of the different population maps constituted a means of obtaining historical facts. I did not know how long the dikes had remained unrepaired, but pointed out that it must have been a question of considerable time. Earlier, in 132 B. C. the Yellow River had broken its dikes in exactly the same area where the catastrophe occurred in A. D. 11. Then also a branch of the river had wandered astray across the plain and flowed into the Huai River. Chavannes says in this connection: «C'est à cette date de 132 avant J.-C. que, pour la première fois, le Hoang-ho vint momentanément se jeter dans la rivière Hoai». ²⁾ This event was of much smaller magnitude than the following one. However, this flood too left its scar. The map for A. D. 2³⁾ shows a clear though small gap in the concentration of people southeastwards from the place of the breakage. ⁴⁾ As the dikes were not repaired before 109 B. C., I concluded, that if even the powerful Emperor Wu needed 23 years to have the dikes repaired, there was every reason to believe that in the case of the considerably greater catastrophe of A. D. 11, when furthermore the political situation was unstable, the repair work would have been delayed for «several decades». ⁵⁾

On the basis of the population maps of A. D. 2 and 140 I furthermore drew the inference that the earlier part of the Later Han period witnessed a migration of people from northern China to southern China. This was indicated by the fact that the decrease of population in the north to a great extent was balanced by an increase in the south. This increase was so enormous that in Hu-nan, Kiang-si, and Kuang-tung the population quadrupled from A. D. 2 to 140. Obviously, the reason could not be solely an increased birth-rate. Neither was it possible that the large decrease in the north was solely due to increased mortality. The conclusion

¹⁾ Op. cit., p. 140.

²⁾ 68. Chavannes, III: 2, p. 525, note 6.

³⁾ 64. Bielenstein, plate II.

⁴⁾ Ibid. p. 140.

⁵⁾ Ibid. p. 141.

was unavoidable that a migration had occurred. Additional evidence for this migration was rendered by a detailed comparison of the average number of members per household (m/h figure) in the different parts of the country.¹⁾

Since I wrote this article, I have discovered passages in the HHS which furnish the textual evidence so far lacking. Under the year A. D. 70 the HHS states that in the 4th month (May) the repair of the Pien [canal] was completed (2: 13 a). Emperor Ming inspected the work in person and issued the following edict:

2: 13 b—14 a. »On the day yi-yu (April 8) an edict said: 'Since the dikes of the Pien canal were burst, more than 60 years have passed. In addition, for some years since then, the rainfall did not follow the seasons. The currents of the Pien canal encroached eastwards. Day after day and month after month it became worse. The old places of the water gates were all in the middle of the river. Vast waves overflowed widely. No one could fathom the boundaries of the [former] shores. It was so vast, with an endless perspective, that one could not distinguish the main lines from the secondary ones.

Now, the greater part of the people of the Yen and Yü [provinces] have much suffered from the evil of the flood. Thereupon they have said²⁾ that the emperor did not put first the anxiety of the people but exceedingly promoted other works. Moreover, some considered that if the currents of the [Yellow] River enter the Pien [canal], the Yu and Ki [provinces]³⁾ receive profit. Therefore it has been said: 'If the left dike is strong, then the right dike suffers. If the left and right [dikes] both are strong, then the area downstream suffers; so it is better to let the water go as it wants to and order the people to live on highly situated places. [In that way] the state could put a stop to the expenditures of damming [the water], and the Hundred Clans would no longer run the risk of drowning.' [However,] the consultants did not agree; the southerners and northerners argued differently so that we did not know whom to follow and that for a long time nothing was decided.

Now that [the workers] have built dikes and repaired the canal, cut off the water and established locks, the [Yellow] River and the Pien [canal] flow separated and are again in their old beds. North of the T'ao hill⁴⁾ one gradually approaches rich soil. Therefore [We] have sacrificed excellent jade and pure sacrificial animals to worship the Spirits of the [Yellow] River. Eastwards [We] have passed the junction of the Lo [River with the Yellow River], admiring the merit of Yü⁵⁾. Now, the things which suit the Five [Varieties] of the Soil have reverted to their correct appearance. The fields below the shores of [the Yellow] River and the Pien canal shall be given to poor people, and the gentry must not be enabled to secure their profit. So we may continue the procedure of the Epochal Exemplar⁶⁾ at Hu-tsī⁷⁾.»

¹⁾ Cf. op. cit. pp. 142 ff.

²⁾ Instead of 云, the Ki ku ko edition writes 曰.

³⁾ Situated north of the river and thus outside the flooded area.

⁴⁾ The T'ao hill was situated SW of the prefecture of Ting-t'ao. Cf. HS 28 A: 2: 38 b. This city during Han was the capital of the Tsi-yin commandery and situated 4 li NW of the present hien with the same name, Shan-tung.

⁵⁾ This legendary emperor is supposed to have regulated the waters.

⁶⁾ I. e. Emperor Wu (140—87).

⁷⁾ In 132 B. C. the Yellow River had broken its dikes at Hu-tsī. This was the name of a dike situated in the P'u-yang prefecture. The P'u-yang prefecture during Han belonged to the Tung commandery and was situated S of the present hien with the same name, Ho-nan. The break of 132 B. C. was repaired in 109 B. C. when Emperor Wu personally visited the place. Cf. 72. Dubs, II, p. 90; 68. Chavannes, III: 2, pp. 525 ff.

This edict is very important as it refers to the Pien canal, connecting the Yellow River with the Huai River, which is mentioned nowhere in Wang Mang's biography. The text of the edict makes it clear that the Yellow River ran off its course and that a great part of its water entered the Pien canal. This canal of course could not hold all the water, and thus huge areas on both sides of it were inundated. People obviously drowned in considerable numbers, while others had to evacuate the area. Only in «highly situated» places there was no danger. The government was unable to cope with the immense problem of flood control, and for decades nothing was accomplished. For instance, in A. D. 34 the prefect of the Yang-wu prefecture¹⁾, Chang Sī, memorialized that it was a long time since the Yellow River had broken its dikes and that something had to be done. Emperor Kuang-wu thereupon gave orders to regulate the river. However, another prefect, Lo Tsün, of the Tsün-yi prefecture²⁾, also handed in a memorial and pointed out that the flood control was no longer urgent. He declared that only few people remained in the area once hit by the catastrophe and that for them the fields were more than sufficient. The emperor accepted his point of view and discontinued the work (76,106: 5b). Thus, it was not until A. D. 70 that the government finally put an end to the inundation. The HHS describes how this was done. In A. D. 69 the court seriously started to discuss how to impound the water. Consequently Wang King was called to an audience. He was a famous engineer who was especially interested in water control. Already he had given proof of his ability. Wang King gave clear and competent answers to the questions of the emperor, and as a result of this he was put in charge of the work. In the summer of the same year he started to repair the dikes along the Yellow River from the Yung-yang prefecture³⁾ all the way eastwards to the sea. Each 10th li he constructed a water gate in order to regulate the water-level. One year later, in the spring of A. D. 70, the work was completed. Emperor Ming inspected it personally and issued the edict quoted above (76,106: 5 b — 6a).

The description of the reconstruction makes it clear that the main work was carried out along the Yellow River. However, the court discussion in A. D. 69 as well as the edict of A. D. 70 refer to the repairing of the Pien canal. This looks at first sight like a contradiction, but it is only an apparent one. As already pointed out by Hu San-sing⁴⁾ and Hu Fei-ming⁵⁾, the crucial point was the control of the Yellow River. As soon as its southern dikes had been restored, all the water had to go eastwards to the sea, and no surplus water could any longer enter the Pien

¹⁾ The Yang-wu prefecture during Han belonged to the Ho-nan commandery and was situated 28 li SE of the present hien with the same name, Ho-nan.

²⁾ The Tsün-yi prefecture during Han belonged to the Ch'en-liu commandery and was situated NW of the present K'ai-feng hien, Ho-nan.

³⁾ Situated 17 li SW of the present Jung-ts'e hien, Ho-nan.

⁴⁾ Cf. HHS 2 *Kiao pu*.

⁵⁾ 76,106 *Kiao pu*.

canal. This automatically reduced the water level in the Pien canal to the normal, and the enormous inundations along its course ceased to exist.

The Pien canal connected the Yellow River with the Huai River, stretching from northwest to southeast. It had been built mainly for the transport of commodities and was of great importance for the supplying of Lo-yang. The *Chung kuo ku kin ti ming ta ts'i tien* (p. 395) describes the course of this canal in detail and adds a very important remark: when during Yüan times the Yellow River changed its course to emerge south of the Shantung peninsula, its new bed was identical with the former Pien canal. This is the last evidence we need. It is obvious that the Pien canal was built following the lowest portions of the Great Plain, the very same area through which the Yellow River would automatically flow if it ever changed its course southwards. This happened in the case described above and again for instance during Mongol times.

The technical causes of the changes of the Yellow River are very simple. The river carries a great amount of silt, so much in fact that the water runs muddy. The silt consists mostly of yellow loess and sand which is in its turn the reason for the name of the river. The mud is slowly deposited on the river bottom, and very gradually the bed gets filled. After the filling process has reached a certain level, the danger of floods becomes imminent and in fact unavoidable. Even if the dikes had formed a continuous barrier and were in good repair, which was rarely the case, the height of these dikes could not be raised indefinitely. With mathematical certainty the moment came when the river would run off its track. When it takes its new course, however, the water has not yet a bed. Instead, on a broad front it floods great parts of the plain. It takes a long time for the mass of water to dig itself a new bed, and even then the floods continue as long as dikes do not restrain the river. This chain of events repeats itself monotonously all through the history of China. The earliest historical record of such an event is the one of 132 B.C. That time the flood was of minor extent and was relatively soon brought under control. The second occasion, and this time a catastrophe, is the one discussed above.

The edict of A. D. 70 furnishes another point of interest. It states that the destruction of the Pien canal occurred more than 60 years earlier. This, according to Chinese practice, means that the number of years that had elapsed was more than 60 but less than 70. Counting backwards from A. D. 70, the catastrophe must therefore have occurred at the latest in A. D. 10 and at the earliest in A. D. 2. This at first sight seems quite strange, as the HS (99 B: 18 a) mentions the break of the dikes under A. D. 11. However, and this is important, the HS says nothing whatsoever about the branch of the river which went southeastwards, joined the Huai River and put parts of the Great Plain under water. It merely states that the Yellow River flooded several commanderies from the Ts'ing-ho commandery eastwards. What is the explanation? Did the authors of the HS simply forget to mention half of the story, and is the edict mistaken in saying »more than 60 years»? Let us

answer the second question first. The edict is not mistaken. The biography of the engineer Wang King affords corroborating evidence. It says: «Previously, in the time of Emperor P'ing, the [Yellow] River and the Pien [canal] burst open and made destruction» (76, 106: 5 b). Emperor P'ing ascended the throne in 1 B. C. and died on February 3, A. D. 6. Thus, the figure given in the edict is correct, and the year of the flood in the southeast can be limited to A. D. 2, 3, 4, 5, or possibly the beginning of 6. Yet, why is this event not mentioned in the pen ki of Emperor P'ing nor anywhere else in the HS?

The principal answer to this has already been given in my article about the portents of the HS¹⁾. All unnatural phenomena, including floods, were theoretically regarded as warnings from Heaven to the ruler because of bad government. However, in practice such phenomena were not all reported to the emperor. Instead they were memorialized by high officials only when these had real or imagined reasons for being dissatisfied with the government. In this way, the memorializing of unnatural phenomena constituted a form of indirect criticism which was the more convenient as it could not be punished. If some high official felt like expressing his dissatisfaction with the state of affairs, he only had to look through the records of the various departments in the capital in order to find a suitable portent for his memorial. «In choosing from among the calamities the officials did not follow any fixed rules. They simply took what was at hand at the moment or what seemed most useful».²⁾ The important thing is that only these memorialized portents were included in the history, which makes any list of unnatural phenomena derived from the history drastically incomplete. It is therefore utterly impossible on the basis of the recorded portents to reconstruct and interpret the actual and successive occurrence of floods as well as of droughts, famines, rainfall, earthquakes and all the other «unnatural phenomena». As for the change of the course of the Yellow River, the following has obviously occurred: In A. D. 11 some official expressed indirect criticism against the government by referring to the break of the dike during this year. An earlier and larger catastrophe is not mentioned in the HS because it so happened that no official chose this event as a subject for a memorial.

What really happened is this: during the reign of Emperor P'ing, the Yellow River flooded parts of the Great Plain by sending a branch into the Huai River. In A. D. 11 new breaks occurred and the river inundated also eastwards. Other breaks might very well have taken place in the years between. Thus, during a number of years a series of catastrophes occurred. As a result the Yellow River changed its course, and instead of its former course with the mouth near present T'ien-tsin it now formed two new branches emerging immediately north and south of the Shan-tung peninsula.

¹⁾ 65. Bielenstein.

²⁾ Op. cit., p. 142.

The results obtained throw an interesting light on the technique of historical writing. One has clearly to understand why the historian incorporated certain material into his history. In the present case, he was interested in floods not from their aspect as national disasters, but only as unnatural phenomena memorialized against the emperor. Thus, much is excluded from the history simply because it fell outside the scope of historical writing. It might offhand be expected that the historian should have devoted pages to the description of a catastrophe which he certainly never could have overlooked. Yet he is silent. Only indirectly are we able to establish what really did happen. This emphasizes the fact that much must have occurred in Chinese history which had far-reaching consequences but was never recorded by the historians.

A result of the flood was the great internal migration from the north to the south. It was the involuntary, second stage of the colonization of Southern China after the forced colonization during the Ts'in dynasty (221—207). The routes of migration are clearly visible on the map.¹⁾ The people to a considerable extent evacuated the devastated areas of the Yen, Yü and Sū provinces and migrated southwards along two different, distinct routes. One group left the Great Plain in a south-westward direction, passed through the boundary between the Ts'in-ling-shan and Huai-shan, crossed the Nan-yang commandery, entered the Nan- and Kiang-hia commanderies, passed the Yang-tsī River, and continued southwards along the Siang-kiang. The other group migrated on the Great Plain in a southeasterly direction until it reached the Yang-tsī close to its estuary. One branch of the refugees crossed the river and was drawn to the fertile plains in southern Kiang-su and around the Hang-chou Gulf in Che-kiang. The other branch went along the northern bank of the Yang-tsī to the area north of the Po-yang Lake, crossed the river and continued southwards through Kiang-si along the Kan-kiang (cf. map 9).²⁾ Thus, the Huai-shan functioned as a divider, splitting the migrating people into two groups which passed the mountain range on either side.

A migration of the type described is obviously a very gradual process. Everything points to the fact that in the later part of Wang Mang's regime the greater part of the refugees on both migration routes had reached no further than the areas around the Yang-tsī, while only minor contingents had already crossed this river. The refugees wandered slowly, and wherever they stayed for a while, they increased the population and became an economic burden to the government and the people. In this way, the migration gave birth not only to ill-feelings and discord but also to famine, affecting the wandering people themselves and others as well.

If we now compare maps 8 and 9, we discover the important fact that the banditry of the commoners occurred in exactly the regions which were affected by the migration. Leaving Shan-tung aside for a moment, the texts as shown above make the remark that the Sū,

¹⁾ 64. Bielenstein, plate III.

²⁾ Cf. also op. cit., pp. 136—137, 144.

Yü, King, and Yang provinces were harassed by bandits. In addition to this general statement, the HS and HHS, as already described in detail, mention two peasant insurrections. One of them were the Troops from Sin-shī and from the Lower [Yang-tsī-] kiang in the Kiang-hia commandery, the other was the group which operated directly south of the Yang-tsī estuary under Kua-t'ien Yi. In all these cases, the resemblance between the maps is clearly too close to be a mere coincidence. If the regions of banditry coincide in detail with the areas through which the impoverished and starving peasants migrated, it is obvious that the flood is the primary factor and the migration and banditry the secondary. This in itself is proof enough. However, it is corroborating and uncontradictory evidence that Kua-t'ien Yi who in A.D. 17 operated south of the Yang-tsī estuary, was a native of the Lin-huai commandery (HS 99 C: 2 a). This was exactly the commandery, situated south of the Shan-tung peninsula, through which the new branch of the Yellow River emptied into the sea.

Let us now turn to the Red Eyebrows on the Shan-tung peninsula. Here the situation was considerably worse than in the other parts of China. The people on the Great Plain, who had fled from the water and found themselves south of the inundated areas, were at least in a position to migrate. This was not the case in Shan-tung. The Yellow River had formed two new branches, shackling the peninsula between its arms. These branches were not rivers in the normal sense of the word, but vast and almost impenetrable regions under water. Huge numbers of people were caught between these arms and unable to get away. Their only escape was to pour into the more highly situated and therefore safe parts of Shan-tung. In this way, the peninsula was faced with an enormous problem of displaced persons, insoluble, as it was impossible to get rid of them. In times of famine, every government in China was in the habit of distributing food to the starving people, and for this reason storehouses existed in the various parts of the empire. However, no storehouses would have been sufficient to feed great masses of displaced persons indefinitely. During the first years it was probably possible to give at least some relief, but the situation grew gradually worse and worse. The famine became more pressing with every year, affecting not only the fugitives themselves but also the sedentary farmers. After this famine had reached a certain point, the starving people reacted in the way they have always done. They formed small bands and took by force whatever they could get. In the course of the years these bands joined into bigger and bigger units until finally the Red Eyebrows emerged as a large and almost undefeatable band. In the end, the food-supplies were entirely exhausted. Shan-tung became too small for the Red Eyebrows, and they were forced to evacuate the peninsula. It is interesting to observe that in doing so they did not choose the shortest way but turned southwards around the area of the worst inundation. Afterwards they did not take their course along the routes of migration southwards because they were an organized group on the verge of gaining political importance. They therefore marched against the capital. Again it is a corrobo-

rating evidence that three leaders of the Red Eyebrows, Sū Sūan, Sie Lu and Yang Yin explicitly are stated to have been natives of the Tung-hai commandery (HHS 11,41: 9 a). This commandery was situated in southern Shan-tung, immediately north of the new branch of the Yellow River. — Finally, as regards the insurrection of commoners led by the woman Ch'i Chao-p'ing, it is no coincidence that she operated along the branch of the Yellow River which had been formed north of Shan-tung.

One final point of interest should be discussed. In Shan-tung and along the routes of migration the situation only gradually grew worse. It took years for the food reserves to become entirely exhausted, and for bands to begin to flock together and merge into larger and larger units. Also, the farther away from the break, the more often were people able to evacuate in time. They saved at least some of their property which helped them for a while to keep away starvation. Things were different in the region which bordered on the Yellow River and took the full force of the flood. The HS states that the dikes were broken in the Wei commandery. However, only a tiny stretch on the southern shore of the Yellow River was concerned. 90 % of the Wei commandery were safely situated on the northern side of the river. The area which really bordered on the Yellow River and suffered earlier and more directly than others was the Tung commandery.¹⁾ If people suddenly lose everything they have and famine hovers over the country, it is reasonable to suppose that they will readily follow a leader who is able to channel their anger and grief in a suitable direction. Is it therefore surprising that precisely in this commandery Chai Yi rebelled in A. D. 7? His is the only one of the earlier revolts which obtained support from the common people and for a considerable time constituted a danger to the government. Again the relation of events seems too direct to be a mere coincidence. Although in this case cause and effect cannot be proved with absolute certainty, all probability speaks for a connection.

Thus, every piece of the puzzle falls into place. We can safely conclude that the ultimate reason for the fall of Wang Mang was the change of the course of the Yellow River.

The census of A. D. 2 shows that ca. 28 million people were settled south of the Yellow River in the area which later was affected by the flood.²⁾ This means that a greater part, about half of the total population, suffered from the catastrophe than would have been the case in later periods when the population was more evenly distributed throughout the empire. To cope with a problem of such magnitude was far beyond the capacity of Wang Mang's government; and what is more, any other kind of government would have failed in the same way. The situation became gradually worse, and the famine, often mentioned in our sources, affected wider and wider circles of people. Hence, the final show-down was unavoidable. It is true that Wang Mang seems not to have understood the full scale of the

¹⁾ Cf. map 2.

²⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 93.

tragedy. He did not realize that the unrest of the commoners was no rebellion but the result of the ever increasing scarcity of food. The starving peasants originally wanted nothing but to fill their stomachs then and there, not to overthrow an emperor who resided in the nebulous distance. Wang Mang tried to put down the unrest by force of arms, an attempt which from the beginning was doomed to failure.¹⁾ If we can believe the HS, he did not trust the officials who tried to give him the true picture. For instance, when Fei Hing in A. D. 18 was appointed Shepherd of the King province, he was received in audience and asked by the emperor what plans he had for his future administration. Fei Hing answered that he would lend oxen, seed and food to the people and exempt them from taxes. In this way he hoped to pacify the province. Wang Mang disapproved of this programme and dismissed him from office (HS 99 C: 3 a). Or, after having described that the Red Eyebrows were no rebels but had flocked together because of hunger,²⁾ the HS adds: »But Wang Mang in the end did not understand the cause of it» (HS 99 C:14 b). By choosing another policy, Wang Mang might have been able to delay the end, but he never could have evaded it entirely. I believe that the change of the Yellow River whose consequences affected half of the population a priori decided his fate, and that no government measures could have altered this fact.

Our initial question, »why did Wang Mang fall?», has thus been answered. The chain of events starts with the change of the course of the Yellow River, a natural disaster which could not have been prevented and therefore was no one's fault. The people evacuated the affected areas, migrated southwards or were cut off on the Shan-tung peninsula. Wherever they passed, they became an economic burden, and unrest sprang up along the routes of migration as well as on the peninsula. Gradually the bands increased and were able to defeat the government armies. The Troops from Sin-shī and from the Lower [Yang-tsi-] kiang marched northwards from Hu-pei. The Red Eyebrows evacuated Shan-tung and moved westwards. Nan-yang, situated at the point on which these forces seemed to converge, witnessed a rebellion of the local gentry, led by members of the Liu clan, the imperial family of Former Han. These rebels were capable of exploiting the popular unrest for their own purposes. On the crest of the wave they were carried against Ch'ang-an. Further secondary rebellions broke out, and Wang Mang's dynasty fell with him.

This being the case, it becomes evident that Wang Mang's reform activities had little to do with his fall. It has been customary to put all the blame on these reforms. However, this results from a misunderstanding of the situation which,

¹⁾ I do not agree with 40. Lü Si-mien, I, pp. 222, 224, 227, who remarks that Wang Mang did not understand how to use soldiers and that this was a reason for his fall. Wang Mang had shown himself an able strategist during the rebellion of Chai Yi in A. D. 7. However, towards the last years of his reign no armies possibly could have suppressed the unrest of the starving people.

²⁾ Cf. supra p. 143.

ironically enough, seems to have been shared by none other than Wang Mang himself. Thus, in A. D. 22 he abolished all the remaining reforms (HS 99 C: 19 a — 19 b). However, such a measure could not stop the menace of the Red Eyebrows nor the bandits from Hu-pei, simply because their rise had nothing to do with these reforms. Wang Mang's step probably pleased the gentry greatly, but at that time the gentry was not a decisive factor.

Several of Wang Mang's reforms had affected the gentry from the very beginning. Nevertheless this impact was never strong enough to provoke open disobedience. One family, of course, had graver reasons than the others to hate Wang Mang, the dethroned Liu clan. Its members had been deprived of their feudal rank and were barred from official position and influence. They lived as junkers on their estates and resented this fact. Hence, it is not surprising that they (but few others) were involved in the conspiracies against Wang Mang. This becomes evident from a comparison of the different gentry rebellions:

6 A. D.: Rebellion of Liu Ch'ung.

? Rebellion of Liu Ts'eng and Liu Kuei.

7 A. D.: Rebellion of Chai Yi in favour of Liu Sin.

9 A. D.: Plot of Chang Ch'ung in favour of the Liu clan.

Rebellion of Liu K'uai.

Plot of Liu Tu.

20 A. D.: Plot of Ma-shī K'iu.

21 A. D.: Plot of Li Yen in favour of the Liu clan.

22 A. D.: Rebellion of Liu Po-sheng and others.

Of the rebellions which actually broke out, all but one were led by members of the Liu family, and the remaining one under Chai Yi was in favour of this clan. The rest of the gentry made no moves. Obviously, the reason for this was the fact that the ruling class, en bloc, had no choice but to accept Wang Mang as emperor. The only means of maintaining its position was through access to office. The Liu clan was cut off and bitter, but that was no reason for the rest of the gentry, for its sake, to risk their necks and their own places at the flesh-pots. Hence the members of the Liu clan were isolated, and the government had little trouble in putting down their earlier revolts.

The table above gives another clue to the situation: Wang Mang ascended the throne in A. D. 9. He was killed in A. D. 23. From A. D. 10 to 19 not a single attempt was undertaken to overthrow him. This indicates that whatever the ruling class might have thought about Wang Mang's reforms, it was still to its advantage to remain obedient, and even the Liu clan for one decade abstained from revolts. Hence, if the gentry harboured resentment against the emperor, these feelings were not strong enough to call forth insurrection. Only when the Liu clan, thanks to the unrest of the commoners, was able to make its come-back, and the imminent fall of Wang Mang was obvious to all, did the gentry families sensibly swing over

to the victorious camp in order to keep their place in the sun. It is quite probable that they welcomed the change. Yet, they were not active themselves to bring it about nor would they have deserted Wang Mang if his power had remained intact.

It would be welcome if this picture of Wang Mang's rule could be corroborated. One way of doing this is furnished by the portents recorded during Wang Mang's rule. As discussed in the article¹⁾ already mentioned, and repeated in this chapter, the high officials had a means of criticizing the emperor and his government indirectly by memorializing the occurrence of unnatural phenomena. These phenomena were regarded as portents, warning from Heaven of bad rule, and hence the officials in question could not be punished for drawing attention to them. As a rule, the officials memorialized real events. Only when no unnatural phenomenon was at hand did the temptation arise of inventing a portent, if the reasons for criticism seemed strong enough. In this way, during the rule of the Empress, née Lü, (187—180) an eclipse was memorialized which actually had never occurred. However, it was a dangerous thing to do, because if such a fraud was detected, the culprit could be fairly sure of his execution. In case unnatural phenomena were lacking, it was therefore more sensible to manufacture a »portent» rather than only to pretend that it had occurred. To this category probably belong the frequent »visitations of fire» in different parts of the imperial palaces.

From the average number of portents per year for each successive reign it is possible to see the strength of the indirect criticism directed against the various emperors. I believe that I have proved this fact already in the above-mentioned paper. However, since the article was published, I have found two passages in the HS and HHS respectively which clearly confirm that portents were used for indirect criticism. I take advantage of the opportunity here to present this further evidence.

When Emperor P'ing had ascended the throne, Wang Mang feared competition from the emperor's mother, the concubine née Wei, and her two brothers, Wei Pao and Wei Hüan. He therefore exiled them to the Chung-shan kingdom, situated in the northern part of the Great Plain. Wang Mang's son, Wang Yü, believed that this would lead to complications after Emperor P'ing had grown up. He dreaded that the Wei clan would come to power, and that this would be the end of his own family. When he saw that no amount of reasoning would persuade his father, he discussed the situation with his teacher, Wu Chang, and his brother-in-law, Lü K'uan. They decided together to manufacture a portent in order to frighten Wang Mang. Lü K'uan was supposed by night to smear blood on the gate of Wang Mang's residence. Wu Chang thereupon should draw attention to this fact and quote parallels from history. The plot was discovered, and the conspirators died in prison (HS 99 A: 16 a—16 b).

The other instance is from the HHS:

¹⁾ 65. Bielenstein.

83,113: 6 b—7 a. Yen Kuang was an old friend of Liu Siu since they had studied together in the capital. After the latter had become emperor, he made enquiries for Yen Kuang which for some time remained without result. Finally, Yen Kuang one day appeared at an inn in the capital where the emperor visited him in person. Another day he was called to an audience during which the emperor talked about old times: »The emperor persuasively asked [Yen] Kuang and said: 'How would it be if We did as in old times?' [Yen Kuang] answered and said: 'Your Majesty exaggerates concerning the past'. Consequently they lay down together. [Yen] Kuang put his foot upon the stomach of the emperor. The following day, the Grand Astrologer memorialized that a strange star had transgressed [the constellation of] the Imperial Throne in extreme haste. The emperor laughed and said: 'We only have slept together with [Our] old friend Yen Tsi-ling¹⁾'».

These examples make it clear, not only that the memorializing of portents was used as a means to express criticism and to influence the emperors, but also that this was clearly understood by at least Kuang-wu and probably by other emperors as well.

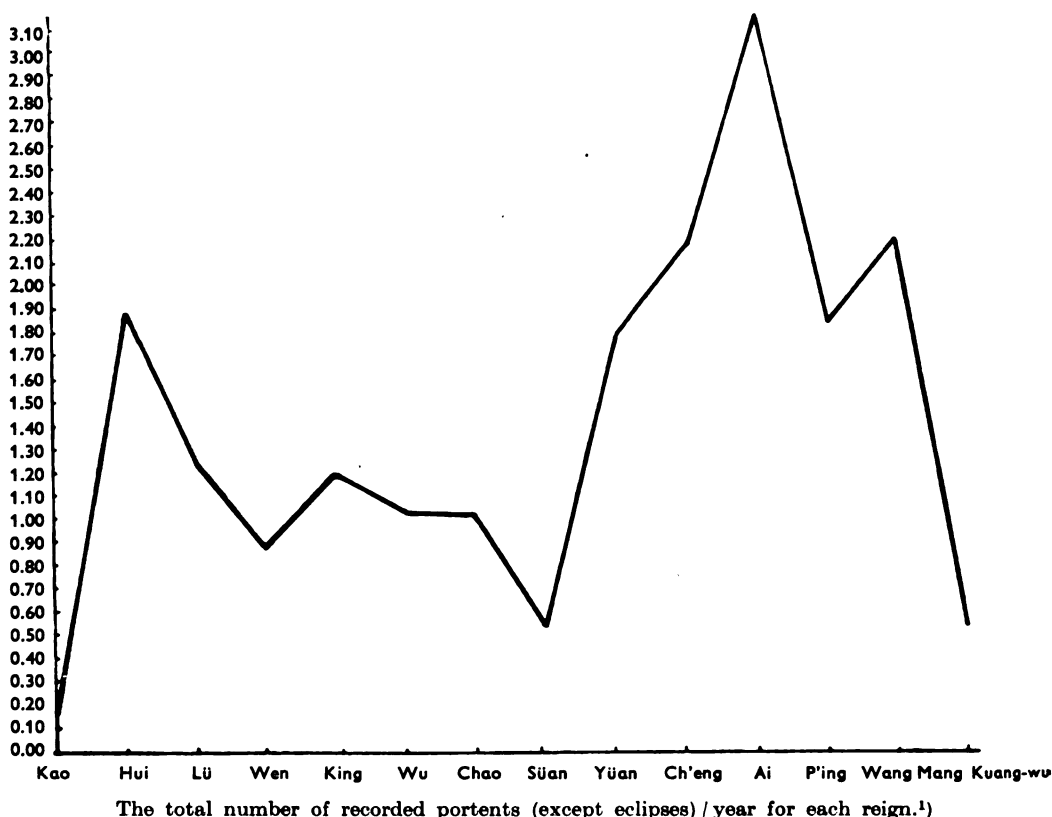
Let us now look at the indirect criticism expressed during the rules of Emperors Ai, P'ing, and Wang Mang.²⁾ For this matter I reproduce and continue fig. 2 of my article³⁾ (cf. p. 158). It should be emphasized that the curve reveals the strength of the indirect criticism expressed by the high dignitaries during each reign. However, if this criticism is about equally strong during two different reigns, this does not indicate that the unsatisfactory state of affairs was also of about the same magnitude. If for instance a development very gradually turns to the worse, people have a tendency to get used to this without being spurred to an outburst of sudden and vehement criticism. In this respect the different points of the curve are therefore hardly comparable. Instead, the curve reveals the stability of government under the successive emperors. The more criticism there was expressed, the more the machinery of state creaked in its operation.

The curve reveals that indirect criticism rapidly increased after the death of Emperor Süan. During Emperor Yüan's reign, criticism reached the next highest point so far during the dynasty. This point was surpassed under his successor Ch'eng. Then, under Emperor Ai, the curve reached its peak. No ruler of Former Han attracted such vehement opposition as he. The reason is clearly discernible from the historical records. Ai was the most degenerate ruler of the whole dynasty and allowed himself to be guided in his policy by his homosexual tendency. Bisexuality was not a rare occurrence among the emperors of China, as for instance can be seen from the description above of Liu Siu's meeting with his friend. But so far it never had happened that an emperor had appointed his catamite to

¹⁾ Tsi-ling was the style of Yen Kuang.

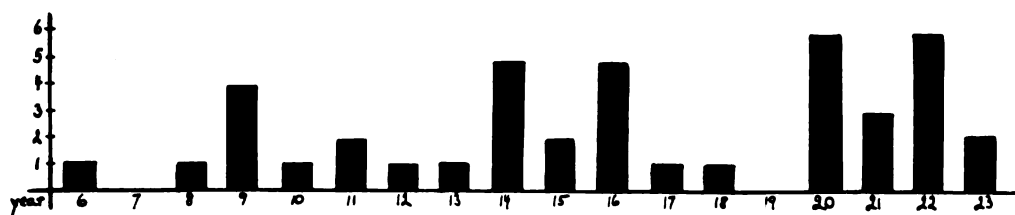
²⁾ The 3 year reign of Liu Ying, the Young Prince, has been added to the rule of Wang Mang as he was in complete control of the government during this time.

³⁾ Cf. 65. Bielenstein, p. 133.



the highest offices of state. Emperor Ai actually made Tung Hien Commander-in-chief and showered rewards on him. It came to the point that the dying emperor tried to cede the throne to his favorite. Hence, it is not surprising that the Confucian ministers, driven by moral indignation, protested against the rule of an incompetent and licentious playboy. The death of Emperor Ai was a relief to the high officials, and immediately the indirect criticism fell off considerably. It should be remembered that Wang Mang during the major part of Emperor Ai's rule was out of favour, but that he was firmly back in power under Emperor P'ing. This did not prevent the indirect criticism from being less than it had been since the death of Emperor Yüan. Hence, after the return of Wang Mang, the stability of the government increased considerably. After he had thrown all pretence overboard and ascended the throne in his own right, the criticism grew to some extent. However, it stayed far below the peak reached under Emperor Ai. The conclusion therefore must be that the indirect criticism under Wang Mang, while certainly

¹⁾ Because of special reasons explained in the article, the eclipses are used for a separate curve. If the eclipses were added, the general course of the curve would not be affected.



The portents memorialized against Wang Mang.

not low, still represented a considerable improvement since the days of Emperor Ai, and that the government was not more unstable than it had been during the time of Emperor Ch'eng. In fact, psychologically speaking, the situation ought to have been better. Emperor Ch'eng's rule was situated «uphill» on the curve when the discontent gradually grew stronger. Wang Mang's rule is situated «downhill» when the administration felt relieved after the degeneracy and corruption of Emperor Ai. Actually, since Wang Mang held all power under Emperor P'ing, he also deserves the credit of the improvement during this time.

It has occurred to me that it might be possible to go one step further. One could take the portents memorialized against Wang Mang, during the «rule» of Liu Ying as well as under his own government and set them down in the form of a graph, one vertical bar for each year during which any portents are mentioned. In this way, the higher the bar, the more the indirect criticism that was conveyed during the year in question.

As regards the smaller of the bars, attempts at finding the specific reasons for these would of course be fruitless. It is, however, interesting to observe that during some of the years the officials became more vehement in their disagreement with the government than usual, i. e. in A. D. 9, 14, 16, 20, and 22. These are not isolated incidents of disapproval but the outflow of a strong and repeated discontent with specific government measures, and here there might be a chance to discover the cause of the criticism. As for the bar of A. D. 22, I am not able to discern any other reason than the fact that the general state of affairs in the empire was rapidly turning to the worse. During this year, the Red Eyebrows as well as the bandits in Hu-pei became a national danger and repeatedly defeated government troops. Both groups started to move towards the central parts of the country. In the later part of the year, rebellion broke out in Nan-yang. Thus, far from being checked, disobedience against the government actually spread. Many officials must have realized that the dynasty was in the greatest danger, and it is permissible to think that they memorialized portents in the hope that this might stimulate the government to drastic action. However this may have been, no definite answer can be given in this instance. It seems instead more important to investigate the remaining high bars of the years A. D. 9, 14, 16, and 20.

On January 10, A. D. 9, Wang Mang made himself emperor of China, which at first sight seems nicely to explain the relatively strong indirect criticism during this year. However, it is hardly probable that this is the real explanation. Wang Mang had carefully prepared his way to power. His own clique held all the official positions of importance. He had for years worked upon public opinion and prepared the official world for the change to come. Also, he undoubtedly had a certain popularity among the officials, which is proved by the reduced indirect criticism after the death of Emperor Ai. Furthermore, he had in practice been the sole ruler already many years before he de facto ascended the throne, and from A. D. 6 onwards it became increasingly obvious what Wang Mang had in mind. Liu Ying, the baby successor of Emperor P'ing, was not even formally declared emperor, and on top of all Wang Mang after some time assumed the title of Regent Emperor. Thus, if there ever was a time to memorialize portents, to point out the anger of Heaven and thereby try to upset Wang Mang's plans, it was from A. D. 6 to 8. After he had ascended the throne, it was completely meaningless then to start criticizing. It made sense to criticize current government measures, even after they had been adopted because such regulations could be repealed if enough pressure was brought against the régime. But, none could be so naive as to think that any indirect criticism would persuade Wang Mang to abdicate. The table shows no more than two cases of memorialized portents from A. D. 6 to 8, and hence it is obvious that there was hardly any disapproval at all during the years when Wang Mang set the stage for his take-over. Consequently the officials did not take objection to his policy, and therefore the strong criticism during A. D. 9 in all probability was not retroactively directed against Wang Mang's ascension to the throne, but against something else.

In A. D. 9, after Wang Mang had become emperor, he inaugurated a number of reforms, such as the nationalization of all land, the introduction of the well-field system, the abolition of slavery, an income tax, and a currency reform. Off-hand it seems imaginable that the indirect criticism was directed against any of these enforcements or against all of them together. However, comparison with the other high bars will clarify the situation. In A. D. 14, Wang Mang ordered a new currency reform, and the denominations of the coins were changed again in A. D. 20¹⁾. It cannot be a coincidence that during each of the three years when major changes of currency were introduced, the criticism also rose high. Taken by themselves, these instances might not prove very much, but put together they strongly support the impression that the currency reforms were the cause and the criticism the effect. In this connection it should be pointed out that the currency reform of A. D. 9 was

¹⁾ HS 99 C: 10 mentions a currency reform under A. D. 20. However, as pointed out by 87. Swann, p. 351, note 729, this is nothing but a description of the reform of A. D. 14. The reason why the HS makes an entry under A. D. 20 seems to be that according to the issue of A. D. 14 a special type of coins should be demonetized in A. D. 20 and that heavy punishments against counterfeiting should be enforced starting from this year.

not the first one but the second. It was preceded by Wang Mang's first currency reform, inaugurated in A. D. 7. Why then does our table show no criticism whatsoever for this year? This fact at first sight seems to contradict our theory, but it will be seen that in reality and on the contrary it rather furnishes a support for it. There is every reason to believe that Wang Mang's first reform was actually greeted with satisfaction. As with all reforms, the consequences were not immediately discernible. A currency reform was needed, and, as pointed out by Dubs, «the evil effects . . . were not recognized at first».¹⁾ This first reform was therefore accepted with approval, and it is symptomatic that no indirect criticism at all is mentioned for A. D. 7. By A. D. 9, it had already become obvious that the reform had been nothing but a depreciation of the coinage, and when the government during that year continued on the same path, the criticism immediately rose to a high level. The repeated currency reforms netted a profit for the government but were disastrous to money-holders. Each time the law forced them to change their coins for new denominations, they suffered heavy losses. When in A. D. 20 the 50 cash coins were to be exchanged for new currency, this actually implied the tremendous loss of 49/50.²⁾ Farmers owned little or no money, but the officials and their families did. They were directly affected by the currency reforms and suffered from their consequences.

Finally, as regards the bar of A. D. 16, this was the year when Wang Mang introduced a new regulation for the salaries of all officials. These salaries were no longer to be constant, but were made dependant upon the state of harvest in the various parts of the country. In practice this amounted to a reduction of income which obviously would not please the officials. Hence, it is not surprising that the indirect criticism was extremely high during the year when the new regulation was discussed and enforced.

I do not offer the interpretation above as completely proven but only as a probable explanation. The facts seem to suggest that the officials did not disapprove of Wang Mang as such nor of his reforms in general. Instead their complaints were concentrated against his monetary policies. Wang Mang's other regulations could be evaded more successfully than those concerning money. It was exactly these measures which affected the officials most directly and personally.

The interpretation of the portents confirms the relatively favourable impression of Wang Mang's rule arrived at above. His reforms may have antagonized the gentry. However, even if the ruling class harboured a certain amount of discontent, this was not strong enough to make the gentry turn against the emperor. Wang Mang's rule represented an improvement compared with the preceding reign. At the capital the political situation was more stable than before. The only clan which openly tried to overthrow the emperor was, for obvious reasons, the Liu

¹⁾ 74. Dubs, p. 233.

²⁾ Cf. *ibid.* p. 236.

clan. The rest of the gentry for the time being accepted Wang Mang as emperor because it was in their interest to do so.

Thus, Wang Mang's policy was not responsible for calling forth the final rebellion. He did not fall because of his own mistakes. If the Yellow River had not changed its course, his dynasty in all probability would have lasted.

One final question remains to be answered: Why was it precisely the Han dynasty that was restored? Why did not another dynasty replace Wang Mang after his disappearance from the stage of history? In fact, the answer to this question is already apparent from the preceding discussion.

Wang Mang's reign represented a return to stability in government. During the later part of the Former Han dynasty a shift in power had occurred at the court. It then became a rule to appoint regents who mostly were the maternal relatives of the emperors. Theoretically these regents had lower rank than the ministers of the cabinet, but in practice their powers were unlimited. In this way, the cabinet or «Outer Court» lost its influence to the «Inner Court», responsible directly and solely to the emperor himself. The regency system started with Ho Kuang who came to power in 87 B. C., and in the beginning the system worked rather well. «When an autocratic ruler distrusts his ministers and fears competition in power, the men who can most easily win his confidence are usually his loyal attendants of low or alien origin and his relatives by marriage . . . they attain to power purely through their master's favor, which they always must depend upon and in return they must demonstrate ceaseless devotion.»¹⁾ However, the regency soon defeated its own purpose. Instead of being the pawn of the emperor, the regent came to dominate the ruler himself. The institution could work as intended only as long as powerful and resolute emperors were on the throne. Clearly the interest of the regents was opposite to that of the emperors. The weaker the emperor, the more powerful was the regent. It was to their benefit if they could influence the choice of heir-apparents in such a way as to secure the selection of young and weak princes. A typical case was when Wang Mang appointed first Emperor P'ing at the age of nine and then Liu Ying who was only a baby. Thus, at the end of the Former Han the political struggle raged over the heads of the emperors, and they were little involved in the continuously changing play for power at their courts.

All this was altered after Wang Mang had overthrown the Han dynasty. Himself an experienced politician, he held all power safely in his own hands, and regents no longer competed with the emperor. Furthermore, the empress was politically disinterested, and neither she nor her relatives gained any influence. Thus, the court was drastically reorganized, and for the first time in generations the central administration was again stable, with no struggle for power among the ministers nor between the outer and inner courts. The highest dignitaries, with the exception of the Commander-in-chief, were no longer continuously replaced. Wang

¹⁾ 88. Wang, p. 167.

Sün remained Grand Minister over the Masses from A. D. 9 to 23, and Wang Yi was Grand Minister of Works during the same period. In this way, the government could profit from the accumulating experience of these important officials. Outside the court, the local administration also functioned well. As has been seen, the members of the official class, whatever their personal feelings might have been, made no open moves against Wang Mang. Moreover, they assisted him actively in putting down the sporadic earlier rebellions of the Liu clan.

It was the Liu clan, pushed aside and cut off from all influence on government affairs, which represented the only exception in a peaceful empire. From A. D. 6 to 9 its members made one attempt after another to overthrow the man who in their opinion was an usurper. They failed continuously and finally gave up. From A. D. 9 to 22 they bided their time, and when in the end, because of the unrest of the commoners, conditions were favourable, the Lius residing in Nan-yang immediately headed the rebellion there. Thus, the Liu clan constituted the only seriously discontented fraction, ready to go to action at any time. This gave them a clear advantage over the rest of the gentry, and in A. D. 22 it was therefore easy for the purposeful Liu Po-sheng to gain initiative, resulting in the restoration of the Han dynasty.

This factor, important as it is, still does not represent the whole truth. Later in the civil war, after the death of Wang Mang, a considerable number of pretenders proclaimed themselves as Son of Heaven. It is an interesting fact that the majority of them belonged to the Liu clan, and a fact which no longer can be explained solely by the initial advantage of the Liu family. The list of pretenders reads as follows:

Liu Hüan (the Keng-shī Emperor):	ascended in	23.
Liu Wang:	»	23.
Wang Lang:	»	24.
Liu Ying (the former Young Prince):	»	25.
Kung-sun Shu:	»	25.
Liu Siu (Emperor Kuang-wu):	»	25.
Liu P'en-tsi (candidate of the Red Eyebrows):	»	25.
Liu Yung:	»	26.
Li Hien	»	27.
Lu Fang:	»	30.

Six of these men were members of the imperial clan. Of the remaining pretenders, two went to great pains to manufacture spurious genealogies »proving» that they really belonged to the Liu clan. Thus, Wang Lang, alias Wang Ch'ang, announced that he was the son of Emperor Ch'eng. In A. D. 10, an unknown man had stopped the chariot of the General Sun Kien, asserted that he was Emperor Ch'eng's son, Tsī-yü, and declared that Wang Mang should return the government to the Han dynasty. An investigation showed that his real name was Wang Chung, and that

he was a native of Ch'ang-an. He was executed (HS 99 B: 13 a—13 b). Wang Lang now claimed that he was the real Tsī-yü, a man who never seems to have existed. He maintained that his mother had been a singing girl in the harem of Emperor Ch'eng. At one occasion she lay down and soon was covered by a yellow emanation which disappeared after half a day. She became pregnant and gave birth to a son. The Empress, née Chao, exchanged this child for another baby boy. Thus, the real Tsī-yü grew up unharmed. When he was twelve years old, a Gentleman-of-the-Palace by the name of Li Man-k'ing went with him to Shu in present Sī-ch'uan. At twenty years of age he returned to the north (12,42: 1 a—1 b).

The other genealogy was fabricated by Lu Fang. He pretended to be Emperor Wu's great-grandson, Liu Wen-po. Emperor Wu had three sons. When the heir-apparent was forced to commit suicide, his youngest brother, Hui-k'ing, fled to the Left Valley of the San-shui prefecture¹). The regent Ho Kuang invited him to return, but Hui-k'ing preferred to stay away from the court. His son was Sun-k'ing who in his turn was the father of Wen-po (12,42: 10 b). The HS has not a single reference to a Hui-k'ing, and undoubtedly neither he nor his descendants existed.

Of the remaining two pretenders, Kung-sun Shu through all kinds of magical speculations tried to prove to himself and others that the Han dynasty had played out its role and that the time was ripe for a change²). Of Li Hien no attempt is recorded to construct an affiliation with the Liu clan, which does not necessarily mean that no attempt was made.

If, of the ten «emperors», six belonged to the Liu clan, two forged genealogies pretending that they were members of this clan, and one tried to convince the people that a return of the Liu clan was against the will of Heaven, this permits a very definite conclusion: in the minds of the people Han still was the legitimate dynasty. How is this possible? I think the answers are two. The Han dynasty was, traditionally speaking, the fifth one to rule over China. Of these, the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties constituted a group by themselves. Only after the fall of Chou had the Ts'in dynasty organized a centralized administration, abolished feudalism, and welded the country into one empire. This short and much hated dynasty had soon been replaced by Han. The Han dynasty did away with many of the harsh regulations of Ts'in but, for the rest, followed in its footsteps. Also, it extended the empire to its greatest size so far and made the name of Han glorious all over the known world. Apart from the hated Ts'in, Han was therefore the first «modern» dynasty of China. Thus, the new type of administration somehow became synonymous with Han, and for many officials and people it must have been difficult to imagine another dynasty on the throne. These were factors which aspiring pretenders had to take into consideration. Furthermore, from Hsia to Ts'in each of the dynasties had been overthrown by force and in open fighting. Wang Mang,

¹) The San-shui prefecture during Han belonged to the An-ting commandery and was situated N of the present Ku-yüan hien, Kan-su.

²) Cf. 13,43: 16 b.

however, took the empire from the »inside« through a series of clever manoeuvres. These machinations had been carried out at the court without involving or affecting any part of the empire. Hence, people in the commanderies found it difficult to believe that the Han dynasty was really dead, and after the fall of Wang Mang it was an instinctive reaction to look for a new emperor from the old dynasty. It is significant in this respect that Liu Hūan and Liu P'en-tsi were set up by commoners after these had finally become politically conscious. The former was elected by the Troops from Sin-shī, P'ing-lin, and the Lower [Yang-tsi-] kiang, while Liu P'en-tsi was the candidate of the Red Eyebrows.

Wang Mang's rule never quite replaced the Han dynasty in the minds of the people, and thus his reign represents an interregnum rather than a new dynasty. It is in this respect a clear parallel to the interregnum of the Empress, née Lü (187—180), or, later, to that of the Empress, née Wu (690—704), in T'ang times. If Wang Mang's dynasty had lasted, the memory and glory of Han would slowly have faded away. As it was, the Yellow River brought Wang Mang to his fall early enough to save the Han dynasty.

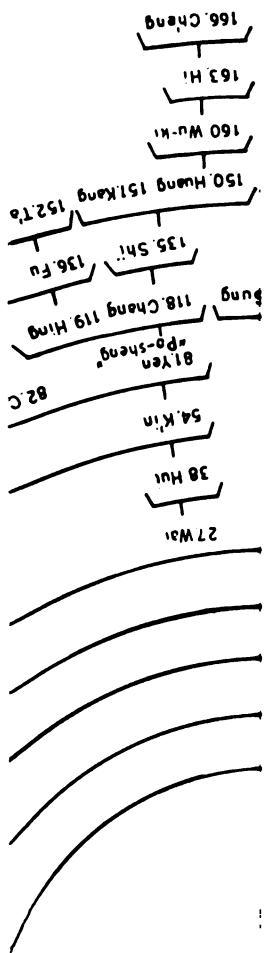
APPENDIX

The genealogy of the imperial clan.¹⁾

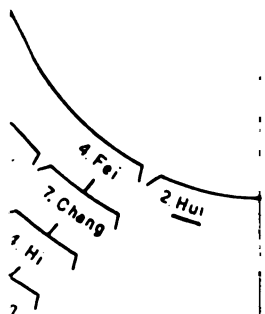
Sources: HS 14: 11 b, 15 a—15 b, 18 a, 19 a, 22 b; 15 A: 34 b, 50 a; 15 B: 24 b, 37 b, 46 b, 50 a, 50 b; 47: 5 b ff.; 53: 19 b, 80: 6 a.

HHS 1 A: 1 b—2 a; 1 B: 22 b—23 a; 10 A: 4 a; 11,41: 1 a ff., 8 a ff.; 12,42: 1 a, 3 a, 12 a ff.; 14,44: 1 b, 5 b—6 a, 8 a ff., 9 a ff., 11 a ff., 13 a ff.; 39,69: 7 b ff.

¹⁾ The survey does not include the descendants of Emperor Kuang-wu, the founder of the Later Han dynasty.



1. H



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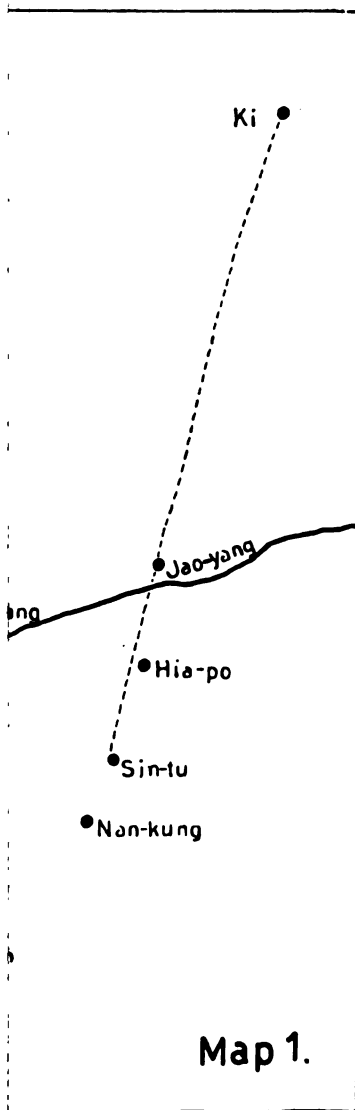
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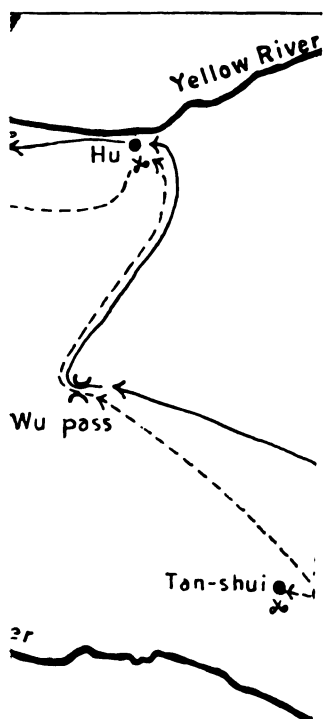
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黃河 (河) 1282. 鄆城縣 1283. 嚴杏 1284. 嚴光 1285. 嚴本 1286. 鄆縣 1287.
兗州 1288. 顏師古 1289. 嚴說 1290. 延篤 1291. 嚴尤 1292. 夷 1293. 宜賓
縣 1294. 沂平 1295. 益縣 1296. 沂水縣 1297. 宜秋聚 1298. 益都耆舊
傳 1299. 乙未 1300. 藝文志 1301. 乙酉 1302. 隄 1303. 隄大夫 1304. 隄興
1305. 隄麗華 1306. 尹敏 1307. 尹少 1308. 隄繼 1309. 隄子方 1310. 潁川
郡 1311. 潁陽縣 1312. 孺子 1313. 右扶風郡 1314. 尤峽山 1315. 幽州
1316. 右儀 1317. 永初 1318. 榮陽縣 1319. 虔 1320. 虔城縣 1321. 禹 1322. 禹
縣 1323. 于匡 1324. 倫廣侯國 1325. 孟縣 1326. 圍縣 1327. 豫州 1328. 潁
水 1329. 于弟 1330. 余靖 1331. 潁陽郡 1332. 潁陽縣 1333. 潁陽縣 1334.
元 1335. 元帝 1336. 袁宏 1337. 元嘉 1338. 袁山松 1339. 袁崧 1340. 阮思
道 1341. 袁曄 1342. 越 1343. 樂黃 1344. 賈杜縣



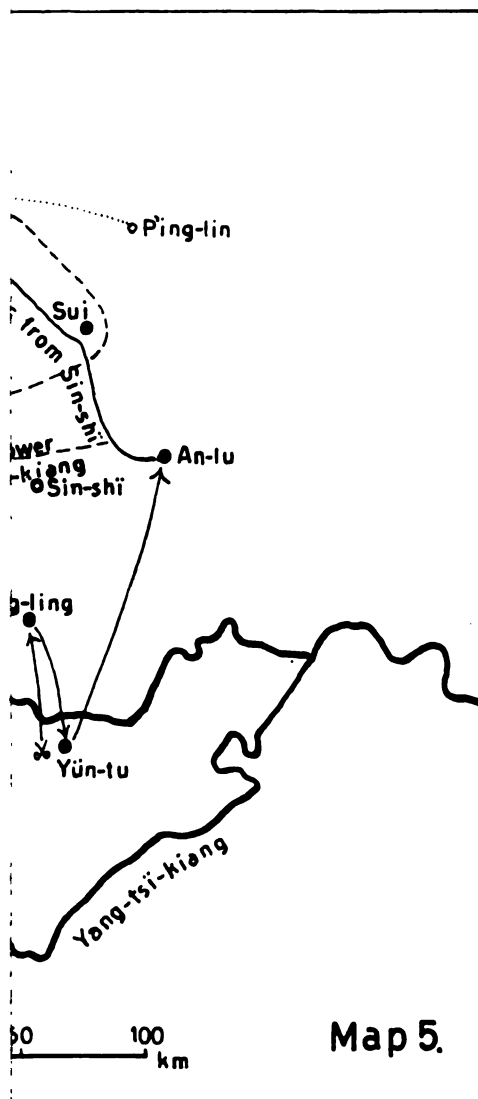
7

Wan

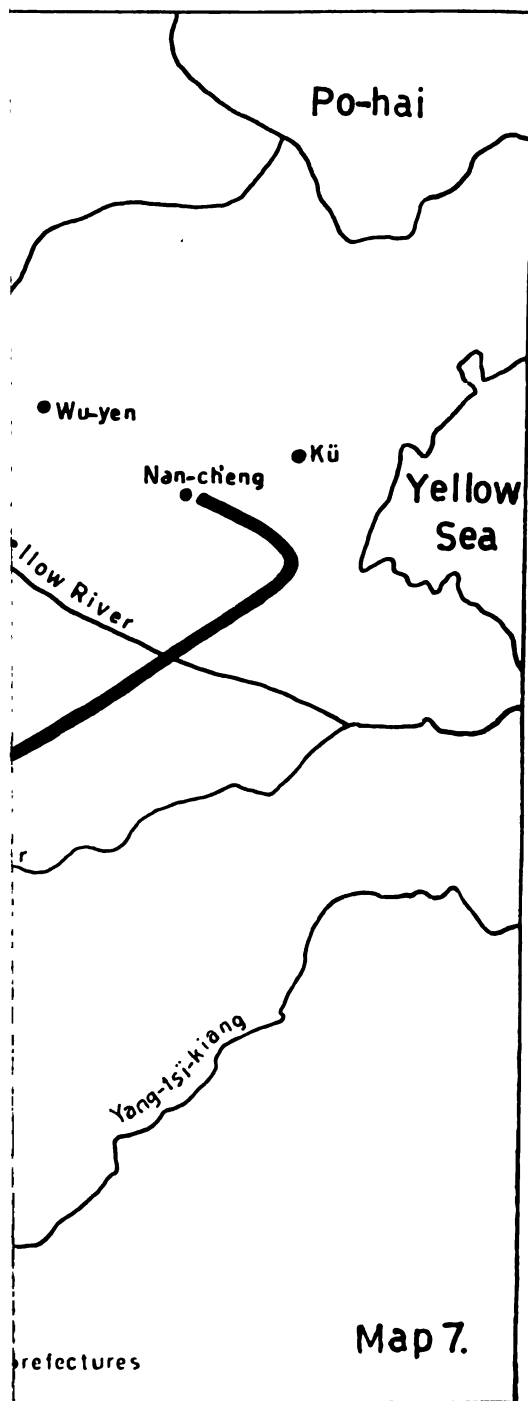




- prefectures
- subdivisions of prefect
- ✕ battle





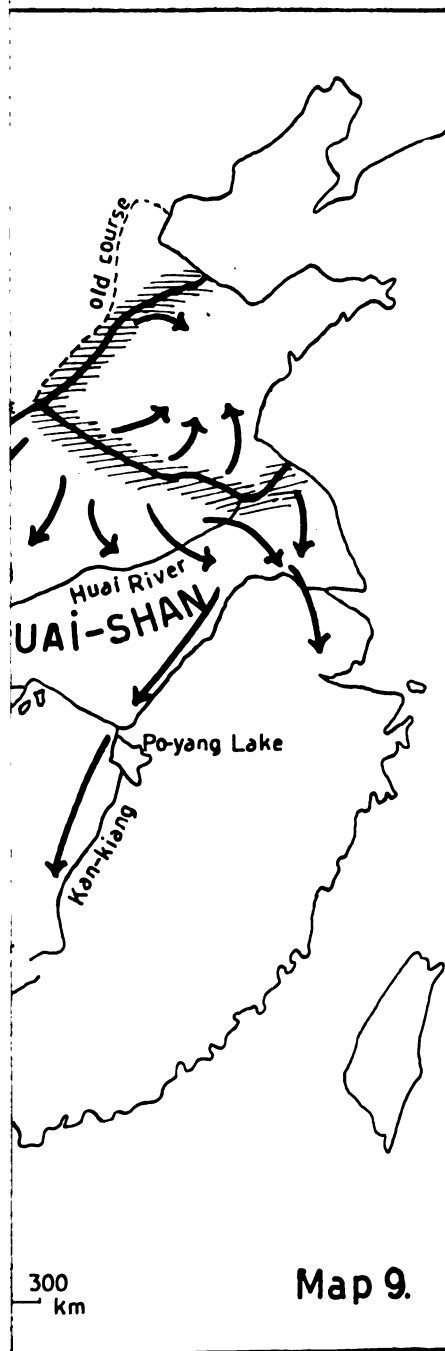




he Troops from Sin-shi and
om the Lower Yang-tsi-kiang
he Red Eyebrows

Lu-t'ien Yi
Ch'ü Chao-p'ing

Map 8.



COMPENDIUM OF PHONETICS IN ANCIENT AND ARCHAIC CHINESE

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

The aim of the present article is not so much to propound new theories or new results in the field of Chinese historical phonetics. It is meant rather to be a summary of the principal points regarding one side only of these phonetics: the reconstruction of the sound system in Ancient and Archaic Chinese; the gradual evolution of the language from Archaic into Ancient Chinese, and from the latter into the motley modern dialects is only touched upon to a small extent but not comprehensively described.

From 1915, when I first started my inquiries into the older stages of the Chinese sound system, until 1934, when I finished my reconstruction scheme for Archaic Chinese, I had reason, on several occasions, to modify or, on some points, radically change my earlier theories, and these successive changes have been registered in a series of papers.¹⁾

Some of these changes were evoked by the works of other scholars in the field, notably H. Maspero, Li Fang-kuei, Chao Yüan-jen and Lo Ch'ang-p'ei, but most of them were necessitated by renewed and widened researches which I carried out myself. It is therefore very inconvenient to a student who desires to make himself familiar with this branch of sinology to have to read up the early books and papers of mine which contain quite a number of arguments and reconstructive theories that are now antiquated, in order to find the proofs for the majority of reconstructions which are still valid. In the present epitome, therefore, I have selected and presented again those arguments which I still consider sound and conclusive, and I have tried to present them in as simple a manner as possible. Linguistics, like

¹⁾ *Etudes sur la Phonologie Chinoise*, 1915, 1916, 1926; *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*, 1923; *The Reconstruction of Ancient Chinese*, T'oung Pao 1922; *Problems in Archaic Chinese*, JRAS 1928; *Shi king Researches*, BMFEA 1932; *Word Families in Chinese*, BMFEA 1934. In dictionary form the results of the reconstructions have been presented in *Grammata Serica*, *Script and Phonetics in Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, BMFEA 1940.

Unfortunately, the *Etudes* as well as the *Analytic Dictionary* were sold out long ago and cannot be procured. This is one of the reasons for publishing the present article.

mathematics, is not easy reading, but an attempt has been made not to write in a more than necessarily technical way.¹⁾

By »Ancient Chinese» (in the following pages abbreviated: Anc.) we designate the language around 600 A. D. codified in the dictionary Ts'ie yün, essentially the dialect of Ch'ang-an in Shensi; during the lapse of the T'ang era it became a kind of Koine, the language spoken by the educated circles in the leading cities and centres all over the country, except the coastal province of Fukien.²⁾

»Archaic Chinese» (abbreviated: Arch.), on the other hand, means the language of the Honan region during the first Chou centuries (from 1028 B. C.). It is revealed partly by the rimes in the Book of Odes (Shī king) and other early texts, partly by the h i e s h e n g characters (compounds with a »radical» and a »phonetic»³⁾).

I.

The Ts'ie yün 切韻 dictionary, published in 601 A. D. by Lu Fa-yen et consortes, was long lost, and so was its enlarged version T'ang yün 唐韻 (751 A. D.). A further enlarged version of the same work, under the title Kuang yün 廣韻 was published in 1007 A. D. and is still extant. In recent years various manuscript copies of parts of both Ts'ie yün and T'ang yün have been found, and a splendid

¹⁾ As to the letters here used to denote Chinese sounds, observe:

Supradentals (»retroflex») are marked by a dot below the letter: *ṣ, ṭṣ* etc. Palatals are marked by a bow or an accent above the letter: *î, î', tś, ś, ñ* etc. Guttural fricatives are *χ* (as in German *ach*), *γ* (as *g* in North German *wagen*). *ð* as *th* in Engl. *this*. Laryngeal explosive (»Knacklaut»): *'au* as in German *die Ecke*. *ā* an open *o* like Engl. *law*, *ṽ* as *u* in Engl. *but*, *ə* as *e* in Germ. Knabe, *ʉ* as in Russian *мѣ*, *ĩ* the apical vowels in Pekinese, Wade »*ssü*» and »*shihi*».

²⁾ It stands to reason that the lowest strata of the population in various provinces to a large extent preserved their vulgar dialects and that traces of these »pre-T'ang» dialects are still discernible in various t'u-hua vernaculars. But the Koine was sufficiently wide-spread and accepted by a sufficiently large proportion of the population, from the highest officials down to the lower middle class, to have become the ancestor of nearly all the present dialects (except the Min dialects in Fukien and adjacent regions). The remarkably close correspondence between the sound categories in Ts'ie yün and those in each modern dialect conclusively shows that the Ts'ie yün depicts a real living and homogeneous language and was not an artificial product, a compromise and *mixtum compositum*, made up of heterogeneous elements from various dialects, as stated by many recent writers.

³⁾ When we state that the h i e s h e n g characters reveal the language of Early Chou, this must be taken *cum grano salis*. When a character like 捨 *s h e* »to relinquish» is said to consist of the radical »hand» and the phonetic 舍 *s h e* »hut», it really means that first the char. 舍 *s h e* »hut» was used as phonetic loan (*k i a t s i e*) for *s h e* »to relinquish» and that then the char. 手 »hand» was added as an elucidating element; in many classical texts 舍 alone, without radical, is still used for 捨. The addition of radicals was, in fact, to a large extent carried out only in Han time, and the »phonetics» were mostly used alone, as loan characters (*k i a t s i e*) throughout the Chou era (yet the bronze inscriptions show a fair number of radicals already added in early and middle Chou time). Whether the radicals are there or not is really quite indifferent from the linguist's point of view. The essential fact is that the choice of loan characters (舍 *s h e* »hut» for *s h e* 捨 »to relinquish» etc.) was already achieved, for a great number of words, in the first Chou centuries.

combined edition of the most important fragments and the complete Kuang yün has been published under the title *Shī yün hui pien* 十韻彙編.

The Ts'ieyün-Kuangyün is our principal and by far the most important source of our knowledge of the phonetic garb of the words in Ancient Chinese. On the one hand, the entire stock of simple words (monosyllables) are there arranged under 206 rimes (e. g. rimes 東 冬 鍾 江 etc.), and though these rimes are so many X's and Y's to us, since they do not reveal the real sound values, they are highly important, because they group together characters which around 600 A. D. had the same principal vowels and final consonants. On the other hand, and even more important, to each word is appended its phonetic description in the guise of a kind of «spelling», called fan-ts'ie 反切 «turning and cutting». It consists of two spelling characters, the first giving the initial, the second the final. Thus, for instance, the char. 東 is phonetically defined by the gloss: 德紅 ㄊㄜ ㄏㄨㄥ = t u n g; the char. 千 is defined by: 蒼先 ts'(a n g) — (s) i e n = ts'ien. The char. 光 is defined by: 古黃 k(u) — (h) u a n g = k u a n g. Thus, besides of the principal vowel and final consonant, account is taken, in the fan-ts'ie spelling, also of intercalary elements before the principal vowel, which we have called «medial i» and «medial u».

We shall see that the fan-ts'ie spellings constitute an admirable analysis of all the sound elements in the Anc. Ch. word. Here again, the spelling characters are so many X and Y, and the problem is precisely to replace them by exact sound values; but they are invaluable because they indicate the sound categories of Anc. Ch. in even greater detail than do the rimes. The Ts'ieyün-T'angyün-Kuangyün spellings are registered — though not always correctly — under each character in the great K'anghi dictionary. But for a serious study of the Anc. Ch. sound system it is essential to have access at least to a good edition of the Kuang yün.

If we examine the Kuang yün, we find that the fundamental arrangement of the work is a division of the rimes into four groups according to tones (musical accents): «even tone» (p'ing sheng), «rising tone» (shang sheng), «departing tone», i. e. «falling tone» (k'ü sheng) and «entering tone» (ju sheng). The syllables are identical but for that difference in tone. The ancient linguists then considered the abrupt cutting off of the voice in the vocal cords in words of type *lak*, *lat* as a «tone», corresponding to the slowly dying voice in words of types *la* and *lan*; thus they obtained four-tone groups like: lung⁻, lung', lung', luk; lan⁻, lan', lan', lat; lam⁻, lam', lam', lap. It is easy to arrange the 206 rimes of Kuang yün so as to place the corresponding p'ing, shang, k'ü and ju rimes in a line, and we then obtain the list below (preserving otherwise the order of rimes in the dictionary). The rime values, awaiting our reconstruction, are thus reduced from 206 to 61. The rimes and the finals are, however, not necessarily the same thing. In rime 東 -ung we find two finals: -ung and -iung, in rime 唐 -ang we find two finals: -ang and -wang. Inside the rimes, these real finals are kept strictly apart through different series of spelling fan-ts'ie characters.

東董送屋	佳璧卦	桓緩換末	庚梗映陌	咸謙陷洽
冬 宋沃	皆駭怪	刪消諫鎔	耕取諍麥	銜檻鑑狎
鍾腫用燭	夬	山產澗黠	清靜勁昔	嚴儼釅業
江講絳覺	灰賄隊	先銑霰屑	青迥徑錫	凡范梵乏
支紙寘	咍海代廢	仙獮線薛	蒸拯證職	
脂旨至	真軫震質	蕭篠嘯	登等嶝德	
之止志	諄準稕術	宵小笑	尤育宥	
微尾未	臻 櫛	肴巧効	侯厚候	
魚語御	文吻問物	豪皓号	幽黝幼	
虞虞遇	欣隱焮迄	歌哿箇	侵寢沁緝	
模姥暮	元阮願月	戈果過	覃感勘合	
齊薺霽	魂混恩沒	麻馬禡	談敢闕盍	
祭	痕很恨	陽養漾藥	鹽琰豔業	
泰	寒旱翰曷	唐蕩宕鐸	添忝搥帖	

It is evident that if this interesting spelling method had been carried through as a strict system, it would have been best to designate one certain final by invariably one and the same spelling character, e. g. *-ung* always by 紅. But the method has not been carried through that far. 東 has been spelled by 紅, and 紅 by 公, and this again by 紅; thus 公 and 紅 are synonymous spelling characters, indicating the same final *-ung*. In this way we find, for each final, rows of synonymous spellers, e. g. for final *-ung* the spellers 東 公 紅 工 洪 etc. It is, however, very easy to determine, by cross references, which spelling characters are really synonymous and have in view one final only.

It is quite the same with the initials. Here 古 is spelled by 公, and this again by 古; thus 古 and 公 are synonymous spellers for one and the same initial; indeed this initial could be spelled by a long series of synonymous spellers: 古 公 工 沽 革 過 etc. By cross references it is easy to verify that the Ts'ie yün language possesses in all 32 different initials.

So far so good. We arrive thanks to the Ts'ie yün and its fan-ts'ie at the result that these 25 words had the same Anc. Ch. final X, these 45 words had the initial Y; but we cannot know the exact phonetic values of these X's and Y's. Was X *-ung* or *-ong*? Was Y *k-* or *g-*? Our principal task will be to replace these X and Y by real sound values. We must find the keys to these riddles, and the keys are of several kinds.

In the first place a brilliant Sung scholar, the famous Sī-ma Kuang, has given a fine survey of the sound system in his own language in the form of a series of Sound tables, called Ts'ie yün chī ch'eng t'u (A. D. 1069). The language which these tables reveal is far advanced, in the evolution, from that of the Ts'ie yün; above all, a great simplification has taken place, so that e. g. two or several Ts'ie yün finals (well distinguished both by rimes and by fan-ts'ie) have coincided in Sī-ma's language. But the tables are very valuable indeed, for when the same distinctions in categories are observable in them as in the Ts'ie yün, we may reasonably expect that the phonetic ground for these distinctions is the same in both. And since the tables are arranged logically and systematically by one possessing an obviously profound phonetic knowledge, they give us a precious aid in determining the exact nature of various initials and finals. These Sound tables were revised and published in a slightly modified form in 1336 under the name of Ts'ie yün chī nan and as this opus is inserted in the introductory chapter of the K'anghi dictionary it is easily accessible to every student.

The second important key are the ancient Chinese loan words in Japanese, Korean and Annamese. Along with the Chinese culture generally, thousands of Chinese words were imported into Japan, Korea and Annam and incorporated in their languages. Only a small proportion of these loan words was imported direct by oral transmission through students who went to the Chinese capital and other big centres, and through Chinese who visited Japan, Korea and Annam. The great majority were scholarly loans, like the Latin words grafted wholesale on to modern English, and fairly strict rules were therefore observed in turning them into »Sino-Japanese«, »Sino-Korean« and »Sino-Annamese«; these words form a considerable percentage of the word stock, particularly in the higher, cultural sphere, of those foreign languages. But thanks to this very regularity in the transposition from Chinese to Japanese etc. they are highly useful for determining the sound values of the Chinese words at the time of the loan traffic. It is true that considerable corruptions took place already at the moment of the transfer: the words were modified so as to suit the pronunciation habits in the foreign countries. The Japanese were particularly bold in pruning them so as to make them conform to the patterns of Japanese words. Thus a word like 天 *t'ien* was rendered by *ten*, skipping the *i*, since Japanese had no diphtong *ie*. 疆 *Kiang* was rendered by *ki-ya-u* (now pron. *kyō*) because Japanese had no final *-ng*. 搥 *T'at* (modern Cant. *t'at*) was rendered by *ta-tu* (now pron. *tatsu*) or *ta-ti* (now pron. *tachi*), because Japanese had no final *-t* and therefore a parasitic vowel (*u* or *i*) had to be appended in order to make the word a good Japanese one. Fortunately, however, both the Japanese and the Korean writing systems are conservative and reveal to a large extent ancient pronunciations (from the time of the first loan movement) which can hardly be gauged from the modern Japanese garb of these loan words. Hence these loan words incorporated *en masse* in the said three foreign languages are of paramount value to the linguist. The majority of the Sino-Korean loans may be dated around

600 A. D., thus being contemporary with the Anc. Chin. of Ts'ie yün. Sino-Japanese came in two great waves. On the one hand, the so-called Kan-on 漢音 loan words came from Northern China, particularly during the 7th century A. D., and in the distinction of phonetic categories they agree very closely with the Ts'ie yün, just as much as did Sino-Korean. On the other hand, another great wave came from South-Eastern China: the so-called Go-on 吳音 (Go 吳 = Wu, the ancient name of the Shanghai region and Che-kiang). These latter loans were slightly older (5th—6th centuries) and they reveal one or several dialects which differed considerably from that of Ts'ie yün; but very often the distinctions of phonetic categories are the same in Go-on as in Ts'ie yün, and the Go-on is then of great importance for the interpretation of the Ts'ie yün sound system. Finally, Sino-Annamese is more recent — end of the T'ang dynasty — but it is still highly revealing on many important points.

The third great key is furnished by the numerous modern Chinese dialects, which differ very widely from one another, but which, as already stated, reveal through their phonetic categories that they all (except the Min dialects) derive from the Ts'ie yün language, which spread as a Koine to all important centres throughout most of the Chinese realm during the T'ang dynasty.

* * *

The first step in our reconstruction work is to examine the arrangement of the Sound tables more closely. In some cases two tables form a pair in such a way that we find a 歌 (Mand.) k o as key word in the first, a 戈 k u o in the second; a 饑 k i in the first, a 龜 k u i in the second; a 干 k a n in the first and a 官 k u a n in the second, a 根 k e n in the first and a 昆 k u n (k u e n) in the second; a 岡 k a n g in the first and a 光 k u a n g in the second. The former are called k'a i k'o u h u »pronounced with open mouth», and the latter h o k'o u h u »pronounced with closed mouth». It is easily seen, merely by reference to modern Mandarin, that the finals correspond but for the intercalary *u* (*w*) existing in the second series, which is lacking in the first.

Inside each table, the type words are arranged in vertical and horizontal rows, those most closely allied being confined within a square of their own. The vertical rows indicate the initials, the horizontal the finals. The order is from right to left and from top to bottom.

Our diagram shows the arrangement of a Sound table. The lines for initials are arranged in six squares (in a horizontal row from right to left); in the second and fourth square there are two sets of initials, an arrangement to be discussed presently.

The lines for finals number in each table 16, divided into four divisions (Div. I—IV). The few specimen characters reproduced here show us, however, that inside each square the four finals merely indicate one and the same syllable in the above-mentioned four tones: under initial 1: *kung*-, *kung*', *kung*', *kuk*; under initial

2: *k'ung*-, *k'ung'*, *k'ung'*, *k'uk*. If these tonal differences are disregarded, there are only four different finals to be accounted for: α (β , γ , δ) — ε (ζ , η , θ) — ι (κ , λ , μ) — ν (\omicron , π , ρ). The exact values of these finals in each Sound table, and the difference between those in Divisions I, II, III and IV, will have to be investigated later. Suffice it to say that the sound system illustrated in Si-ma's Sound tables here is far more simple than that in Ts'ie yün, and that, if we try to arrange the Ts'ie yün finals in accordance with the scheme in Si-ma's tables, we obtain, in many groups, far more than four finals (exclusive of the tone distinctions) to one table.

The initials in Ts'ie yün and its fan-ts'ie are, as already stated, 32 in number. They were well preserved down to Sung time and are all to be found in the Sound tables (with certain additions to be mentioned presently), logically arranged and hence easy to define, except in a few cases which offer intricate problems.

It was pointed out that there are double sets of initials in the second and fourth horizontal squares (9—12 beneath 5—8, and 22—26 beneath 17—21). The reason for this is that the initials 5—8 and 17—21 occur only with the finals of Divs. I and IV, whereas initials 9—12 and 22—26 occur only with the finals of Divs. II and III, and hence both word groups may conveniently be crammed into one vertical column. Their exact values will be discussed later on. We shall now select a few examples of each one of the 32 initials, keeping them together in groups in accordance with the scheme of the Sound tables (the first character in each line is the name chosen for this initial in the Sound tables):

1. 見古公歌

2. 溪苦口開

3. 都其求近

4. 疑鵠五牙

5. 端多丁當

6. 透土湯體

7. 定壇道田

8. 泥奴乃能

9. 知展中猪

10. 徹丑恥龍

11. 澄丈持佳

12. 娘女尼扭

1. Kien (Pek. pron. *tsien*), ku, kung, ko

2. K'i (*ts'i*), k'u, k'ou, k'ai

3. kün (*tsün*), k'i (*ts'i*), k'iu (*ts'iu*), kin (*tsin*)

4. yi, o, wu, ya.

5. tuan, to, ting, tang

6. t'ou, t'u, t'ang, t'i

7. ting, t'an, tao, t'ien

8. ni, nu, nai, neng.

9. chī, chan, chung, chu

10. ch'e, ch'ou, ch'i, ch'ung

11. ch'eng, chang, ch'i, chu

12. niang, nü, ni, niu.

13. 幫。補。必。兵
14. 滂。普。匹。怕
15. 並。旁。步。盤
16. 明。莫。毛。門

13. pang, pu, pi, ping
14. p'ang, p'u, p'i, p'a
15. ping, p'ang, pu, p'an
16. ming, mo, mao, men

17. 精。左。宗。酒
18. 清。草。寸。取
19. 從。在。罪。錢
20. 心。喪。孫。小
21. 邪。詳。寺。旬

17. tsing (*t'ing*), tso, tsung, tsiu (*t'iu*)
18. ts'ing (*t'ing*) ts'ao, ts'un, ts'ü (*t'ü*)
19. ts'ung, tsai, tsu'e'i, ts'ien (*t'ien*)
20. sin (*sin*), sang, sun, siao (*shiao*)
21. sie (*shie*), siang (*shiang*), sī, sün (*shün*).

22. 照。至。戰。諸
23. 穿。初。昌。吹
24. 狀。船。乍。順
25. 審。生。手。世
26. 禪。辰。受。紹

22. chao, chī, chan, chu
23. ch'uan, ch'u, ch'ang, ch'uei
24. chuang, ch'uan, cha, shun
25. shen, sheng, shou, shī
26. shan, ch'en, shou, shao

27. 曉。海。軒。呼
28. 匣。孩。寒。胡
29. 影。哀。烏。安
30. 喻。以。羊。有

27. hiao (*shiao*), hai (*shai*), han (*shan*), hu (*shu*)
28. hia (*shia*), hai (*shai*), han (*shan*), hu (*shu*)
29. ying, ai, wu, an
30. yü, yi, yang, yu

31. 來。盧。郎。呂
32. 日。忍。閏。饒

31. lai, lu, lang, lü
32. jī, jen, jun, jao.

Although the Mandarin dialects have developed very radically and deviated strongly from the ancient system, even the Mandarin forms cited above suffice to reveal conclusively some fundamental facts.

The first two lines in each of the first six groups obviously represent voiceless unaspirated and voiceless aspirated initials respectively: 1 *k*- and 2 *k'*-; 5 *t*- and 6 *t'*-; 13 *p*- and 14 *p'*-; 17 *ts*- and 18 *ts'*-; 9 and 10 were a similar pair of voiceless un-

aspirate and voiceless aspirate; and the same is true of 22 and 23 (the precise nature of these four has to be determined later).

In the second place, we see that the fourth line in some groups is the nasal corresponding to the explosives in the first two: 8 was *n*- (corresponding to 5 *t*- and 6 *t'*-); 16 was *m*- (corresponding to 13 *p*- and 14 *p'*-); 12 was some kind of nasal (corresponding to the explosives in 9 and 10). It will be amply clear, then, that 4 was the guttural nasal *ng*- (corresponding to 1 *k*- and 2 *k'*-).

Though this latter is not apparent in the Mandarin forms cited, it is strongly confirmed by various other dialects: line 4: a. Ann. (= Annamese), Foochow *ngi*; b. Cant., Hakka, Swatow, Sich'uan, P'ingliang (in Kansu) *ngo*; c. Ann. *ngo*, Foochow, Shanghai *ngu*; d. Cant. Hak. Foochow, Shanghai *nga*.

Somewhat more complicated is the third line in the first six groups. In Mandarin it has *k*- (like 1) or *k'*- (like 2) and so on, which gives no good *point d'appui*. But it was already recognized a century ago (Edkins) that we have here the voiced explosives corresponding to the voiceless ones (*k*-, *k'*-) in 1 and 2 etc. Thus 3 was *g*- (corresponding to 1 *k*- and 2 *k'*-); 7 was *d*- (corresponding to 5 *t*- and 6 *t'*-); 15 was *b*- (corresponding to 13 *p*- and 14 *p'*-); 19 was *dz*- (corresponding to 17 *ts*- and 18 *ts'*-); 11 and 24 were some kinds of voiced sounds corresponding to the voiceless ones in 9, 10 and 22, 23 respectively (to be defined precisely later). This is clearly indicated by two important sources. On the one hand, the ancient Go-on always has voiced initials in the third line as opposed to voiceless ones in the first and second, e. g. line 3: *gun*, *gi*, *gu*, *gon*, as opp. to line 1 *ken*, *ku*, *ku*, *ka*; line 7: *diyau*, *dan*, *dau*, *den*, as opp. to line 5 *tan*, *ta*, *tiyau*, *tau*; line 15: *biyau*, *bau*, *bu*, *ban* as opp. to line 13: *pau*, *pu*, *piti*, *piyau*, etc. On the other hand, the Wu dialects (Shanghai, Wenchou, Ningpo etc.) make exactly the same distinction: line 3: Shanghai *djün*, *dji*, *djiu*, *djiang*, as opp. to line 1 *tjie*, *ku*, *kong*, *ku*; line 7: Shanghai *dìng*, *dä*, *dä*, *die*, as opp. to line 5: *tö*, *tu*, *tìng*, *tàng*, etc.

Nevertheless the reconstruction *g*-, *d*-, *b*- etc. is not wholly satisfactory. We have seen above that the Anc. voiced initials have given, in Pekinese, voiceless aspirates (line 3 *k'i*, *k'iu*, line 7 *t'an*, *t'ien*, line 15 *p'ang*, *p'an*, line 19 *ts'ung*, *ts'ien*) when the word has p'ing sheng (even tone) but voiceless tenues (line 3 *kün*, *kin*, line 7 *ting*, *tao*, line 15 *ping*, *pu*, line 19 *tsai*, *tsuei*) when the word has another tone (shang, *k'ü* or *ju* sheng). The Hakka dialect has voiceless aspirates throughout, in all words of lines 3, 7, 15, 19 etc. Now, it is impossible to suppose an evolution (line 15 d:) Anc. *ban* > *pan* > *p'an*, because all the time there existed simultaneously words of type 13 *p*- (e. g. 般 Pek. *pan*), and the possibility is excluded that one *pan* (type 13) should have remained *pan* and another *pan* (type 15, derived from *b*-) developed further into *p'an*. On the other hand, a direct evolution *b*- > *p'*- is phonetically exceedingly improbable. We have therefore to reconstruct Anc. voiced aspirates:

3 *g'*- 7 *d'*- 15 *b'*- 19 *dz'*-

In Hakka, the aspiration has been preserved, but the voiced became voiceless: *k'*-, *t'*-, *p'*-, *ts'*- throughout. In Mandarin, first the aspiration was preserved in p'ing sheng but was lost in the other tones:

	<i>g'i</i> ⁻	<i>d'an</i> ⁻	<i>b'an</i> ⁻	<i>dz'ien</i> ⁻
but:	<i>gin</i> [`]	<i>ding</i> [`]	<i>bing</i> [`]	<i>dzai</i> [`]

and then, later, the voiced became voiceless:

<i>k'i</i>	<i>t'an</i>	<i>p'an</i>	<i>ts'ien</i>
<i>kin</i>	<i>ting</i>	<i>ping</i>	<i>tsai</i> .

It may seem strange, with this reconstruction:

1 <i>k</i> -	2 <i>k'</i> -	3 <i>g'</i> -	4 <i>ng</i> -
5 <i>t</i> -	6 <i>t'</i> -	7 <i>d'</i> -	8 <i>n</i> -

that Anc. Chin. should have *k*-, *k'*-, *g'*- but no ordinary *g*-, and *t*-, *t'*-, *d'*-, but no ordinary *d*-. But the reason for this is, as we shall see later, that Arch. Chin. had all four: *k*-, *k'*-, *g*-, *g'*-, and *t*-, *t'*-, *d*-, *d'*-, but the unaspirated *g* and *d* were dropped when standing as initials before the time of Anc. Chinese.

So far we have identified the Anc. initials 1—8 and 13—19. In the fifth group the following two initials, 20 and 21, are easily accounted for. The former was an ordinary voiceless *s*-, the latter the voiced *z*- (Engl. *zealous*); this is again proved by Go-on (line 21 *ze*, *zau*, *zi*, *ziun*) and the Wu dialects (line 21 Shanghai *zia*, *dziang*, *zi*, *dzing*).

We have next to take up the more difficult groups in lines 9—12 and 22—26. But before tackling them, we have to push our examination of some already determined initials one step further.

The initials in the first and fourth groups (i. e. gutturals *k*- etc. and labials *p*- etc.) occur with finals of all the divisions of the Sound tables: Divs. I, II, III and IV. As we shall prove later (it is necessary to anticipate here), the finals of Div. III regularly (with only a few exceptions to be discussed under the finals) had a »medial *i*»: type *ia* (*i* being a short, subordinated *i*), whereas the finals of Div. I never had any »medial *i*» or »*i*» at all: type *-a*¹).

We now observe the striking phenomenon that in the fan-ts'ie spellings the words of Div. I are phonetically described with a series of spelling characters different from those of Div. III:

¹) Our »*a*» here is a formula for a final *quelconque*; thus *-ia* stands for finals like *-iän*, *-iu*, *iäm* etc., and *-a* for finals like *-ung*, *-än*, *-uo* etc.

Words without *î* (Div. I) are spelled:

古公工沽革佳過
苦康口肯空客闊
五午吾
博補北布伯晡
普滂匹譬
薄蒲步旁傍部
莫慕母模謨

Words with *î* (Div. III) are spelled:

居舉九吉紀俱
去丘豈區祛詰墟
魚語遇牛宜危儀
必卑兵筆彼比方府
丕敷芳撫
皮毗平婢符房扶
彌眉美靡密武亡無

It is obvious that the *î* which in the finals of Div. III followed immediately after the initial modified the latter in some way which made it slightly different: there was a different *nuance* in the *k-* of type III *kîa* than in the *k-* of type I *ka*. What this *nuance* was is easily discerned: it was a yodization (*mouillure*)¹; in fact, in most of the spelling characters in the guttural series this yodization has later on proceeded further and in modern Pekinese brought about frankly palatal initials: lines 1 and 2 in the spelling table above, right half:

tîu, tîu, tîiu, tîi, tîi, tîu
tî'û, tî'iu tî'i, tî'û, tî'û, tî'i, tî'û etc.

We thus obtain:

Div. I	<i>ka</i>	<i>k'a</i>		<i>nga</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>p'a</i>	<i>b'a</i>	<i>ma</i>
III	<i>kîa</i>	<i>k'îa</i>	<i>g'îa</i>	<i>ngîa</i>	<i>pîa</i>	<i>p'îa</i>	<i>b'îa</i>	<i>mîa</i> .

This fact once stated, we may very well make the typographical simplification of leaving out the yodization sign *j* (thus writing simply *kîa*, *k'îa* etc.) since the existence of *î* can automatically indicate that the preceding *k-*, *k'-*, *g'-*, *ng-*, *p-*, *p'-*, *b'-*, *m-* were yodized.²

Besides those two groups here defined (*k-*, *k'-*, *g'-*, *ng-*, *p-*, *p'-*, *b'-*, *m-*) this distinction of one pure (not yodized) and one yodized variant, spelled by different series

¹) It has been suggested that since all words of Div. III had finals commencing with *î* (*î*), the choice of initial spellers like 九 *k i u*, 紀 *k i* was simply due to a wish to anticipate already in the initial speller the *i* that was to follow. Very well — but why should there be such a wish? Evidently not because they desired to express the «medial *i*» twice: *ki-îa*, but because the *k i* as speller sounded more close to the initial of *kîa* than *a'k u n g* would have done; in other words, the initial in *k i* and *kîa* had an acoustic shade other than the initial in *k u n g*, it was *mouillé*.

²) In a few exceptional cases in which finals of Div. III do not have *î* but vocalic *i* (see further below) it is, of course, still necessary to register the yod, e. g. 基 *kji*.

of spelling characters, obtains also in some other initials further on in our list: initials 27, 30, 31, the nature of which will be determined presently.

We now revert to the two important groups of initials numbered 9—12 and 22—26 in our list.

As shown by the diagram on p. 217 above, the Sung scholars combined these initials with the dental initials already discussed, in the following way (read from right to left):

21	20	19	18	17	8	7	6	5
<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>dz'</i>	<i>ts'</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>t</i>
26	25	24	23	22	12	11	10	9
?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

From this parallelism it is clear that just as 5—7 (*t*-, *t'*-, *d'*-) were explosives and 8 (*n*-) nasal, as opposed to 17—19 (*ts*-, *ts'*-, *dz'*-) affricates and 20, 21 (*s*-, *z*-) fricatives, so 9—11 must have been explosives and 12 nasal, as opposed to 22—24 affricates and 25, 26 fricatives. This is amply confirmed in two ways.

On the one hand, Sino-Japanese is interesting. Ancient Japanese possessed no affricates (type *ts*-) at all, and therefore, in the dental series, it rendered both 17 *ts*- and 18 *ts'*- simply by *s* (line 17 Kan-on *sei*, *sa*, *sou*, *siu*; line 18 *sei*, *sau*, *son*, *siyu*). But it rationally enough rendered the explosives *t*-, *t'*- by explosives (line 5: *tan*, *ta*, *tiyau*, *tau*; line 6: *tou*, *to*, *tau*, *tei*). Now, in the case of the enigmatic initials 9—12 and 22—26, Japanese possessed no exact equivalents to the Chinese sounds, but here, as nearest approximates, it likewise employed dentals; and then it made exactly the same distinction between explosives (9, 10) and affricates (22, 23), the latter rendered by the fricative *s*, as in the dental series:

line 9: Kan-on *ti*, *ten*, *tiu*, *tiyo*;
but line 22: Kan-on *seu*, *si*, *sen*, *siyo*,

On the other hand, the Min dialects have preserved important traces of the Anc. distinction between explosives (9—11) and affricates (22—24): the former are represented by dental explosives, the latter by palatal affricates:

line 9: Foochow *ti*, *tieng*, *tüŋ*, *tü*;
but line 22: » *tšieu*, *tši*, *tšienŋ*, *tšü*.

This distinction 9—11 explosives: 22—24 affricates having been firmly established, it remains to define more closely the nature of these two groups of initials.

The former (9—12) occur only in a very few cases in Div. II, but frequently and regularly before the finals of Div. III (type *-ia*). Just as the gutturals appeared in two varieties: one pure (not yodized) in Div. I (type *ka*) and one yodized in Div. III (type *kjia*, simplified notation: *kia*), so we may be sure that the fundamental nature of our initials 9—12, which serve in div. III and correspond to the yodized

kj- etc., was in some way *mouillé*. It might, then, be tempting to say that initials 9—12 are simply the yodized counterparts (9 *tjia*, 10 *t'jia*, 11 *d'jia*, 12 *njia*) of the pure dentals (5 *ta*, 6 *t'a*, 7 *d'a*, 8 *na*) under which they are placed in the Sound tables. But that will not do, for the Sung scholars would not in that case have given them separate names (*ch i*, *ch'e*, *ch'eng*, *nia ng*) from those of the dentals (*tuan*, *t'ou*, *ting*, *ni*). They would have been brought in under the names *tuan*, *t'ou*, *ting*, *ni*, just as *kjia*, *k'jia* etc. were brought in under the same headings as *ka*, *k'a* etc. (*kien*, *k'i*, *kün*, *y i*). There must have been a greater difference in the language of Sī-ma Kuang between 5 *ta* and 9 *tjia* than between 1 *ka* and *kjia*. And if that was so in early Sung time, there is every reason to believe that it was the same in Sui and T'ang time — with no testimony to the contrary, we must abide by the sound system described by Sī-ma. The real solution is hardly doubtful. The yodization before finals of type *-ia* had already proceeded so far as to create real palatal initials: 9 *î(ia)*, 10 *î'(ia)*, 11 *đ'(ia)*, 12 *ń(ia)*.

The other group, initials 22—26, is more complicated. Its analysis forces us to revert once more, preliminarily, to the groups with gutturals (1—4) and labials (13—16). We described above how Div. I, pure (*k-*, *k'-* etc. and *p-*, *p'-* etc.), had one set of spelling characters, and Div. III, yodized (*kj-*, *k'j-* etc. and *pj-*, *p'j-* etc.), had another set of spelling characters. If we now examine the finals in Div. II and Div. IV, which possess guttural and labial initials, we find that they all have their initials spelled with the characters of the pure series (like the finals of Div. I). Thus, for instance 簡 (Div. II) is spelled 古限 and 耿 (Div. II) is spelled 古幸; 見 (Div. IV) is spelled 古電. We have necessarily to conclude that Divs. II and IV likewise had pure (»hard», not yodized) initials: *k-* etc. and *p-* etc., not *kj-* etc. and *pj-*.

This being established, we can tackle our difficult initials 22—26, which, as already demonstrated, must have been affricates and fricatives. It turns out, that just as initials 1—4 and 13—16 had two series of spelling characters, one pure and one yodized, so our initials 22—26 have two neatly distinguished series of spelling characters:

Series A:

側阻莊
初楚測創
士鉏仕牀雖
所疏色山數沙

Series B:

之職章諸止旨脂
昌尺齒赤處
食神乘
式失書舒識賞施始

Series A is employed as spelling characters in Div. II, with those same finals which had pure (»hard», not yodized) gutturals and labials (*k-*, *k'-* etc. and *p-*, *p'-* etc.). Thus to 簡 *k-* (Swatow *kan*, etc.) in the guttural square, spelled 古限, cor-

responds here, in the sixth square, line 22, 蓋, spelled 阻 限; to 耿 *k-* in the guttural square (spelled (古 幸) corresponds here, line 22, 爭, spelled 側 莖. Thus series A obviously denotes some kind of pure (»hard«, not yodized) initials.

Series B is employed as spelling characters in Div. III with those same finals (normally of type *ia*) which had yodized gutturals and labials (*kj-*, *k'j-* etc. and *pj-*, *p'j-* etc.). Thus to 蹇 *kj-* (Swatow *kien* etc.) in the guttural group (spelled 九 輦) corresponds here, in the sixth group, line 22, 戰 (Swatow *tšien*, etc.) spelled 之 膳. Hence series B evidently indicates some kind of *mouillé* initials.

Now, the initials in the sixth group cannot have been dentals, for those we find elsewhere (lines 5 etc. and 17 etc.); nor gutturals, which we likewise find elsewhere (lines 1 etc.). They must have been articulated somewhere intermediate between the *t* and the *k* positions, i. e. in the region where the sounds are produced which linguists often denote by the letter *č*.

In this region two kinds of affricates (and fricatives) can be produced. One of them is »hard« (not yodized); it is articulated with the tip of the tongue raised upwards towards the alveoli or prepalatum. Those are the so-called supradentals (»cerebrals, retroflex«), generally written *tš*, *š*, something like Engl. heart-shaped (the initial in modern Pekinese »c h a, c h u n g« is a typical supradental: *tša*, *tšung*). The other is »soft«, *mouillé*; it is articulated with the surface of the tongue against the alveoli and front part of the palate. Those are the so-called palatals, often written *tš*, *š*, e. g. Ital. *citta* (the initial in modern Pekinese »c h i, c h ü« is a typical palatal: *tši*). We may safely conclude that the »hard« (not yodized) initials of Series A, corresponding to the »hard« *k-*, *p-*, were supradentals and that the »soft« (*mouillé*) initials of series B, corresponding to the »soft« (yodized) *kj-*, *pj-*, were palatals. This construction is made even more plausible through the parallel with initials 9—12 above, which we determined as palatals (*č-*, *č'-*, *č'ž-*, *ž-*). Those were the palatal explosives (in Div. III, before finals of type *ia*) corresponding to the dentals 5—8 (*t-*, *t'-*, *d'ž-*, *n-*). Here we find, in initials 22—26 of the B series (in Div. III, before finals of type *ia*) the palatal affricates and fricatives (*tš-*, *tš'ž-*, *dž'ž-*, *ž-*, *ž-*) corresponding to the dentals 17—21 (*tš*, *tš'ž-*, *dž'ž-*, *š-*, *ž-*). These parallels are so confirmatory as to be really conclusive.

We thus obtain:

	Spelled by series A:	Spelled by series B:
line 22	<i>tš</i>	<i>tš</i>
line 23	<i>tš'</i>	<i>tš'</i>
line 24	<i>dž'</i>	<i>dž'</i>
line 25	<i>š</i>	<i>š</i>
line 26		<i>ž</i>

Having found that the ancient philologists so carefully distinguished the pure (supradental) and the mouillé (palatal) series of the affricates (照 line 22 etc.): *tʂan* (Div. II) as against *tʂiän* (Div. III), we are struck by the fact that in regard to the explosives (知 line 9 etc.) there is no such distinction; they are all spelled with the same fan-ts'ie characters. Since the great majority of them stand before the finals of Div. III, e. g. 展 *iän*, we decided that they were palatal *i-*, *i'-*, *d'-*, *n-*, and, because they had the same spelling characters even before the finals of Div. II, we concluded that there, too, contrary to what was the case with the affricates above, we have to pose palatal initials: 站 *iäm*, etc. I have done so in all my earlier works (including Grammata).

It has, however, been propounded by Lo Ch'ang-pei that the explosives also were supradental before the rimes of Div. II, though palatal before those of Div. III: 站 *ʂäm* but 展 *iän*, and he has adduced Buddhist transcriptions in support of this. Such transcriptions, however, are somewhat risky as evidence, since no doubt the Chinese but rarely heard pure classical Sanskrit and mostly got the foreign words modified by Central-Asian Prakrit. Nonetheless, the *ʂäm* theory is tempting, because of the better parallelism with the system of the affricates. But the fact remains that the Ts'ieyün-Kuangyün give 站 etc. (Div. II) the same spelling initials as 展 etc. (Div. III), and the exceedingly keen phoneticians who composed them, and who rigorously distinguished *tʂan* : *tʂiän* (supradental: palatal affricates) would certainly not have lumped *ʂäm* : *iän* together if they had been equally well distinguished, to the ear, as *tʂ* : *tʂ'*. It seems better to maintain, in accordance with the fan-ts'ie, one designation: *i-*, *i'-*, *d'-*, *n-* for both the words of Div. II and those of Div. III, though we may make the reservation that the initials probably, with Lo, were less frankly palatal in *iäm* than in *iän*.

Next, the seventh group, lines 27—30, should be examined.

The first two appear to be identical, judged by modern Mandarin. But it is easy to prove that In. 27 was voiceless and In. 28 voiced. This is shown by those same dialects which distinguish *k-* : *g'-* and *t-* : *d'-* etc., as described above, namely the Wu dialects and the Sino-Japanese Go-on. We find:

line 27: Shanghai *ʂiä* (< *hiä*), *he*, *hō*, *hu*; Go-on *keu*, *kai*, *kan*, *ku*;

line 28: Shanghai *'a*, *'e*, *'ō*, *'u*; Go-on *gapu*, *gai*, *gan*, *gu*.

(Shanghai *'a* etc. means that *a* is preceded by a voiced *h*). But besides this it is also indirectly proved by all the other dialects, Mandarin inclusive. The fact is that in them all the p'ing sheng (even tone) words with ancient voiceless initials have modern shang p'ing sheng (Peking tone 1), whereas those with ancient voiced initials have modern hia p'ing sheng (Pek. tone 2), e. g. 單 Anc. *tan* > Pek. *tan*¹, 壇 Anc. *d'an* > Pek. *t'an*². If we now test our initials 27 and 28, we find exactly the same distinction:

27 c Pek. *ʂan*¹ : 28 c Pek. *ʂan*²,

which proves that 27 had voiceless, but 28 voiced initial. So far all is clear. But then there is the problem of the place of articulation. In all the Mandarin dialects (which, as just seen, treat initials 27 and 28 alike) we find a guttural fricative: χ (as in German *ach*) before all vowels except *i* and *ü*, e. g. line 27 b—d *χai*, *χan*, *χu*. If this was also the Anc. value of initial 27, the corresponding voiced initial 28 was γ , i. e. the voiced guttural fricative e. g. in North German *Wagen* (prov. *vaγən*). On the other hand, all the southern dialects have the laryngeal fricative *h*: line 27 Shanghai *śid* (< *hiä*), *he*, *hö*, *hu*. If this was also the Anc. value of initial 27, the corresponding voiced initial 28 was the ' (as in Shanghai 'a, 'e, 'ö, 'u). Of the ancient loans, Korean and Annamese have *h*-, like the southern dialects. But Sino-Japanese consistently rendered both initials by gutturals. The Kan-on is particularly revealing. Here we find:

line 27 *keu*, *kai*, *kan*, *ko*; line 28 *kapu*, *kai*, *kan*, *ko*.

If the Anc. initials were the gutturals χ , γ , it is understandable that these were clumsily rendered by *k* (Japanese proper having no initial χ or γ). But if, on the other hand, the Anc. initials were *h*, ' , the Kan-on is quite inexplicable. It might be phonetically possible to render a *h* by *k*. But it would be quite unreasonable to suppose that the Japanese likewise rendered an 'an by *kan*. This fact is quite decisive. We must conclude that in. 27 was Anc. χ - and 28 Anc. γ -.

It should be added that initial 27 Anc. χ - had (just as 1 *k*- etc., cf. above) one set of fan-ts'ie spelling characters before the finals of Divs. I, II and IV (I type -a) and another set of spelling characters before the finals of Div. III (type -ia), and consequently we have to distinguish here, just as in regard to *k*- etc., two varieties: χa and $\chi j i a$ (the latter typographically simplified to $\chi i a$, wherever an *i* is there to indicate the yodization of the initial). Initial 28 occurs exclusively with the finals of Divs. I, II and IV (for reasons which will be apparent when we investigate Archaic Chinese) and hence is always pure (not yodized).

The initials 29 and 30 were both laryngeals, since the foreign loans as well as all the southern dialects clearly indicate a complete absence of any oral consonants before the vowels. Thus 安 (In. 29) was Kor. Jap. *an*, Ann. *an*, Cant. Hak. *on*, Swat. *an*, Shanghai *ö* etc.¹) When the final begins with *i* or *ü*, the Mandarin dialects as well show absence of an oral initial, e. g. Pek. *y i n g*, *y i*, *y i n*, *y ü*, *y ü a n* etc. (the *y* being merely a narrowing of initial *i*-, *ü*- into a more energetic articulation when standing at the beginning of the word).

¹) Curiously enough a whole range of Mandarin dialects have here initial *ng*- (or initials derived from *ng*-) e. g. 安 Sich'uan *ngan*, Kueihua *ngga*, Pek. /individually/ *yan*, Lanchou *nā* etc. But this is a case of analogical influence. The said Mandarin dialects for our in. 29 follow in every detail the treatment of in. 4 *ng*- above, so that 岸 Anc. *ngan* has been the pattern of our 安, and so on. In the South and in the foreign loans the two initials are clearly distinguished: the former is Ann. *ngan*, Cant. *ngon*, Swat. *ngan*, Shanghai *ngö*, whereas the latter lacks oral initial as we have seen above. Since all these dialects clearly mirror the distinctions in Anc. Chin., they must be decisive in our reconstructions.

Initial 29 occurs before the finals of all four divisions, and since it is denoted with one and the same fan-ts'ie spelling in them all (mostly the char. 於) it had no difference between pure and yodized aspects.

Initial 30 occurs exclusively before those rimes, normally in Div. III (type *ia* etc.), which have yodized *kj-* etc. and *pj-* etc. This means that in modern Mandarin all words with Anc. in. 30 appear as beginning with *i-* or *ü-* (*y i*, *y i n*, *y ü*, *y ü a n* etc. — for the *y* see what was said about in. 29 above). If, therefore, we want to compare initials 29 and 30 in order to distinguish them, we have to examine word pairs of types *y i*, *y i n*, *y ü*, *y ü a n* etc.

Their different nature will then at once become apparent, being revealed by the tones. We have seen above that in the even tone Anc. voiceless initials give modern shang p'ing sheng (Pek. tone 1) and voiced initials give hia p'ing sheng (tone 2). Here we find that in. 29 always gives shang p'ing sheng and in. 30 just as regularly gives hia p'ing sheng:

In. 29: 伊 因 英 紆 蔭 *yi¹*, *yin¹*, *ying¹*, *yü¹*, *yüan¹*

In. 30: 夷 寅 盈 余 圓 *yi²*, *yin²*, *ying²*, *yü²*, *yüan²*.

Evidently, then, in. 29 was voiceless and in. 30 was voiced. This can only mean that 29 was an explosive analogous to the voiceless *k-*, *p-*, *t-* etc., and in the laryngeal position this means a sudden opening of the vocal cords, a »Knacklaut« such as we find, e. g., in German *die Ecke*, as opposed to the smooth vocalic ingress typical of English *the aim*. Hence 伊 was *·i*, whereas 夷 was *i*. Fortunately this construction is confirmed by Wu dialects which still preserve this very distinction.

Initial 30 (smooth vocalic ingress), however, presents a curious feature of its own. Though it occurs regularly only before such finals of Div. III (type *ia*) as yodized *kj-* etc. and *pj-* etc., and though we should therefore expect it always to be yodized, it is in fact split up into two varieties distinguished by different fan-ts'ie spellers:

30 A 以 羊 與 余 餘 弋 營 楊 夷

30 B 于 王 羽 雨 云 迂 永 有 雲 禹.

The words of the A series, in spite of their finals of type *ia*, have been transferred, in the Sound tables, to Div. IV, being thus marked as pure (not yodized), whereas those of series B are retained in Div. III and are thus marked as having yodization. We thus obtain:

line 30 A *ia*, 30 B *jia*,

(Observe that here the yod: *j* must be written out in series B in our transcription, since it cannot simply be inferred from the following *i*, as in the preceding groups). Anticipating our discussion of Arch. Chin. on this point, we might mention that this peculiarity of in. 30 is due to the fact that words of type A mostly derive from

Arch. forms with initial *d*-: Arch. **dja* > Anc. *ja*, whereas words of type B mostly derive from forms with initial *g*-: Arch. **gia* > *jia*¹⁾.

It has further been shown that in the latter transformation there has been an intermediate stage with *γ*: **gia* > *γja* > *jia*, and that this stage has still obtained almost down to the time of Anc. Chin.; indeed, some isolated cases among the fan-ts'ie²⁾ reveal vestiges of it even in Sui time, as retarded remnants (see p. 274).

There remain now only two initials to be identified: initials 31 and 32. In. 31 is easy: all sources agree to determine it as an ordinary *l*-, and here again the fan-ts'ie spellings distinguish a pure *l*- in Divs. I, II, IV and a yodized *lj*- (type *lja*, typographically simplified into *lia*) in Div. III³⁾.

Initial 32 is more complicated. It occurs exclusively before the finals of Div. III (type *ia*) which had *kj*- etc., *pj*- etc., *χj*-, *lj*- and the palatals *l̥*- etc. and *tʃ*- etc. Thus it must have had a palatal quality. But the difficulty is that whereas Kan-on and all the Mandarin dialects suggest a voiced fricative, Go-on, Annamese and various southern dialects indicate a nasal; line 32:

Kan-on	<i>zitu</i> ,	<i>zin</i> ,	<i>ziun</i> ,	<i>zieu</i>
Pek.	j ī (<i>zī</i>),	j e n (<i>zən</i>),	j u n (<i>zun</i>),	j a o (<i>zau</i>)
Go-on	<i>niti</i> ,	<i>nin</i> ,	<i>niun</i> ,	<i>neu</i>
Annam.	<i>nv̄t̄</i> ,	<i>nv̄n</i> ,	<i>nv̄v̄n</i> ,	<i>nieu</i>
Hakka	<i>nit</i> ,	<i>niun</i> ,	(<i>iun</i>),	<i>niau</i>
Foochow	<i>nik</i> ,	(<i>ing</i>),	<i>noung</i> ,	<i>nieu</i>

We cannot suppose this initial to be simply a palatal fricative: *z*-, for that was already extant in initial 26 (*z*-), from which our present initial is strictly kept apart in the dialects, as well as in the fan-ts'ie and the Sound tables; nor can we suppose that it was merely a palatal nasal, for then it would collide with in. 12 (*n*-), from which it is likewise strictly distinguished. In fact it must have been a combination of both. Now the hie-sheng characters (those with a radical and a phonetic) clearly

¹⁾ This is not a strict rule, since there are many exceptions to it, which I cannot at present explain.

²⁾ 雲 spelled 戶分 *γ(uo)-(p)iuən* i. e. *γiuən* (*γjiuən*) in Ts'ie yün, but corrected into 王分 *j(iwang)-(p)iuən*, i. e. *jiuən* in Kuang yün. Several authors have recently discussed this phenomenon, but in my opinion drawn too far-reaching conclusions from these stray cases, which are best explained as remnants.

³⁾ There is a certain amount of confusion on this point: the distinction between the two series before different finals is not quite strictly observed. To conclude that there was no contrast *l*- : *lj*- would, however, be to exaggerate the importance of the exceptional cases; the general tendency — to distinguish them — is, in my opinion, sufficiently strong to confirm the general rule, and to allow us to normalize according to the different finals in the deviating cases. At most, these exceptions might suggest that the yodization was less strongly heard and felt in *lj*- than in *kj*- or *pj*-, and that therefore the fan-ts'ie authors could the more easily have made a few slips.

indicate a nasal origin of the words in this category with in. 32 (e. g. 汝 Mand. *zu* with Phonetic 女 *nü*; 若 *zo* cognate to 諾 *no*; 弱 *zo* Phon. in 溺 *ni*; 內 *nei* Phon. in 芮 *zuei*; 然 *nien* with Phon. 然 *zan*; 擣 *nou* with Phon. 辱 *zu* etc.; scores of examples), and therefore it was undoubtedly *ń* in Arch. Chin. (whereas in. 12 was Arch. dental *n*, developed into palatal *ń* only in Anc. Chin.). We may then obtain an organically satisfactory solution. In the Archaic **ńja* there developed gradually as a kind of »glide« a parasitic fricative, homorganic with *ń*, between the latter and the following vowel: **ńja* > *ń^zja*, and in Anc. Chin. it had already gained strength, so that in. 32 was really the combination *ńz* : *ńzja*. From this derived (through loss of the *ń*), Northern Chinese *zia*, which was rendered by *z-* in Kan-on and gave rise to the *z-* of modern Mandarin; but on this point the southern dialects were more conservative and preserved their initial *ń*, with the results shown by the table.

We have now arrived at a complete reconstruction scheme for the initials in the Anc. Chin. of Ts'ie yün. Summed up in the arrangement of the Sound tables (cf. the diagram on p. 217) they were:

32	31	30	29	28	27	21	20	19	18	17	16	15	14	13	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
<i>ńz</i>	<i>l</i>			<i>γ</i>	<i>χ</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>dz'</i>	<i>ts'</i>	<i>ts</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>b'</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>g'</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>k</i>
							<i>ʃ</i>	<i>dʒ'</i>	<i>tʃ'</i>	<i>tʃ</i>												
						<i>z</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>dz'</i>	<i>ts'</i>	<i>ts</i>					<i>ń</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>t</i>				
						26	25	24	23	22					12	11	10	9				

The evolution of all these initials from Anc. Chin. to modern Chinese in a long row of strongly diverging dialects is a topic which we cannot enter upon here. A detailed and systematic analysis of the development in some 30 dialects has been given in my *Etudes sur la Phonologie Chinoise*¹⁾ (1915—1926).

There is, however, one important development which already took place in T'ang time — in certain ancient dialects probably even earlier — and which it may be advisable to mention here. Whereas Ts'ie yün had only four labials, the bilabials *p-*, *p'-*, *b'-*, *m-*, a new set of dentilabials was created corresponding to the former: *f-*, *f'-*, *v'-*, *m^v-* (this last a dentilabial nasal, the sound in German *Kamfer*). They derived from the former under certain conditions: when a yodized bilabial was followed by *ju* or *iw* or *izu*:

夫 *pju* > *fu*, 反 *pjuwm* > *fan* (for the vocalism here see further below), 富 *pizu* > *fu*.

This is the general rule; but there are certain complications which will be treated in connection with the »medial *u*, *w*«, see p. 268 below.

* * *

¹⁾ Pp. 350—360, 365—370, 377—388, 415—456, 460—470, 476—491, 516—543, 552—569. These chapters are by no means antiquated but may still serve as a useful survey of the field. But a considerable number of other dialects have since then been excellently described by some Chinese linguists.

From the initials we now proceed to the finals, which constitute a much more complicated topic.

We have already stated above, in discussing the diagram on p. 217 representing a Sound table, that there are in the Sung system really only four finals to a table, if we reckon as one the finals in the four »tones» (*kung*⁻, *kung*['], *kung*[`], *kuk*): one final for each of the Divisions I ($\alpha-\delta$), II ($\varepsilon-\theta$), III ($\iota-\mu$) and IV ($\nu-\varrho$). But we also stated that if we try to arrange all the finals of Ts'ie yün (expressed by its rimes and its fan-ts'ie) into tables corresponding to the Sung tables, we arrive at a far more complicated system.

We shall now take up again the rime list of Kuang yün given on p. 214 above, but rearranging it along more strictly phonetic lines.

In order to simplify matters and make our tables more wieldy, we shall lump together the three first tones (*-ung*⁻, *-ung*['], *-ung*[`]) under one denomination; we shall call such a group by the name of its p'ing sheng rime (if there is such a one), and thus, instead of operating with three rimes: 東 董 送, we shall bring all the words of 董 (shang sheng) and 送 (k'ü sheng) in under the heading 東. On the other hand, we shall keep apart, under its own heading, the ju sheng rime (*-uk* 屋), since this turns out to be more practical. Thus, instead of four denominations for all the words ending in *-ung*, *-uk* used by the early Chinese linguists:

東 *ung*⁻, 董 *ung*['], 送 *ung*[`], 屋 *uk*

we shall use only two:

東 *ung*⁻, *ung*['], *ung*[`], 屋 *uk*.

We shall, further, bring together into one table all Ts'ie yün finals which have their words placed in one and the same Sung Sound table. And here too we shall adopt the arrangement of the four Divisions. We shall call »finals of Div. I» all such finals the words of which appear in Div. I of the Sung Sound tables; and similarly »finals of Div. II», »finals of Div. III» and »finals of Div. IV». As we shall find, this is quite essential for our interpretation.

When employing this classification, one reservation must be made in regard to the »finals of Div. III». A Kuang yün rime like ㄣ possesses words in the guttural class, e. g. 愆 (Mand. k'i en), in the labial class 變 (Mand. p i en) and in the lateral class 連 (Mand. l i en). They are all spelled, according to the rules described above, with yodized initials: *k'j-*, *pj-*, *lj-*, and are placed in Div. III of the Sung tables; Thus rime ㄣ is a typical rime of Div. III. But it so happens that it also includes words with dental affricate initials: 煎 (Mand. ts i en) etc., and, since the initials of group *ts-*, *ts'*-, *dz'*-, *s-*, *z-* are always pure, never yodized, the Sound tables place them in Div. IV (which, as we have seen, had pure initials). But in Ts'ie yün such words are spelled with exactly the same final characters as the k'i en, p i en, l i en just mentioned and belong to the same rime as they. In spite, therefore, of their »hard» (pure) initials, they will still be called words with »the finals

of Div. III» (the criterion of a rime's attribution to a certain Division thus being the placing in the Sound tables of its words with guttural, labial and lateral initials). Similarly, when there are words with supradental affricates and fricatives: *tʂ*- etc. with the same spelling finals and in the same rimes as words with *kj*-, *pj*-, *lj*- and yet are placed in Div. II in the Sound tables because of their »hard» initials, they will still, for the same reason, be regarded as words with »the finals of Div. III». This being understood, we may proceed to establish a series of Sound tables of our own, with the Kuang yün rimes systematically arranged. The tables are numbered in a series from A to Y. For each Anc. final we first give the Kuang yün rime under which its words are placed in that dictionary, and then, separated from this »key name» by a small circle, follow a few words as examples of the final in question.

A

- | | |
|--------------|-----------|
| 工 1. 寒。干旦散 | 2. 昂。葛達刺 |
| II 3. 刪。諫顏刪 | 4. 鎔。瞎 |
| 5. 山。閒盞山 | 6. 黠。夏察殺 |
| III 7. 仙。愆展仙 | 8. 薛。傑設別 |
| 9. 元。建言憲 | 10. 月。許歇謁 |
| IV 11. 先。堅先扁 | 12. 屑。結鐵節 |

B

- | | |
|---------------|-----------|
| 工 13. 桓。官端般 | 14. 末。括脫末 |
| II 15. 刪。關撰班 | 16. 鎔。刮刖 |
| 17. 山。鰥扮 | 18. 黠。滑八 |
| III 19. 仙。權專宣 | 20. 薛。悅說雪 |
| 21. 元。元勸反 | 22. 月。月闕發 |
| IV 23. 先。玄淵邊 | 24. 屑。決血 |

C

- | | |
|---------------|-----------|
| 工 25. 甘。甘藍談 | 26. 盍。閨臘榻 |
| 27. 覃。感南貪 | 28. 合。合拉答 |
| II 29. 銜。監衫 | 30. 狎。甲袞 |
| 31. 咸。減站 | 32. 洽。夾插 |
| III 33. 鹽。險占漸 | 34. 葉。葉摺獵 |
| 35. 嚴。欠嚴 | 36. 業。劫業 |
| IV 37. 添。兼添念 | 38. 帖。協帖 |
| III 39. 凡。凡犯 | 40. 乏。法乏 |

D

- | |
|---------------|
| 工 41. 豪。高刀毛 |
| II 42. 肴。交爪包 |
| III 43. 宵。輜朝廟 |
| IV 44. 蕭。澆曉挑 |

E

I 45. 泰。蓋害泰
46. 哈。開海來
II 47. 佳。佳債買
48. 皆。皆齋排
49. 夬。薑
III 50. 祭。藝世敝
51. 廢。艾
IV 52. 齊。繼禮閉

F

I 53. 泰。會外兌
54. 灰。灰雷輩
II 55. 佳。掛派
56. 皆。怪拜
57. 夬。快話敗
III 58. 祭。銳歲
59. 廢。廢吠
IV 60. 齊。閏惠

G

I 61. 歌。歌羅多
II 62. 麻。家沙麻
III 63. 麻。夜遮寫

H

I 64. 戈。過坐波
II 65. 麻。瓜華

J

I 66. 唐。剛唐狼
III 68. 陽。彊張相

67. 鐸。各託博
69. 藥。腳酌略

K

I 70. 唐。光皇邦
III 72. 陽。筐王方

71. 鐸。郭擴
73. 藥。縛

L

II 74. 耕。耕幸爭
76. 庚。庚行猛
III 78. 清。頸貞性
80. 庚。京迎英
IV 82. 青。經聽星

75. 麥。革靴責
77. 陌。格額百
79. 昔。繹隻昔
81. 陌。逆隙
83. 錫。擊歷錫

M

II 84. 耕。宏轟
86. 庚。觥橫
III 88. 清。傾警
89. 庚。兄永兵
IV 90. 青。迎螢

85. 麥。獲畫麥
87. 陌。貌
90a. 錫。鴉

N

I 91. 痕。跟恩
III 92. 真。巾真新
94. 欣。斤欣隱
96. 臻。臻訖

93. 質。吉質蜜
95. 迄。乞迄
97. 櫛。櫛瑟

O

I 98. 魂。魂敦門
III 100. 諄。均春旬
102. 文。君云分
104. 真。軫。窘隕

99. 沒。骨牟沒
101. 術。橘出律
103. 物。屈弗勿

P

III 105. 侵。金音針
106. 緝。急執立

Q		R	
I 107.登。恒登朋	108.德。刻則北	I 111.登。肱薨	112.德。國。惑
III 109.蒸。競升陵	110.職。棘職息	III —	113.職。域。血副
S		T	
I 114.東。公東蒙	115.屋。谷祿卜	II 122.江。項雙邦	123.覺。嶽捉駁
116.冬。農冬宋	117.沃。沃酷篤		
III 118.東。弓中風	119.屋。菊叔福		
120.鍾。恭鍾封	121.燭。曲燭足		
U		X	
III 124.脂。肌資比	III 128.脂。龜水雖	I 131.模。古都補	I 134.侯。鈎樓斗
125.支。己止茲	—	III 132.魚。居初胥	III 135.尤。九周修
126.支。寄斯彌	129.支。詭為碑	133.虞。拘誅夫	136.幽。糾鐻幼
127.微。幾希衣	130.微。鬼達非		

First a few words about the final consonants. The Mandarin dialects are here a poor material, for they have corrupted the Anc. system very badly, so that Anc. -m and -n have coincided in -n, and final -p, -t, -k have been lost. But the foreign loans and a row of Southern dialects are amply sufficient for determining the Anc. values.

Tables A—B.

Finals:	1 a	2 a	13 a	14 a
Kanon	<i>kan</i>	<i>katu</i>	<i>kuwan</i>	<i>kuwatu</i>
Goon	<i>kan</i>	<i>kati</i>	<i>kuwan</i>	<i>kuwati</i>
Ann.	<i>kan</i>	<i>kat</i>	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kuat</i>
Cant.	<i>kon</i>	<i>kot</i>	<i>kūn</i>	<i>kūt</i>
Swat.	<i>kan</i>	<i>kat</i>	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kuat</i>
Foo	<i>kang</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>kuang</i>	<i>kuak</i>
Kor.	<i>kan</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kual</i>

This pattern of final consonants obtains also in Tables N, O.

Table C.

Finals:	25 a	26 a
Kor.	<i>kam</i>	<i>kap</i>
Ann.	<i>kam</i>	<i>kap</i>
Cant.	<i>kâm</i>	<i>kâp</i>
Swat.	<i>kam</i>	<i>kap</i>
Kanon	<i>kan</i>	<i>kapu</i>
Goon	<i>kon</i>	<i>kopu</i>
Foo	<i>kang</i>	<i>kak</i>

This pattern of final consonants obtains also in Table P.

Tables J—K.

Finals:	66 a	67 a	70 a	71 a
Kor.	<i>kang</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>kuang</i>	<i>kuak</i>
Ann.	<i>kang</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>kuang</i>	<i>kuaî</i>
Cant.	<i>kong</i>	<i>kok</i>	<i>kuong</i>	<i>kuok</i>
Swat.	<i>kang</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>kuang</i>	<i>kuak</i>
Foo.	<i>koung</i>	<i>kauk</i>	<i>kuong</i>	
Kanon	<i>kau</i>	<i>kaku</i>	<i>kuwau</i>	<i>kuwaku</i>
Goon	<i>kau</i>	<i>kaku</i>	<i>kuwau</i>	<i>kuwaku</i>

This pattern of final consonants obtains also in Tables L—M and Q—R and S—T.

It is easily realized that the first group had final *-n* and in ju sheng *-t*, the second group had final *-m* and in ju sheng *-p* and the third group final *-ng* and in ju sheng *-k*. Foochow has lumped them all together under *-ng*, *-k*. Kan-on and Go-on could not pronounce final *-ng* and replaced *-ang* by *-au*, but in its corresponding ju sheng the guttural comes into evidence: *kaku*. Nor could they pronounce final *-m*, and replaced *-am* by *-an*, but in the corresponding ju sheng the labial appears: *kapu*. Furthermore they could not terminate a syllable with *-t*, *-p*, *-k* but had to adjoin a parasitic vowel *katu*, *kati*, *kapu*, *kaku*. For the rest the coast is clear, but for one single detail: the Korean ju sheng *-l* which corresponds to its final *-n*. This calls for some remarks.

The final *-p*, *-t*, *-k* in the modern dialects of the South are not ordinary explosives as in «put, take, kin» but clusil, i. e. in pronouncing the *-p* in *kap* the lips are closed, but afterwards detached without explosion: the *-p* becomes quite audible like a normal *p* when it is followed by a vowel in the next syllable. Then arises the

question: were the ju sheng finals ever real explosive *-p, -t, -k*? Or were they indeed *-b, -d, -g*, which as final consonants have lost their voice, like German »Bad», pronounced *Bat*? Some scholars have voted for mediae *-b, -d, -g*, not tenues *-p, -t, -k*, as the original Chinese finals, just as Tibetan has only *-b, -d, -g*, no *-p, -t, -k*. But that is very unlikely.

The Tibetan analogy lacks all interest, since there is nothing whatever to show that its *-b, -d, -g* have not developed from *-p, -t, -k*, becoming voiced in sandhi.

There are indeed two facts deciding in favour of tenues both in Anc. and Arch. Chinese.

The most important is the behaviour of Go-on and Kan-on, the former the earliest testimony attainable, 5—6th c. A. D. In shaping its loan forms thus: Kan-on and Go-on *katu, kati*, Kan-on and Go-on *kapu, Kan-on and Go-on kaku* they clearly reveal that the Japanese heard *kat, kap, kak* with real, easily grasped (not clusil) tenues. Both of them clearly show that the Japanese could and did use mediae as initials in Chinese loan words: 蒲徒吾 Go-on *bu, du, gu*, 門 Kan-on *bon*, etc. If the Anc. ju sheng words had been, not *kap, kat, kak* but *kab, kad, kag*, the Japanese would obviously have rendered them by *ka-bu, ka-du, ka-gu*, not by *ka-pu, ka-tu, ka-ku*.

The second reason, which concerns Arch. Chin., is that contacts in *hie sheng* characters between words ending in nasals with ju sheng words, e. g. 占 *tšjäm* phon. in 帖 *t'iep* are so very rare. It is easily understood that a *kat* was not a desirable phonetic in a *kan*, and *vice versa*. But if the ju sheng had ended in *-d*, a *kad* could more easily serve as a phonetic in a *kan* and *vice versa*. The extreme rarity of such contacts argue for *-p, -t, -k* and against *-b, -d, -g* already in regard to Arch. Chinese.

How, then, should the Korean *kal* for Anc. *kat* be explained? In some Anc. Northern dialect, which influenced Sino-Korean, *kat* had developed, down to early T'ang time, thus: *kat > kad > kað*, and this fricative *ð* (Engl. *that*) was rendered by *-r* in Korean: *kar* (on Korean soil *kar* has developed further into *kal*). This dialectal Anc. *ð* is well attested in Buddhist transcription (Anc. 達摩 *d'ât-muâ*, dialectally *d'âr-muâ* = *dharma*). But this phenomenon is not of a very high antiquity, for in Han time *Arsak* was transcribed 安息 *an-sjək*, an *n* rendering the foreign *r*, which it would not have done if there had existed a syllable *að* at that time.

We must now take up for examination the vocalism in the word categories arranged in the Sound tables above.

In our analysis of them let us start with tables A and B, which form a pair, the former being *k'a i k'o u* »open-mouthed», i. e. lacking a medial *u* or *w*, which is typical of the second *h o k'ou* »closed-mouthed». The Kuang yün rimes are identical in the two, except in Div. I, where they are different.

Even when studied in the light of modern Mandarin only,¹⁾ they make it probable that the fundamental feature is an *a* as principal vowel, and that *-n*, *-t* were the final consonants (*-t* being the logical *ju sheng* counterpart to *-n*).

The final *-n* or derivates from it are attested in all the ancient loans and the modern dialects (1 a Kor. Jap. Swat. Pek. Sīch'uan *kan*, Ann. *kaŋ*, Cant. *kon* etc.); as for the final *-t* in final 2, we have already confirmed it above.

The *a* in the vocalism is likewise unmistakable. It peeps through, more or less extensively, in all four divisions. Particularly strong in Div. I, it is slightly reduced in Div. II, it is still more reduced in Div. III (*ch a n*, *ch u a n*, *k'ü a n* etc.) and there is only a slight *a* element in Div. IV *ho k'ou* (*h ü a n*).

To a certain extent, however, these numerous *a* are deceptive: we can soon find reasons to conclude that the *a* in Divs. III and IV (types *ch a n*, *ch u a n*, *f a n*, *f a*, *y ü a n*, *h ü a n*) are not original but modern phenomena. Even a number of Mandarin dialects have a palatal vowel corresponding to Peking's *a* in types *k'ü a n*, *s ü a n*, *y ü a n*, *h ü a n* (Finals 19, 21, 23), e. g. Sīch'uan *tš'üen*, *süen*, *yüen*, *süen*. In the categories *ch a n*, *ch u a n* (Finals 7, 19) etc. there are Mandarin dialects which clearly differentiate between Divs. II and III.

T'aiku: II Final 5 b *tša*₂ Fin. 15 b *tsua*₂
 III Final 7 b *tsä*₂ Fin. 19 b *tsüä*₂

and similarly Kueihua 5 b *tša*₂: 7 b *tše*₂ etc.

Only in regard to category *fan*, *fa* (21 c, 22 c) do the modern dialects give no clue to an earlier palatal.

Furthermore an examination of Kor., Kan-on, Ann. and various southern dialects abundantly proves that Anc. Chin. had no genuine *a* in Divs. III and IV; we find a strict distinction between Divs. I, II on the one hand, and Divs. III, IV on the other:

	Kor.	Kanon	Ann.	Swat.	Hak.	Wench.
I 1 a	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kaŋ</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kon</i>	
2 a	<i>kal</i>	<i>katu</i>	<i>kaŋ</i>	<i>kat</i>	<i>kot</i>	
II 3 a	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>zaŋ</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>ka</i>
4 a	<i>hal</i>	<i>katu</i>	<i>haŋ</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>ha</i>
5 a	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>zaŋ</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>ka</i>
6 c	<i>sal</i>	<i>satu</i>	<i>saŋ</i>		<i>sat</i>	<i>sa</i>
III 7 a	<i>ken</i> ³⁾	<i>ken</i>	<i>k'ien</i>	<i>k'ien</i>	<i>k'ien</i>	<i>tš'ie</i>
8 a	<i>kel</i>	<i>ketu</i>	<i>kiet</i>	<i>kiet</i>	<i>k'iet</i>	<i>tšie</i>
9 a	<i>ken</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>kien</i>	<i>kien</i>	<i>kien</i>	<i>tšie</i>
10 b	<i>hel</i>	<i>ketu</i>	<i>iet</i>		<i>hiet</i>	<i>šie</i>

¹⁾ We presume that the reader knows the Mandarin readings of the words in Tables A—Y above without our reproducing them here. ²⁾ The hook after the vowel is a sign of nasalization.

³⁾ Kor. *e* (*en*, *el* etc.) is now pronounced *ö* (*ön*, *öl* etc.)

IV 11 a	<i>kien</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>kien̩</i>	<i>kien</i>	<i>kien</i>	<i>tsie</i>
12 a	<i>kiel</i>	<i>ketu</i>	<i>kiet̩</i>	<i>k'iet</i>	<i>kiet</i>	<i>tsie</i>

In the corresponding *h o k'o u*, Table B, we find the same phenomenon:

	Kor.	Kanon	Ann.	Hak.	Wench.
I 13 a	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kuaŋ</i>	<i>kuon</i>	
14 a	<i>kual</i>	<i>kuatu</i>	<i>kuat̩</i>	<i>kuat</i>	<i>ko</i>
II 15 a	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kuaŋ</i>	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kua</i>
16 a	<i>kual</i>	<i>kuatu</i>	<i>kuat̩</i>	<i>kuat</i>	<i>ko</i>
17 a	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kuaŋ</i>	<i>kuan</i>	<i>kua</i>
18 a	<i>hual</i>	<i>kuatu</i>	<i>huaŋ̩</i>	<i>vat</i>	<i>'o</i>
III 19 a	<i>kuen</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>küen̩</i>	<i>k'ien</i>	<i>džüe</i>
20 a	<i>iel</i>	<i>etu</i>	<i>züet̩</i>	<i>iet</i>	<i>üe</i>
21 a	<i>uen</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>ngüen̩</i>	<i>nien</i>	<i>nüe</i>
22 a	<i>uel</i>	<i>getu</i>	<i>ngüet̩</i>	<i>niet</i>	<i>nüe</i>
IV 23 a	<i>hien</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>hüen̩</i>	<i>hien</i>	<i>'üe</i>
24 a	<i>kiel</i>	<i>ketu</i>	<i>küet̩</i>	<i>kiet</i>	<i>tsüe</i>

It is important to observe that in the categories *c h a n*, *c h u a n*, where Peking Mandarin has *a* in Div. III, those foreign loans and Southern dialects clearly indicate palatal vowel and »medial *i*»:

III 7 b Pek. *c h a n* (*tʂan*): Kor. *tʂen*, Kanon *ten*, Ann. *tʂen̩*, Swat. *tien*, Hak. *tʂen*, Wench. *tsie*.

19 b Pek. *c h u a n* (*tʂuan*): Kor. *tʂen*, Kanon *sen*, Ann. *tʂüen̩*, Cant. *tsün*, Wench. *tsüe*.

Even in the category *f a n*, *f a* (Div. III) there are some suggestions of another principal vowel than *a*:

III 21 c. Pek. *f a n*: Kor. *pen*, Kanon *pen*; 煩 Pek. *f a n*: Ann. *fien̩*; 伐 Pek. *f a*: Kor. *pel*, etc.

We find our conclusion confirmed in the next table (C), which is quite analogous to table A, the principal difference being the Anc. ending in *-m*, *-p*:

	Kor.	Kan.	Ann.	Foo.	Hak.		Kor.	Kan.	Ann.	Foo.	Hak.
I 25 a	<i>kam</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kang</i>	<i>kam</i>	26 b	<i>nap</i>	<i>rapu</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>lak</i>	<i>lap</i>
27 a	<i>kam</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kang</i>	<i>kam</i>	28 a	<i>hap</i>	<i>kapu</i>	<i>hap</i>	<i>hak</i>	<i>hap</i>
II 29 a	<i>kam</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>zam</i>	<i>kang</i>	<i>kam</i>	30 a	<i>kap</i>	<i>kapu</i>	<i>zap</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>kap</i>
31 a	<i>kam</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>zam</i>		<i>kam</i>	32 a	(<i>kiep</i>)	<i>kapu</i>	<i>zap</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>kap</i>
III 33 a	<i>hem</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>hiem</i>	<i>hieng</i>	(<i>hiam</i>)	34 a	<i>iep</i>	<i>epu</i>	<i>ziep</i>	<i>iek</i>	(<i>iap</i>)
35 a	<i>kem</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>k'iem</i>	<i>k'ien</i>	(<i>k'iam</i>)	36 a	<i>kep</i>	<i>kepu</i>	<i>kiep</i>	<i>kiek</i>	(<i>kiap</i>)
IV 37 a	<i>kiem</i>	<i>ken</i>	<i>kiem</i>	<i>kieng</i>	(<i>kiam</i>)	38 a	<i>hiep</i>	<i>kepu</i>	<i>hiep</i>	<i>hiek</i>	(<i>hiap</i>)

The aberrant *-iam*, *-iap* in Hak. Divs. III, IV cannot invalidate the testimony of all the other sources.

Since this is a fundamental point for our whole reconstruction structure, we might add some analogous materials from another category, Table D. Here we leave out Hakka and Korean, which in this groups lack interest, but add a Mandarin dialect, Wenshuei (in Shansi):

	Kanon	Ann.	Foo.	Wenshuei
I 41 a	<i>kau</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>kā</i>	<i>kau</i>
II 42 a	<i>kau</i>	<i>zau</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>tšiau</i>
III 43 a	<i>keu</i>	<i>kieu</i>	<i>kieu</i>	<i>tšieu</i>
IV 44 a	<i>keu</i>	<i>kieu</i>	<i>kieu</i>	<i>tšieu</i>

Finally, some examples from one more analogous category, tables E and F. They form a pair, the former without »medial *u*, *w*» (*k'a i k'o u*), the latter with it (*h o k'o u*).

	Kor.	Kanon	Ann.	Foo.	Cant.
I 45 a	<i>kai</i> ¹	<i>kai</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>koi</i>
46 a	<i>kai</i> ¹	<i>kai</i>	<i>k'ai</i>	<i>k'ai</i>	<i>hoi</i>
II 47 a	<i>ka</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>zai</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kai</i>
48 a	<i>kăi</i> ³	<i>kai</i>	<i>zai</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>kai</i>
III 50 a	<i>iei</i> ³	<i>gei</i>	<i>nge</i>	<i>ngie</i>	<i>ngăi</i>
IV 52 a	<i>kiei</i> ³	<i>kei</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>kie</i>	<i>kăi</i>

Here the Divs. III, IV *-ăi* in Cant. cannot outweigh the clear indications of a palatal principal vowel in Kor., Kanon, Ann. and Foo. In fact, the Cant. *ăi* is easily explainable as a case of dissimilation: *ei* > *ăi*, just as in Germ. *bei* > (*pron.*)

¹) Now pron. *kă*. 2) Pron. *kă*. 3) Pron. *ie*, *kie*.

bai etc. (That there have existed Southern dialects with this phenomenon at a very early date is proved by Go-on, which has Fin. 50 c *pai*, 52 a *kai*).

The *h o k'o u* Table F suggests the same:

	Kor.	Kanon	Ann.	Wenchou	Foo.
I 53 a	<i>hoi</i> ¹	<i>kuai</i>	<i>hoi</i>	<i>'uai</i>	<i>huoi</i>
54 a	<i>hoi</i> ¹	<i>kuai</i>	<i>hoi</i>	<i>'uai</i>	(<i>hui</i>)
II 55 a	<i>kuai</i> ²	<i>kuai</i>	<i>kuai</i>	(<i>ko</i>)	<i>kua</i>
56 a	<i>koi</i> ¹	<i>kuai</i>	<i>kuai</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>kuai</i>
57 a	<i>k'uai</i> ²	<i>kuai</i>	<i>k'uai</i>	<i>k'ua</i>	<i>k'uai</i>
III 58 b	<i>siei</i> ³	<i>sei</i>	<i>tue</i>	(<i>sü</i>)	(<i>suoi</i>)
59 a	<i>p'iei</i> ⁴	<i>hai</i>	<i>fe</i>	(<i>hui</i>)	<i>hie</i>
IV 60 a	(<i>kiu</i>)	<i>kei</i>	<i>kue</i>	(<i>tü</i>)	<i>kie</i>

The *-oi* in Div. I is derived from some kind of *-ai*, to be defined presently. The *-ei* and *e* (< *ei*) in Divs. III, IV contrast strongly with the original *-ai* in Divs. I, II. The *ai* of Kan-on in 59 a will be explained in connection with the rimes of Div. III. Thus here again we find exactly the same fundamental Anc. Chin. distinction between Divs. I, II and Divs. III, IV. There is no clear *a* as principal vowel in the latter.

If we now revert to Tables A and C, we observe a fact in Mandarin which at first sight appears to argue strongly against this conclusion: type *-ien* occurs not only in Divs. III, IV but also, quite regularly, in Div. II: finals 3 a, 5 a, 29 a, 31 a: all *k i e n*. We shall find, however, that these forms do not refute our thesis; they will only contribute to the solution of another problem which now presents itself: if Divs. I and II both had an *a* as principal vowel in Anc. Chin., as we have concluded above, what was the difference between them?

We have already seen that the ancient loans do not help us out here: Korean, Kan-on and Ann. invariably had *a* in both Div. I and Div. II, as was seen in our tables on pp. 237—239. However, some dialects come to our aid.

Cantonese after guttural initials makes the following distinctions (Tables A—E):

Div. I Fin. 1 a *kon*, 2 a *kot*; 25 a *kâm*, 26 a *kâp*; 45 a *koi*;

41 a *kou* 27 a *kâm*, 28 a *kâp*; 46 a *hoi*.

Div. II Fin. 3 a *kan*, 4 a *kot*; 29 a *kam*, 30 a *kap*; 47 a *kai*;

5 a *kan*, 6 c *sat*; 31 a *kam*, 32 a *kap*; 48 a *kai*, 42 a *kau*.

It might be tempting to reconstruct an Anc. Chin *o*: *kon*, *kom*, *koi*, *kou* in Div. I, against an *a*: *kan*, *kam*, *kai*, *kau* in Div. II, but this is ruled out by the foreign loans (practically contemporary with Ts'ie yün) which clearly indicate *a* in them

¹) Now pron. *-ue* 2) Pron. *-uä* 3) Pron. *se* 4) Pron. *p'ie*.

both. The proper solution is obvious: Div. I had a »darker» *a*, the *á grave* in French *pâte* (we shall borrow this letter *á* to denote it), and Div. II had a »lighter» *a*, the *a aigu* in French *patte* (here written simply *a*). It is significant that Div. II in Cantonese has precisely this *a aigu*: *kan*, *kam*, *kap*, *kai*, *kau*. The Anc. *a aigu* of Div. II has been preserved in Cantonese, but the *á grave* of Anc. Chin. has developed into Cant *o*: Anc. *kân* > Cant. *kon*, Anc. *kâm* > Cant. *kâm*, Anc. *kái* > Cant. *koi*, Anc. *kâu* > Cant. *kou*.

This conclusion is amply corroborated by the *ju sheng* words. That all these words had some kind of Anc. Chin. *a* both in Div. I and in Div. II has been clearly attested in the tables on pp. 237, 238 above. We may add that some Mandarin dialects still reveal this, e. g.:

Final 2 *a* (Div. I): Tat'ung, T'aiyüan, Wenshuei, Fengt'ai *ka*

Final 28 *a* (Div. I). Tat'ung, T'aiyüan, Wenshuei, Fengt'ai *xa*

And the ancient distinction I *á*: II *a* just deduced above is well reflected, after guttural initials, in various Mandarin dialects:

Div. I: finals 2 *a* (Anc. *kát*) and 28 *a* (Anc. *káp*): Lanchou, Sian, Nanking *ko* (Pek. *kə*)¹;

Div. II: final 4 *a* (Anc. *χat*): Lanchou, Sian *xa*, Nanking Pek. *šia*, final 30 *a* (Anc. *kap*) Lanchou, Sian, Nanking Pek. *tsia*.

Again, we find the same distinction in Table G, and here it is not limited to words with guttural initials but obtains after all kinds of initials:

Div. I: Final 61 (Anc. *-á*): Lanch., Sian, Nank. *ko*, *lo*, *to*;

Div. II: Final 62 (Anc. *-a*): Lanch., Sian, Nank. *tsia*, *sa*, *ma*.

These latter cases clearly indicate what has taken place. Between the guttural initial and the following *a aigu* of Div. II there has developed a slight parasitic *i* (a »glide»), which has soon strengthened into a regular »medial *i*». In open syllable (original or caused by the loss of final *-t*, *-p*) the *a* has been maintained, but in closed syllables it has been palatalized through the influence of the preceding *i*:

final 62 *a* Anc. *ka* > *k'a* > *kia* > Pek. *tsia*,

final 30 *a* Anc. *kap* > *k'ap* > *kiap* > *kia* > Pek. *tsia*,

final 3 *a* Anc. *kan* > *k'an* > *kian* > Pek. *tsien*.

This intercalation of a parasitic *i* in Div. II took place during the lapse of the T'ang dynasty, as is shown by the Ann. loans, introduced at the end of the T'ang period, which already show traces of it, e. g. 衙 Anc. *nga* (Div. II) > *úa*. And this is the reason for the phenomenon that we find Mand. *-ien* in the finals of Div. II, as well as in those of Divs. III, IV.

¹) The Wade transcription: *ko* deviates from Peking on this point in favour of other Mandarin dialects.

We have now arrived at this result concerning Divs. I and II: I-*án* etc.: II-*an* etc. This is satisfactory and sufficient for the Sung Sound tables, but not for the Anc. Chin. of Ts'ie yün, which offers some more problems concerning these divisions.

In our Sound tables we observe that Table A has double rimes (3 and 5) in Div. II; and that Table C has double rimes both in Div. I (25 and 27) and in Div. II (29 and 31). Also that Table E has double rimes in Div. I (45 and 46) and even triple rimes in Div. II (47, 48 and 49). We have necessarily to find an explanation of this fact.

Here the Korean loans give us valuable aid. In Table E this ancient source distinguishes in Div. I between rime 45 and rime 46. The former is written -*ai* (long *a*), the latter -*ǎi* (short *ǎ*) — both are now pronounced -*ä*, but the conservative writing keeps them well apart. There are some exceptions to the rule, but they are surprisingly few, though this rather subtle distinction would seem to invite to confusion by the foreign borrower. Thus:

Final 45 a *kai*, b *hai*, c *t'ai* etc.

Final 46 a *kǎi*, b *hǎi*, c *rǎi* etc.

In Div. II rime 47 has in Kor. either -*a* or -*ai* (long *a*), (only a few -*ǎi*) and rime 48 mostly -*ǎi* (some -*iei* and only a few -*ai*):

47 a *ka*, b *t's'ai*, c *mai*;

48 a *kǎi*, b *t'sǎi*, c *pǎi*,

Sino-Korean being contemporary with Ts'ie yün, we must conclude that:

Div. I, rime 45 was long: -*ái*, rime 46 was short: -*ǎi*¹⁾

Div. II, rime 47 was long: -*ai*, rime 48 was short: -*ǎi*.

In Div. I this distinction has left few traces in the modern dialects. However, the attitude of the Wu dialect Wenchou, after dental initials, is significant: here Final 45, Anc. -*ái* (long *á*), has given Wench. -*a*, whereas Final 46, Anc. -*ǎi* (short *a*), has been monophthongized into -*e*:

Final 45: 奈賴帶泰大 *na*, *la*, *ta*, *t'a*, *da*

Final 46: 耐來戴胎待 *ne*, *le*, *te*, *t'e*, *de*

A trace of it is also found in Cant., where Final 45 has many -*ai* and few -*oi*, Final 46 has many -*oi* and few -*ai*; in the examples above:

Final 45: *noi*, *lai*, *tai*, *t'ai*, *tai*;

Final 46: *noi*, *loi*, *tai*, *t'oi*, *toi*.

In Div. II the Anc. Chin. distinction makes itself felt in most Mandarin dialects in which a number of words ending in long -*ai* (Finals 47, 55) have dropped the

¹⁾ For typographical reasons, short *ǎ* has to be denoted *ǎ̇*, since a bow over the vowel, to indicate brevity, simultaneously with the circumflex to indicate *ǎ* grave would be too clumsy.

final -i, only -a remaining, whereas all the words ending in short -ǎi (Finals 48, 56) have preserved it, either as -ai or monophthongized into -ä:

Finals 47, 55: 佳罷掛畫 Mand. k i a, p a, k u a, h u a; and further 涯 Nank. ia, 蟹 Fengt'ai śia, 敘 T'aiyüan ts'a, 擺 Fengt'ai pa; but no such -a forms in Finals 48, 56¹⁾).

The conclusion that we have to distinguish between finals with long vowels (-äi, -ai) and finals with short vowels (-ǎi, -ǎi) is exceedingly important, for, as we shall see, this distinction constitutes a fundamental feature in large categories of words in both Anc. and Arch. Chin.

It now seems natural to apply this result to our other »a» tables, in divisions with double rimes, and to reconstruct:

Table A, Final 3 -an: Final 5 -ǎn;
Table C, Final 25 -ám: Final 27 -ǎm;
Final 29 -am: Final 31 -ǎm; etc.

But such a construction *ex analogia* may seem too bold, and we must look about for similar support for it as in the Table E just studied. Such support is rare indeed, but there are some significant facts. In Table C, Div. I, after dental initials, certain Wu dialects distinguish long and short in exactly the same way as in Table E above. Wenchou gives us:

Final 25: 藍擔毯談淡慚三 la, ta, t'a, da da, dza, sa;
Final 27: 男婪貪探潭參蠶 nō, lö, t'ö, t'ö, dö, ts'ö, zö.

In other words: The long -ám has preserved its á: la etc., but the short -ǎm has lost the »a» quality and changed it into -ö: lö etc. The parallelism with the contrast in Wenchou in Table E is perfect, the condition required (dental initials) being the same in both cases:

Final 45 賴 lái > la: Final 46 來 lái > le
Final 25 lám > la: Final 27 lâm > lö.

A much stronger argument, however, is the following — here we have to anticipate somewhat our examination of Arch. Chin. We shall see that Final 27 (ǎm) has frequent connections both in the Shī king rimes and in the hie sheng characters, with the finals of Table P, which we shall prove to have been Anc. -iəm. This ə is a notoriously short vowel in the Chinese phonological system, and we shall show that Final 27 Anc. -ǎm in fact derives from an Arch. short -əm, whereas Final 25 Anc. -ám derives from an Arch. long -ám. In Shī king we find rimes like 心 Anc. siəm (Arch. *siəm) riming with 南 Anc. nām (Arch. *nəm). etc.

¹⁾ The third rime in Div. II of Table E: Final 49, constitutes a problem which I have so far not been able to solve. It had long -a, as shown by h o k'o u forms like 話 Mand. h u a, but wherein it differed from Final 47 is not clear.

In the *hie sheng* characters we have frequent cases like 婪 Anc. *lām* (Arch. **lām*) with Phonetic 林 Anc. *lĭām* (Arch. **lĭām*); 含 Anc. *γām* (Arch. **g'ām*) with phonetic 今 Anc. *kĭām* (Arch. **kĭām*) etc. There are scores of instances like these. There cannot be the slightest doubt about the correctness of our reconstruction: Final 25 Anc. -*ām*: Final 27 Anc. -*ām*, etc.

The secrets of Divs. I and II in the Tables A-G have now been in the main revealed, but there remains one riddle to be solved. A glance at Tables A-B and E-F shows that, whereas Divs. II, III and IV have identical Kuang yün rimes in *k'a i k'o u* (A, E) and *h o k'o u* (B, F), Div. I has different rimes, e. g. Final 1 rime 寒: Final 13 rime 桓. There must be some important difference here which we have to discover.

In order to do so, we have first to take up for investigation Tables N-O below.

Here we have left the categories with an »a» vocalism and come across something quite different. Let us examine first the final of Div. I: Final 91 a: Kor. Swat. *kyn*, Kan-on, Go-on *kon*, Foo. *koung*, T'aiku *kŋ*, Ann. *kon*, Cant. *kvn*, Wench. *kang*, Fengt'ai *kq*, Hak. *ken*, Sian *kä*, Pek. *kən*, T'aiyüan *kəng*, Lanchou *kə*. It is obvious that we cannot assume an Anc. *a* as principal vowel, since this is vetoed by Kor. and Jap. and would clash with the words in Table A; nor *u* which fails equally badly for Ann. and Jap.; nor again *ä* or *e*, which could not explain the Kor. *u* and Jap. *o*, and which would likewise clash with Table A. The only possible solution is Anc. Chin. *kən*, so that on this point Peking Mandarin is really the most conservative. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the Koreans rendered a *kən* by *kyn*, or that the Japanese, who had no *ə* in their own language, rendered it with *o* (*kon* etc.) as the nearest approximation.¹⁾ Moreover, an essential fact is that, whereas the vowels in Table A are long in Ann. and Cant. etc. (旦 Cant. *tān*, Ann. *ḡān* etc.), in our present group the principal vowel is quite short: 91 a Cant. *kvn*, Ann. *kon*, with the short vowel of Engl. »but» (*bvt*). Indeed, the fundamental characteristic of the *ə* in our Tables N—O here is that it is a slack, short principal vowel.

It should be emphasized that so far we have only examined the principal vowel of Div. I (Finals 91, 98, 99), not the vocalism in Div. III.

We observe next the highly interesting and important feature that this category (N—O) alone among all the tables has different rimes in *k'a i k'o u* and *h o k'o u* in Div. III. And if we examine the representatives in the dialects of the *h o k'o u* finals in Div. III, we are struck by the fact that the »medial *u*» of *h o k'o u* in this class has largely swallowed up the following principal vowel and alone holds the field, either as *u* or, palatalized, as *ü*: Pek. Final 100 *k ü n*, *c h'ü n*, *s ü n*; Final 101 *k ü*, *c h'ü*, *l ü*; Final 102 *k ü n*, *y ü n*; Final 103 *k'ü*, *f u*, *w u*. This phenomenon is by no means limited to Peking Mandarin. We already find it in Kor. and Kan-on, and in various Southern dialects:

¹⁾ The »neutral vowel» *ə* and a slack open *o* are in reality fairly akin, genetically and acoustically: *sport* is often pronounced *spə˞r* in Paris French.

Kor.: 100 *kiun, tš'un, sun*; 101 *kiul, tš'ul, riul*; 102 *kun, un, pun*; 103 *kul, pul, mul*.
 Kanon: 100 b, c *siun*; 101 b *siutu*; 102 *kun, un, pun*; 103 *kutu, putu, butu*.
 Hakka: 100 b, c *tš'un, sun*; 101 b, c *tš'ut, lut*; 102 *kiun, iun, fun*; 103 *k'iut, fut, vut*.
 Swatow: 100 b, c *tš'un, sun*; 101 b, c *tš'ut, lut*; 102 *kun, un, hun*; 103 *kut, hut, mut*.

The natural, not to say inevitable, conclusion from all this is that in Table O (h o k'o u) our Div. III had a stronger »medial *u*» than it had in other categories (e. g. Tables B and F) and that this is reflected in the fact that in the N-O category there are different rimes in Div. III for k'a i k'o u (N) and h o k'o u (O), whereas in those other groups there are the same rimes in k'a i k'o u (A, E) and h o k'o u (B, F):

k'a i k'o u: 2 h o k'o u:

Tables N, O. Div. III rime 眞 (Pek. *chen*), rime 諄 (Pek. *chun*).

Tables A, B. Div. III rime 𪛗 (Pek. *sien*), rime 𪛗 (e. g. 宣 Pek. *šüan*, Nank. *šüen*).

In other words, in Div. III of Table O (Finals 100—103) we have a strong, vocalic *u*, in Div. III of Table B (Finals 19—22) we have a weaker, subordinated consonantic *w*.

This point being established: »medial *u*» in h o k'o u, when there are different rimes in k'a i k'o u and h o k'o u, and »medial *w*» in h o k'o u, when there are the same rimes in k'a i k'o u and h o k'o u, we may proceed and test this result, in the first place on Div. I of our category N-O, where we have different rimes in k'a i (91) and h o (98, 99). The thesis is confirmed by the same tendency of the strong »medial *u*» to suppress the following short principal vowel: *kuən* > *kun*. We meet with this phenomenon here in Div. I in those same dialects in which we attested it for Div. III:

Kor. 98 c *mun*; Hakka 98 *fun, tun, mun*, 99 *kut, tsut, mut*;

Swat. 98 *hun, tun, bun*, 99 *kut, tsut, mut*; Pek. 98 *hun, tun*, 99 *ku, tsu*.

We can therefore safely reconstruct Anc. Chin.:

Div. I, Final 91 -ən; Finals 98 -uən, 99 -uət.

After this long digression about Tables N-O, we revert to our Tables A—B and E—F, and we are now able to see the reason for the fact that their Divs. I have different rimes in k'a i k'o u and h o k'o u, but their Divs. II, III and IV have identical rimes in k'a i k'o u and h o k'o u: in Div. I they have vocalic »medial *u*» (*kuán* etc.), in Divs. II, III and IV they have consonantic »medial *w*» (*kwan* etc.). Let us test this by comparing Divs. I and II in categories A—B and E—F (we have seen above that Div. I had *á* and II *a* as principal vowels). The distinction *u* : *w* is well reflected in several dialects, particularly after labial initials:

13.般判盤伴滿

14.撥潑鉢末

54.輩配陪悱梅

15.班攀蠻 17.扮

18.八拔

55.派裨 56.拜憊

57.敗邁

Cant.: Div. I, Final 13 *pūn, p'ūn, p'ūn, pūn, mūn*
Final 14 *pūt, p'ūt, pūt, pūt, mūt*
Final 54 *pūi, p'ūi, p'ūi, pūi, mūi*

Div. II, Final 15 *pān, p'ān, mān, 17 pān*
Final 18 *pāt, pāt*
Final 55 *p'āi, pāi; 56 pāi, p'āi; 57 pāi, māi*

Foochow: Div. I, Final 13 *puang, p'uang, puang, puang, muang*
Final 14 *puak, p'uak, puak, muak*
Final 54 *puoi, p'ui, pui, p'ui, mui*

Div. II Final 15 *pang, p'ang, mang*
Final 18 *paik, pak*
Final 55 *p'uai, pai; 56 pai, pai; 57 pai, mai*

Kueihua: Div. I, Final 13 *puo, p'uo, p'uo, puo, muo*
Final 14 *puə, p'uə, puə, muə*

Div. II, Final 15 *pə, p'ə, mə, 17 pə,*
Final 18 *pa, pa.*

Thus three dialects from such different groups as Cantonese (Yüe group), Foochow (Min group) and Kueihua (Northern Mandarin) clearly indicate a stronger »medial *u*«, which has been preserved, in Divs. I, and a weaker »medial *w*«, which has been lost, in Divs. II. It should be remembered that the existence in Anc. Chin. of a medial labial vowel also in the latter divisions is clearly proved by the fan-ts'ie spellings: 班 is spelled 布還, 蠻 is spelled 莫還, 扮 is spelled 哺幻, 派 is spelled 匹卦 etc.¹⁾

So far we have operated with the rimes of Kuang yün. But the manuscripts of the original Ts'ie yün recently recovered and published give us a great surprise: in contrast to the rime system of Kuang yün which, as we have seen, has different rimes in *k'a i k'o u*, and *h o k'ou* in Div. I of tables A—B, E—F and in Divs.

¹⁾ It is true that just after labial initials there are a number of inconsistent fan-ts'ie which do not strictly observe the difference between *k'a i k'o u* and *h o k'ou*. This will be discussed in detail further below (p. 268).

I and III of Tables N-O, Ts'ie yün has identical rimes in k'ai k'ou and ho k'ou. Thus, when Kuang yün has in Div. I Table A (k'ai k'ou) rime 寒: Table B (ho k'ou) rime 桓, Ts'ie yün had only one: 寒 and placed the ho k'ou words of Kuang yün's rime 桓 under 寒. How should we interpret this curious fact? There are two possibilities.

a). It may be that already in the Ts'ie yün language type 干 was *kân* and type 官 was *kuân* (with vocalic *u*), as reconstructed above, and that the different mode of selecting dictionary rimes in Ts'ie yün and Kuang yün is merely due to a difference of opinion. It is clear that there must have been a different shade, another *nuance* in the *â* after the strong *u* (*-uân*) and the *â* without a preceding *u* (*-ân*); otherwise the Kuang yün philologists would not have chosen different rimes, for French cabane: douane make a perfect rime. This difference of *nuance* may already have existed in the language of Ts'ie yün, though its authors did not consider it sufficiently important to warrant separate rimes, which later on the Kuang yün authors did.

β). On the other hand, it may be that in Ts'ie yün time the ho k'ou had only a weak, consonantic *w* in Div. I (just as in Div. II): *kân* : *kwân*, thus allowing one rime for both: 寒; and that in the lapse of the T'ang era the *w* was strengthened into *u* before certain finals (*uân* > *uân*, *wâi* > *uâi*), entailing a different *nuance* in the *â* between *-ân* : *uân*, which caused the Kuang yün authors to invent different rimes: 寒 and 桓.

With the materials available it seems impossible to make a definite choice between these two explanations. In all probability there was in Archaic Chinese only one type: *ân wân*, and the *-uân* with strong *u* was an innovation. But the first tendency in this direction may very well have made itself felt quite early, perhaps even at the beginning of the T'ang era, and it is therefore safest, in our reconstructions, to maintain the distinction Div. I *ân* : *uân*, as against Div. II *-an* : *wan* so clearly indicated by the Kuang yün and confirmed, as we have seen, by a series of modern dialects.

From the Divs. I and II we now pass on to the Divs. III and IV. In the survey of Tables A—B on pp. 232 and 237, 238 above we have seen that in the two rimes of Div. III and in the rime of Div. IV the ancient loans in Kor., Kan-on, Ann. as well as all the modern dialects indicate Anc. Chinese principal vowels which were not a real *a* but *ä* or *e* (or something akin to them),¹⁾ and that they all had some kind of »medial *i*«. But now we must arrive at a greater degree of precision, and we start with the question of the »medial *i*«.

That there was a fundamental difference in regard to the »medial *i*« between the finals of Div. III and those of Div. IV is clearly revealed by Sino-Korean, which has already given us very useful aid in solving several problems. In Kor., after gutturals in Tables A, B and C (cf. p. 232), we find the following distinction:

¹⁾ The *a* in Mand. types *chan*, *chuan*, *fan*, *k'üan* being of later origin, see p. 237 above.

III.

- | | |
|-----------|----------|
| 7. 蹇愆虔件諺焉 | 8. 傑竭竭孽 |
| 9. 建健言憲偃 | 10. 訐歇謁 |
| 19. 捲圈權倦 | — |
| 21. 勸元諠怨 | 22. 蕨厥閱月 |
| 33. 檢儉驗險淹 | — |
| 35. 檢久嚴奄 | 36. 劫怯業脅 |

IV:

- | | |
|------------|-----------|
| 11. 堅牽研顯賢燕 | 12. 結決挈鑿噎 |
| 23. 蠲玄懸淵 | 24. 決閼血穴 |
| 37. 兼謙嫌 | 38. 頰篋協 |

Div. III:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| Fin. 7. <i>ken, ken, ken, ken, en, en;</i> | 8. <i>kel, kel, kel, el.</i> |
| 9. <i>ken, ken, en, hen, en;</i> | 10. <i>al, hel, al.</i> |
| 19. <i>kuen, kuen, kuen, kuen;</i> | — |
| 21. <i>kuen, uen, huen, uen;</i> | 22. <i>kuel, kuel, kuel, uel.</i> |
| 33. <i>kem, kem, hem, hem, em;</i> | — |
| 35. <i>kem, kem, em, em;</i> | 36. <i>kep, kep, ep, (hiep).</i> |

Div. IV:

- | | |
|---|---|
| Fin. 11. <i>kien, kien, ien, hien, hien, ien;</i> | 12. <i>kiel, kiel, kiel, (el), iel.</i> |
| 23. <i>kien, hien, hien, ien;</i> | 24. <i>kiel, kiel, hiel, hiel.</i> |
| 37. <i>kiem, kiem, hiem;</i> | 38. <i>hiep, hiep, hiep.</i> |

There is a remarkable consistency in the skipping of the »medial i« in the finals of Div. III (*ken* etc.), and the rendering of it in those of Div. IV (*kien* etc.). It should be mentioned that the existence of some kind of »medial i« in the former also is well attested even in Sino-Korean after other initials than the gutturals, e. g. 然 *ien*, 連 *rien*, 綿 *mien* in Fin. 7, 炎 *iem*, 奩 *riem* in final 33, all in Div. III. But the consistent distinction after gutturals: III *ken*: IV *kien* must necessarily indicate that the Anc. Chin. »medial i« was stronger in the latter, and we have to reconstruct a short, subordinated consonantic *ɨ* in the former, a longer, vocalic *i* in the latter:

Div. III -*ɨ* : Div. IV -*i*-

We next have to examine the principal vowels.

All the three Finals 7, 9 and 11 of Divs. III and IV in Table A have, as we saw in the survey on p. 237, a palatal vowel, *ä* or *e*, in all the dialects exemplified there;

Kor., Kan-on, Ann. and a row of modern dialects. But there is one foreign loan dialect not yet adduced which breaks away from this rule: the Go-on of Japan. It is true that Go-on very often reveals an ancient dialect (Wu) which deviates on many points from the Ts'ie yün language. But in our present case, Go-on makes the same distinction between phonetic categories as Ts'ie yün, and it is therefore allowable to draw upon it for elucidation of a moot point. Ts'ie yün, as we have seen, distinguishes carefully between Finals 7 and 9 and 11 (they are under different Ts'ie yün rimes and are spelled with different series of fan-ts'ie finals). And Go-on just as carefully distinguishes Final 9 from both Final 7 and Final 11. Let us cite the sample words in the survey on p. 248:

- III. Final 7: *ken, ken, gen, gen, gen, en*;
 Final 9: *kon, gon, gon, kon, (en)*;
 IV. Final 11: *ken, ken, gen, ken, gen, en*;

And it is just the same in the finals of Table C in the same survey:

- III. Final 33: *ken, gen, gen, ken, en*; —
 Final 35: *kon, (ken), gon, on*; 36. *gopu, kopu, gopu, kopu*
 Final 37: *ken, ken, gen*; 38. *kepu, kepu, gepu*.

If we now leave aside, for the moment, Finals 9 and 35, i. e. those with *-on* etc. in Go-on, and concentrate upon Finals 7 and 11, and 33 and 37, all of which had *-en* etc. in Go-on, we find it confirmed by Go-on that they all had some kind of *ä* or *e* as principal vowel, as already suggested by the surveys on pp. 237—239. But we are now able to arrive at a greater precision. Finals 7 and 33 which, as we just saw, had a weak, consonantic »medial *ɨ*» (Div. III), evidently had a less strongly palatal vowel than Finals 11 and 37 which had a strong, vocalic »medial *i*» (Div. IV). We thus arrive at this scheme:

- Finals 7 *jän* 8 *jät*;
 » 11 *ien* 12 *iet*;
 » 33 *jäm* 34 *jäp*
 » 37 *iem* 38 *iep*

Then, finally, we revert to the enigmatic Finals 9 and 35 (cf. p. 232). We have already determined that they had the consonantic medial *ɨ* of Div. III, that they certainly had not a real *a* as principal vowel in Anc. Chin., since the foreign loans and modern dialects adduced in the surveys on pp. 237 and 239 rule out this possibility. But neither did they have *ä* or *e*, in spite of all the *e* forms in those surveys, for they are clearly distinguished in Ts'ie yün from the Fin. 7 *-jän*, 11 *-ien* etc. just determined, and Go-on points in quite another direction. What were they then?

We have seen in Table N above, that Sino-Japanese, both Kan-on and Go-on, regularly renders Anc. *ə* by *o*, e. g. 跟 Anc. *kən*, Jap. *kon* (see p. 244). And here now Go-on renders our Final 9 by *-on*: *kon*, *gon* etc. (Fin. 10 *koti*, Fin. 35 *kon*, Fin. 36 *gopu*) which is suggestive. Even more so is the extremely important fact that Ts'ie yün in its rime list (given in a Tun-huang ms. of the original Ts'ie yün, in the British Museum) places rime 9, not together with the other rimes of the *a-ä* class (1 *-än*, 5 *-an*, 7 *-jän*, 11 *-ien*) but before rime 痕 *-ən* (in our Table N). All this points in the direction of an *ə*. But Final 9 cannot have been simply *-jän*, for then it would have clashed with the finals of Tables N-O, and it could not have been rendered by *-en* in both Kor., Kan-on and Ann. But it must have had something of the *ə* nature, have been akin to it, being short and slack and sufficiently similar to *ə* to induce the Go-on borrowers to render it by *o*. At the same time it must have smacked of *ä* or *e*, since all the other ancient borrowers, as we have just said, rendered it by *e*, and it has developed into *ä* or *e* in the modern dialects. Finally, it must have been very close to some kind of *a*, because three ancient sources, Kor., Kan-on and Ann. in *h o k'o u* after labial initials hesitate between *e* and *a*: 反 Kor. *pen* and *pan*, Kan-on *pen*, Ann. *fan*; 幡 Kor. *pen*, Kan-on *pan*, Ann. *fan* and *fien*; 煩 Kor. *pen*, Kan-on *pen* and *pan*, Ann. *fien*; 飯 Kor., Kan-on *pan*, Ann. *fan*; 萬 Kor. *man*, Kan-on *ban*, Ann. *van*.

The conclusion is hardly in doubt. The principal vowel was *v*, the short, slack vowel of Engl. *but*, *luck*, i. e. an *a* partaking of *ə* and *ä*: Final 9 建 *kjvn*. It is then easy to comprehend why Ts'ie yün places *-vn* together with *-ən*, with which it has a strong affinity. On the other hand, *jvn* is so similar to *-jän* (Final 7) that it is readily understood why Korean and Japanese rendered a *kjvn* and a *kjän* in the same way (Kor. Kan-on *ken*), and why they underwent an exactly similar development in all the modern dialects. Finally there is nothing astonishing in the fact that after labials Kor., Kan-on and Ann. vacillate between *e* and *a*: *pjwvn* > Kor. Kan-on *pen* or *pan*, Ann. *fien* or *fan*.¹⁾

We have thus arrived at this scheme for Tables A, B:

A.							B.				
Div.	I	1	<i>án</i>	2	<i>át</i>		I	13	<i>uán</i>	14	<i>uát</i>
»	II	3	<i>an</i>	4	<i>at</i>	5 <i>ăn</i>	6 <i>ăt</i>	II	15	<i>wan</i>	16 <i>wat</i>
»	III	7	<i>jän</i>	8	<i>jät</i>	9 <i>jvn</i>	10 <i>jvt</i>	III	19	<i>jwän</i>	20 <i>jwät</i>
»	IV	11	<i>ien</i>	12	<i>iet</i>			IV	23	<i>iwän</i>	24 <i>iwet</i>

As illustrated in this survey, the double rimes in Divs. II and III are fundamentally due to the distinction between finals with long and short principal vowels.

¹⁾ Why *a* after labials? In *h o k'o u* (Table B) there existed *kjwän* but no *pjwän* in Final 19 𪛗, and thus the *-än* analogy was stronger with guttural than with labial initials. Therefore, in Final 21, *kjwvn* followed the *kjwän* of 19, both rendered Kan-on *ken*; but *pjwvn* had no such *-än* support, and the borrowers hesitated, rendering it now *pen*, now *pan*.

If it should be objected that it is too artificial to pose three finals with so similar vowels as *jän : iön : ien*, we might recall that this is no worse than English *pan : pun : pen*.¹⁾

There is one more moot point to be discussed in the above scheme: how do we know that in *h o k'o u* the sequel is *iwän* (*k'iwän* etc.) and not *wjän* (*kwjän*)? The latter may seem indicated by forms in Ann. like 員 (Fin. 19) *viən*; but this really proves nothing, for after gutturals with this final Ann. has *-üən* (*k'üən*), and our word just cited may have been subject to »breaking» (Brechtung) on Annamese soil: *üən* > *üiən* > *vien*. More conclusive is Sino-Korean which here again comes to our aid. In Table O words like 均 允 勻 are Kor. *kiun*, *iun*, *iun* (Div. III, »medial *i*») and in Table F, words like 圭 奎 (Anc. *kiwei*, *k'wei*) are Kor. *kiu*, *kiu* (with total loss of the elements after the »medial *w*»). These forms are indeed decisive.

A remark should be made about Table C. At the bottom, separated from the rest, we have inserted two rimes: finals 39, 40 凡, 乏, which should properly form a table by themselves, since they are the *h o k'o u* finals *iwəm*, *iwəp* corresponding to the *ivm* (35) of *k'a i k'o u* (there must have been some slight difference in vowel nuance between *ivm* and *iwəm* to motivate different Ts'ie yün rimes, but the difference must have been quite subtle). Finals 39, 40 have indeed been indicated as having *k'a i k'o u* in the Sung Sound tables, but that was because the regular evolution: *piwəm* > *fuam* > *fam* had already taken place during the T'ang era, and the Sung scholars of course took a *fam* to be *k'a i k'o u*. The original *h o k'o u* nature of these finals is revealed by forms like: 凡 Hinghien *fuə*, Wenshuei *χuə*, Swatow *huam*, Foochow *huang*. We consequently obtain the following scheme for Table C:

C.

Div.	I	25	<i>ám</i>	26	<i>áp</i>	27	<i>əm</i>	28	<i>əp</i>
»	II	29	<i>am</i>	30	<i>ap</i>	31	<i>ãm</i>	32	<i>ǎp</i>
»	III	33	<i>ǎm</i>	34	<i>ǎp</i>	35	<i>ivm</i>	36	<i>ivp</i>
»	IV	37	<i>iem</i>	38	<i>iep</i>				

III 39 *iwəm* 40 *iwəp*.

Applying the same principles, we reconstruct the very simple Table D thus:

D.

Div.	I	41	<i>áu</i>
»	II	42	<i>au</i>
»	III	43	<i>ǎu</i>
»	IV	44	<i>ieu</i>

¹⁾ Though the *ä* in Engl. *pan* is more open than our *jän* which would be something like German *Bär*, French *téte*.

And similarly the far more complicated Tables E, F:

E.				F			
Div.	I	45	<i>ái</i>	46	<i>âi</i>	I	53 <i>wái</i> 54 <i>uâi</i>
»	II	47	<i>ai</i>	48	<i>ăi</i>	II	55 <i>wai</i> 56 <i>wăi</i>
			49	<i>ai</i> (?)			57 <i>wai</i> (?)
»	III	50	<i>îăi</i>	51	<i>îvi</i>	III	58 <i>îwăi</i> 59 <i>îvvi</i>
»	IV	52	<i>iei</i>			IV	60 <i>iwei</i>

When we come to Tables G and H, we are struck by the fact that here Div. II and Div. III have the same Ts'ie yün rime. In other words, there is not here, as in the preceding categories, any difference in principal vowel between these divisions (as in A: II *-an*: III *îăn*) but here, with *-a* in open syllable, we have to construe III *îa*, not *îă*. This is confirmed by the ancient loans and several conservative southern dialects which clearly indicate *a*, not *ă* or *e*:

Div. II, Final 62: Kor. *ka*, *sa*, *ma*; Kan-on *ka sa*, *ba*; Ann. *za*, *sa*, *ma*; Hak. *ka*, *sa*, *ma*;

Div. III, Final 63: Kor. *ia*, *tša*, *sa*; Kan-on *ia*, *sia*, *sia*; Ann. *za*, *za*, *ta*; Hak. *ia*, *tša*, *sia*.

Thus Tables G and H:

G.				H.			
Div.	I	61	<i>â</i>	I	64	<i>uâ</i>	
»	II	62	<i>a</i>	II	65	<i>wa</i>	
»	III	63	<i>îa</i>				

Finally, Tables J, K are likewise very simple. But here we observe the interesting fact that in Div. I there are not different Ts'ie yün rimes in *k'a i k'o u* and *h o k'o u* (as in Tables A-B: *ân*, *-uân*) but the same rime, just as in Div. II, and we must necessarily conclude that in this category (words ending in *-ng*) we have only consonantic »medial *w*«, even in Div. I.¹⁾ Furthermore, all the ancient loans and most dialects show that Div. III had an *a* as principal vowel, not *ă* or *e*; but since there are different rimes and hence different principal vowels in Divs. I and III, we conclude that (here just as in Table G above) Div. I had *-âng* with *â grave*, and Div. III *-îang* with a lighter shade, *a aigu*, after the palatal *î*. The contrast is sharpened, for instance, in Shanghai:

Div.	I	Final 66:	<i>kâng</i> , <i>dâng</i> , <i>lâng</i> ;	Final 67	<i>kâ</i> , <i>t'â</i> , <i>po</i> ;
Div.	III	Final 68:	<i>tšiàng</i> , <i>tsang</i> , <i>siang</i> ;	Final 69:	<i>tšia</i> , <i>tsa</i> , <i>lia</i> .

¹⁾ Observe the curious fact that in Tables E, F, just studied, in Div. I, the *h o k'o u* Final 53 had the same rime as the *k'a i k'o u* Final 45 *-âi* and consequently was Anc: *-wâi*, whereas Final 54 had its own rime, different from that of 46 *-âi*, and consequently was Anc. *-uâi*.

We thus arrive at:

J.

Div.	I	66	<i>áng</i>	67	<i>ák</i>
	»	III	68 <i>iang</i>	69	<i>iak</i>

K.

I	70	<i>wáng</i>	71	<i>wák</i>
III	72	<i>iwang</i>	73	<i>iwak</i>

In this group we look in vain for finals with short principal vowels, but here we touch upon the finals of the next category, Tables L-M.

If, in examining them, we start with the rimes of Divs. III and IV, we find a very close parallelism with the rimes of Tables A-B (III *-iän* and *-iön*, IV *-ien*). Final 78 corresponds to rime 7 (*-iän*) insofar that it exists after both guttural, palatal and dental initials (there *kïän tsïän, lïän, tsïän, pïän*) whereas Final 80 like final 9 (*-iön*) only exists after gutturals in *k'a i k o u* and after gutturals and labials in *h o k'o u* (there *kïön*, and *k'ïwön, pïwön*) but not after palatals and dentals; and Final 82, like Final 11 (*-ien*) exists after gutturals, dentals and labials (there *kien, tien, pien*) but not after palatals. This parallelism cannot be fortuitous but must imply an analogous structure of the finals. *A priori*, therefore, we may expect: Final 78 *-iäng*, 80 *-iöng*, 81 *-ieng*.

This tallies, on the whole, quite well with the evidence of the foreign loans and numerous modern dialects:

Kor. has *-ieng* in all three lines: 78 a, 80 a, 82 a *kieng*; 79 a *iek*, 81 a *iek*, 83 a *kiek*.
 Kan-on has *-ei* in them all: 78 a, 80 a, 82 a *kei*; 79 a *eki*, 81 a *geki*, 83 a *keki*.
 Swatow (literary style) has *-äng* throughout: 78 a, 80 a, 82 a *käng*; 79 a *äk*, 81 a *ngäk*, 83 a *käk*.

Kueihua has *-iäng*: 78 a, 80 a, 82 a *tsiäng*, (79 a *iä*, 81 a *niä*, 83 a *kiä*).

Feng t'ai has *-iç*: 78 a, 80 a, 82 a *tsiç* (79 a *i*, 81 a *i*, 83 a *tsiä*).¹⁾

The difficulty is that there is no single dialect which systematically distinguishes one of these finals from the other two; they have coincided everywhere.

And yet we are not at a loss to find some support for our reconstruction besides the analogy with Tables A-B and E-F above, which in itself is decisive. This support concerns the special position of Final 80 (81) Anc. *-iöng* (*-iök*). A glance at our Table L shows us that here, contrary to what is the rule in the other tables, Final 80 (81) in Div. III has the same Ts'ie yün rime as one half of Div. II (76, 80

¹⁾ Ann. has mostly *-iñ* throughout, yet with a number of *-añ*: 78 a *kaní*, 80 a, 82 a *kiní*; 79 a *ziñ*, 81 a *ngiñ*, 83 a *kiñ*. This contraction of the principal vowel with the medial *i*, *i*: *iäng* > *ing*, *iöng* > *ing*, *ieng* > *ing*, *iäk* > *i*, *iök* > *i*, *iek* > *i* is typical of many Mandarin dialects. After palatals, which in Mandarin have developed into supradentals, the *-iäng* became (i)*əng*, *iäk* > (i) > *i*: 78 b Anc. *iäng* > Pek. *tšəng*, 79 b Anc. *tsiäk* > Pek. *tši*, just as we witnessed how in Table A Anc. *tsiän* > Pek. *tšan* etc. In certain Wu dialects the principal vowel is more open: a, e. g. Wenchou 78 a, 80 a, 82 a all *tsiang*, and that this is an early phenomenon in the Wu region is shown by Go-on, which renders them all by *-iyau* (*kiyau* etc.).

庚, 77, 81 陌). If our reconstruction is correct, this Final in Div. II would thus be *-vng*: Final 76 *kɔŋ, ɣɔŋ, mɔŋ*; 77 *kɔk, ɳɔk, pɔk*. Let us therefore examine Div. II more closely.

Here again the two rimes, neatly distinguished by Ts'ie yün and its fan-ts'ie, have coincided everywhere:

Final 74:	耕	幸	鶯	爭	萌	Final 76:	庚	行	生	猛
Kor.	(<i>kieng</i>),	<i>hǎing</i> ,	<i>ǎing</i> ,	<i>tǎing</i> ,	<i>mǎing</i> ;		<i>kǎing</i> ,	<i>hǎing</i> ,	<i>sǎing</i> ,	<i>mǎing</i> .
Kan-on	<i>kau</i> ,	<i>kau</i> ,	<i>au</i> ,	<i>sau</i> ,	<i>bau</i> ;		<i>kau</i> ,	<i>kau</i>	(<i>sei</i>)	<i>bau</i>
Ann	<i>kañ</i> ,	<i>hañ</i>	<i>añ</i> ,	<i>tañ</i> ,	<i>mañ</i> ;		<i>kañ</i> ,	<i>hañ</i> ,	<i>sañ</i> ,	<i>mañ</i>
Cant.	<i>kɔŋ</i> ,	<i>hɔŋ</i> ,	<i>vɔŋ</i> ,	<i>tɕɔŋ</i> ,	<i>mɔŋ</i> ;		<i>kɔŋ</i> ,	<i>hɔŋ</i> ,	<i>ʂɔŋ</i> ,	<i>mɔŋ</i>
Swat. Lit.	<i>käng</i> ,	<i>häng</i> ,	<i>äng</i> ,	<i>tɕäng</i> ,	<i>mäng</i> ;		<i>käng</i> ,	<i>häng</i> ,	<i>säng</i> ,	<i>mäng</i>
Pek.	<i>kəŋ</i> ,	<i>ʂing</i> ,	<i>ing</i> ,	<i>tɕəŋ</i> ,	<i>məŋ</i> ;		<i>kəŋ</i> ,	<i>ʂing</i> ,	<i>ʂəŋ</i> ,	<i>məŋ</i>

(It should be pointed out that Cant. has the same vowel *v* also in Final 107, which, as we shall see, was Anc. *-əŋg*, e. g. 107 a Cant. *hɔŋg*, which is certainly suggestive). The principal vowels in these two finals cannot have been a real *a*, which is vetoed by Swatow and Pek. (and most other Mandarin dialects) and could not explain the curious diphthong in Kor., which obviously is a clumsy way of rendering a difficult vowel; an ordinary *kang* would simply have been rendered by *kang*. Nor can they have been an ordinary *ä* (Germ. *Bär*) or *e*, because that could not explain Kan-on or Ann., for instance. But it is readily seen that if we insert, for Final 76, the *-vng* already deduced through its having the same Ts'ie yün rime as Final 80: 76 a *kɔŋ*: 80 a *kɔŋg*, this suits our scheme above admirably. Cant. has then faithfully preserved the Anc. *kɔŋg*, Pek. has »darkened» it into *kəŋ*, Swatow has palatalized it into *käng*, Kor. has clumsily rendered it by *kǎing*, and Kan-on by (*kagu* >) *kau*.

But then there arises the last great difficulty in this category: what was the difference between Finals 74 and 76 (different Ts'ie yün rimes in Div. II), since our dialect survey above gives us no aid? Here we have, in fact, to anticipate somewhat our investigation of Arch. Chin. There we shall find that whereas the words of Final 76 Anc. *-vng* (as just deduced) constantly rime, in the Shī, with words having Anc. *-āŋg*, *-iāŋg*, *-wāŋg*, *-i-wāŋg* (Tables J-K) and thus certainly derives from an Arch. *ǎŋg*¹⁾, the words of Final 74 regularly rime with words having Anc. *-iǎŋg*, *-ieng* (Finals 78, 82), which, since they never have Shī king rimes with *-āŋg*, *-iāŋg* etc., evidently had original *e* (*ä*) in Arch. Chinese. We must conclude, then, that in our Div. II here this latter final (74) in some way belongs to the *e* class and not to the *a* class, though it is more open and nearer to an *a* than the *ä*, *e* of the finals *-iǎŋg*, *-ieng*, all the more since it lacks »medial *ɨ* or *ɨ*» (Div. II having no such medial vowel). We shall denote this open slack *ä* sound by the letter *ε*. It is then easily understood

¹⁾ Here, then, we find the short final corresponding to the long *-āŋg*, *-iāŋg* of Tables J-K.

that Anc. *-eng*, acoustically and genetically much akin to the *-vng* of the other rime, has been rendered in the same way as the latter by the foreign borrowers, and that it has coincided with it in the evolution from Anc. Chin. to the modern dialects. We obtain the following scheme for our Tables L-M:

L.				M.			
Div. II	74 <i>eng</i> ,	75 <i>ek</i> ;	76 <i>vng</i> ,	77 <i>vk</i>	II 84 <i>weng</i> ,	85 <i>wek</i> ;	86 <i>wong</i> ,
					87 <i>wvk</i>		
Div. III	78 <i>ǰäng</i> ,	79 <i>ǰäk</i> ;	80 <i>ǰvng</i> ,	81 <i>ǰvk</i>	III 88 <i>ǰwäng</i> ;	89 <i>ǰwong</i>	
Div. IV	82 <i>ieng</i>	83 <i>iek</i>			IV 90 <i>iweng</i> ;	90 a <i>iwek</i>	

We now have to take up once more Tables N-O, some fundamental features of which we have already determined above (p. 244).

In Div. I, Final 91 was Anc. *-æn*, with the slack and short vowel of Germ. *Knabe*, and both in Div. I and Div. III there existed different rimes in *k'a i* and *h o k'o u*, the medial vowel in *h o k'o u* being vocalic »medial *u*«. Thus Final 98 was *-uæn*, 99 *-uat*. But there remains to find more precise values for the three different *k'a i k'o u* finals and the three *h o k'o u* finals in Div. III.

We start with Finals 92 (93) and 94 (95). The latter occurs exclusively after guttural (and laryngal) initials in *k'a i k'o u*, and after guttural (and laryngal) and labial initials in *h o k'o u* (102, 103); we shall examine the words with guttural (and laryngal) initials. In most dialects the two are treated in exactly the same way:

92 a and 94 a both Kor. *kʷən*, Kan-on *kin*, Ann. *kən*, Cant. *kən*, Foo. *küŋ*, Shanghai, T'aiyüan *tšäng*, Pek. *tšin*, Kueihua *tšäng*, Fengt'ai *tšiq* etc.

In the same way in *h o k'o u*: 100 a and 102 a both Ann. *kʷən*, Cant. *kʷən*, Shanghai: *tšün*, T'aiyüan *tšüŋ*, Pek. *tšün*, Kueihua *tšüŋ*, Fengt'ai *tšüq* etc. But there are, after all, some dialects which do distinguish them quite clearly:

K'ai k'ou:

Final 92:	巾	緊	僅	銀	殷	因	印
Hakka	<i>kin</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>nin</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>in</i>
Final 94:	斤	謹	勸	芹	迄	欣	隱
Hakka	(<i>kin</i>)	<i>kiun</i>	<i>k'iun</i>	<i>k'iun</i>	<i>k'iun</i>	<i>hiun</i>	<i>iun</i>

Ho k'ou:

Final 100:	均	鈞	允	勻
Kor.	<i>kiun</i>	<i>kiun</i>	<i>iun</i>	<i>iun</i>
Kan-on	<i>kin</i>	<i>kin</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>in</i>
Foochow	<i>king</i>	<i>king</i>	<i>üŋ</i>	<i>üŋ</i>

Final 102:	君	羣	羣	郡	訓	云	雲
Kor.	<i>kun</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>hun</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>un</i>
Kan-on	<i>kun</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>un</i>
Foochow	<i>kung</i>	<i>kung</i>	<i>kung</i>	<i>kung</i>	<i>houng</i>	<i>ung</i>	<i>hung</i>

From this survey it would seem that we should have to conclude the existence of a stronger, vocalic »medial *i*» in the finals 92, 100, and a weaker, consonantic »medial *i*» in the finals 94, 102, since the latter has been lost in these dialects, but not the former.¹⁾ That, however, will not do, for they are both typical finals of Div. III, with yodized initials as shown by the fan-ts'ie spellings, and consequently consonantic »medial *i*». The explanation of the difference between them is of quite another kind. Here we have again to anticipate somewhat our examination of Arch. Chin. We have already determined Finals 91 Anc. -*ən* (Ts'ie yün rime 痕), 98 Anc. -*uən* (rime 魂), and, in Table A, Finals 11 Anc. -*ien* (rime 先), 23 -*iwen* (rime 先). We now find in the Shī that the words in our Anc. Finals 94, 102 (rimes 欣 文) frequently rime with words having Anc. -*ən*, -*uən* (e. g. 雲: 門, Ode 261), but never, as a rule, with words having Anc. -*ien*, -*iwen*. On the other hand, those in the first and third line in our survey above all belong to Finals 92, 100 (Ts'ie yün rimes 眞 諄) and a considerable section of the words in these Anc. rimes (not all, as we shall find later) constantly rime, in the Shī, with words having Anc. -*ien*, -*iwen* (e. g. 均: 賢 *γien*, Ode 205), but never with words having Anc. -*ən*, -*uən*.

We must necessarily conclude that the former had *ə* as principal vowel, thus Final 94 Anc. -*ien* (the words in the survey: *kien*, *kien*, *g'ien*, *g'ien*, *g'ien*, *χien*, *ien*), but the latter had a principal vowel of the *e* class — and moreover a short one,²⁾ thus Final 92 -*ien* (the words in the survey: *kien*, *kien*, *g'ien*, *ngien*, *ien*, *ien*).

Similarly in *h o k'o u*: Final 102 Anc. -*iuən* (survey above 102: *kieuən*, *kieuən*, *g'ieuən*, *g'ieuən*, *χieuən*, *jieuən*, *jieuən*); but Final 100 -*iuən* (survey, Final 100: *kieuən*, *kieuən*, *iuən*, *iuən*).

It is easy, then, to realize that a final -*iuən*, in which the *u* stands between two strongly palatal vowels, made a much more palatal impression on the foreign borrowers than final -*iuən*, where *u* is followed by a slack neutral vowel. That is why Kor. renders the former *kiun* and the latter *kun*; and why Kan-on renders the former *kin*, the latter *kun*.³⁾ And that is why in Foochow *kieuən* has become *king*, but *kieuən* has become *kung*.

¹⁾ That there was really a medial *i* in Final 102 as well is amply proved by the majority of dialects: 102a Hak. *kiun*, Wenchou *tšiuŋ*, Shanghai *tšüin* etc.

²⁾ Since in *h o k'o u* it is largely absorbed by the strong »medial *u*»: Table O, Fin. 100 Pek. *k ü n* (*tšün*), *ch'ü n*, *y ü n*, just as the short *ə* in Div. I was absorbed: Anc. *kuən* > Pek. *k u n* etc., as described p. 244 above.

³⁾ It should be observed that the Kan-on borrowers very often skipped a »medial *u*» when they transplanted the Chinese words. Thus, for instance, while they rendered Anc. *kuən* correctly by *kuwan*, they rendered Anc. *tuən* by *tan*, skipping the *u*. The rendering of Anc. *kieuən* by *kin* is a similar simpli-

There are, however, two more finals which need elucidation. In k'a i k'o u (Table N) we have the final 96 (97). It is represented by only a very few characters, all with supradental initials (*tʂ*, *ʂ*). Since we had, in Table L, a Final 74 of Div. II which we determined as being Anc. *-eng*, a category of words with supradentals, e. g. 爭 *tʂeng*, it would seem natural to suppose here in Table N a corresponding Final 96 *tʂen*, *ʂen* (97 *tʂet*, *ʂet*). As far as the principal vowel is concerned this is plausible, but the ancient loans show that this final really had medial *i*, as being a final of Div. III: 96 Kan-on *sin*, *sin*, 97 *situ*, *situ*, and we have to reconstruct: 96 *-ien*, 97 *-iet*.

In h o k'o u there is a highly curious phenomenon. The rime 92 *-iĕn*, has, as its h o k'o u counterpart, rime 100 *-iüĕn*, as we have already seen. But under the same rime 92 眞 (or, more precisely, under its rising-tone equivalent 軫) we find some words which, though arranged under a k'a i k'o u rime, still evidently had h o k'o u (just as in Table A rime 7 ㄣ comprised both *iän* and *iwän*). We must conclude that these words had consonantic »medial *w*»: 窘 Anc. *g'iwĕn*, 隕 *j'iwĕn*. It may appear strained and artificial to pose a distinction so delicate as 100 *-iüĕn*: 104 *-iüĕn*, but in fact that is only a vestige of a greater difference; for in Arch. Chin. the latter was *iwen*, being obviously the h o k'o u counterpart of k'a i k'o u 96 *-ien*.

The result of our inquiry will thus be the following Anc. values:

Div. I	91	<i>ən</i>	—
» III	92	<i>iĕn</i>	93 <i>iĕt</i>
	94	<i>iän</i>	95 <i>iät</i>
	96	<i>ien</i>	97 <i>iet</i>

Div. I	98	<i>uən</i>	99 <i>uət</i>
	100	<i>iüĕn</i>	101 <i>iüĕt</i>
	102	<i>iüən</i>	103 <i>iüət</i>
	104	<i>iüĕn</i>	

The next Table, P, has only Div. III (yodized initials and »medial *i*») and only one rime, 105 (106). It is a counterpart of the preceding category; whereas Tables N, O had final *-n*, we here have words with final *-m*, as is shown, for instance, by 105 a Kor. *kɨm*, Ann. Cant. *kəm*, Hak. Swat. *kim*; 105 b Kor. *ɨm*, Ann. *vm*, Cant. *ivm*, Hak. Swat. *im* etc. In the North *-m* became *-n* in early Mandarin: 105 a Pek. *k i n* (*tʂin*) etc.

But then the question arises: was Final 105 (Div. III) the *-m* counterpart of Final 92 *-iĕn* (Div. III) or of Final 94 *-iän* (likewise Div. III)? In other words, was it Anc. *iĕm* or *iäm*? For answering this question it is very difficult to find any safe arguments. But here, for once, the Sino-Japanese Go-on points the way. In Go-on we find in Table N a contrast corresponding to the Ts'ie yün distinction

fication. As to *k'iuən* being rendered by Kan-on *kun* and not *kon*, which might be expected, since Kan-on renders Div. I *kən* by *kon*, it should be remembered that there are, after all, different Ts'ie yün rimes for Div. I *kən*, *kuən* and Div. III *k'ien*, *k'iuən* so that there must have been a different shade, a different nuance, in the *ə* in *kən* and *k'ien*; in European languages the vowel *ə* has a large latitude of articulation presenting quite a number of acoustically slightly different varieties.

of 92 *ĩn*: 94 *ĩn*. The former, 92, vacillates after gutturals (and laryngals) between *-in* and *-on*, whereas the latter, 94, invariably has *-on* (evidently the *-on* for *ĩn* is due to an analogous influence from the kindred *-ĩn*, where *-on* is natural, the *ĩ* being skipped, as is often the case); the survey on p. 255 above:

Final 92 *kon*, *kon*, *gin*, *gon*, *on*, *in*, *in*:

Final 94 *kon*, *kon*, *gon*, *gon*, *gon*, *kon*, *on*

(after other initials Final 92 has invariably Go-on *-in*: *ĩĩn* > *tin*, *tsĩn* > *sin*, *šĩn* > *sin*, *nĩn* > *nin*, *piĩn* > *pin* etc.).

Now, in our present Final 105 (in which Go-on like Kan-on replaces *-m* by *-n*, since Japanese could not pronounce a final *-m*) we find, after gutturals and labials regularly *-on*, after other initials mostly *-in*, but even there occasionally an *-on*:

105. a. 金襟今錦禁
 b. 氣衾 c. 禽擒琴
 d. 吟 e. 音陰蔭 f. 淫
 g. 滲 h. 寢 i. 稟 j. 品
 92. a. 賓 b. 貧 c. 民

Fin. 105 a. *kon*, b. *kon*, c. *gon*, d. *gon*, e. *on*, (f. *in*);
 g. *son*, h. *son*;
 i. *pon*, j. *pon*.

compare in the same table:

Fin. 92 a. *pin*, b. *bin*, c. *min*.

The contrast between the words with labial initials (105 *pon*, *pon*) and those of the corresponding Final 92 Anc. *-ĩn* (92 *pin*, *bin*, *min*) is particularly revealing. It is quite evident that Final 105 was not a counterpart of Final 92 Anc. *ĩn*, but of Final 94 Anc. *-ĩn*, and we thus obtain these Anc. values:

Div. III, Final 105 *ĩm*; 106 *ĩp*.

We have found that *ə* as principal vowel played a prominent part in Anc. Chin., and this is further confirmed by the following Tables Q-R.

That this category has *ə* for principal vowel, as opposed to the *ā*, *e*, *u*, *ε* in Tables L-M, is easily proved, though in modern Mandarin they have coincided. If we compare our final of Div. III here with the corresponding finals in that class, we obtain for instance:

		Kor.	Kan-on	Go-on	Ann.
Final	78 a (Anc. <i>kjǎng</i>)	<i>kieng</i>	<i>kei</i>	<i>kiyau</i>	<i>kañ</i>
Final	82 a (Anc. <i>kieng</i>)	<i>kieng</i>	<i>kei</i>	<i>kiyau</i>	<i>kiñ</i>
Final	80 a (Anc. <i>kjǝng</i>)	<i>kieng</i>	<i>kei</i>	<i>kiyau</i>	<i>kiñ</i>

but here:

Final	109 a (Anc. <i>kjǝng</i>)	<i>kyng</i>	<i>kiyou</i>	<i>kou</i>	<i>kǎng</i>
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Korean *u* and Jap. *o* are the regular representatives of Anc. *ə*, as we have already found in Tables N-O above: 跟 Anc. *kən*, Kor. *kyŋ*, Kan-on, Go-on *kon* etc., and we find them again in our Div. I here:

Final	107: Kor.	(<i>hǎng</i>), <i>tǝng</i> , <i>pǝng</i> ;	108	<i>kyk</i> , <i>tǝyk</i> , <i>pyk</i> .
	107: Kan-on	<i>kou</i> , <i>tou</i> , <i>pou</i> ;	108	<i>koku</i> , <i>soku</i> , <i>poku</i> .

Since there were the same rimes in *k'a i* and *h o k'o u*, Div. I had consonantic *w*: *-wǝng*. And since there are different rimes in Divs. I and III, there must have been some different *nuance* in the *ə* in *-ǝng* and *-jǝng*.

We thus arrive at the following simple scheme for Anc. Chin.:

Div.	I	107 <i>ǝng</i>	108 <i>ək</i>	111 <i>wǝng</i>	112 <i>wək</i>
	III	109 <i>jǝng</i>	110 <i>jək</i>	113 <i>jwək</i> .	

Next we have a large and important category: Table S. It has *h o k'o u* in the Sound tables and therefore had *u* or *w* throughout.

Let us first compare the two finals of Div. III (yodized initials and »medial *j*»); they have coincided in most dialects, but they are kept strictly apart in some important cases:

	Kor.	Kan-on	Wenchou
Final 118	<i>kung</i> , <i>tǝung</i> , <i>p'ung</i> ;	<i>kju</i> , <i>tiu</i> , <i>puu</i> ;	<i>tǝiung</i> , <i>tǝiung</i> , (<i>fung</i>)
119	<i>kuk</i> , <i>suk</i> , (<i>pok</i>);	<i>kiku</i> , <i>siuku</i> , <i>puku</i> ;	<i>tǝiu</i> , <i>ǝiu</i> , <i>fu</i>

but:

Final 120	<i>kong</i> , <i>tǝong</i> , <i>pong</i> ;	<i>kiyou</i> , <i>siyou</i> , <i>pou</i> ;	<i>tǝüǎ</i> , <i>tǝüǎ</i> , (<i>fung</i>)
121	<i>kok</i> , <i>tǝ'ok</i> , <i>sok</i> ;	<i>kiyoku</i> , <i>siyoku</i> , <i>siyoku</i> ;	<i>tǝ'üo</i> , <i>tǝüo</i> , <i>tǝüo</i>

There can be no doubt that the Finals 118, 119 had Anc. *u* as principal vowel and Finals 120, 121 had *o*. We thus obtain:

Final 118 *jung*, 119 *juk*: Final 120 *jwong*, 121 *jwok*.

It might be tempting to conclude from the forms in Kor. and Kan-on that Final 120 was simply *-jǝng* and not *jwong*, but the latter explains better the Wenchou

forms, and the Sound tables, which register all these rimes as *h o k'o u*, are exceedingly strict in distinguishing *k'a i k'o u* without and *h o k'o u* with *u*, *w*, and the Sung philologists would never have placed a *-iong* as *h o k'o u*. Moreover, the foreign borrowers frequently skipped the *u* and *w* in their renderings, e. g. 淵 Anc. *·iwen*, Kor. *ien*, 內 Anc. *nuai* Kor. *nai*, 端 Anc. *tuán*, Kan-on *tan*, 捲 Anc. *kjwán*, Kan-on *ken*, etc., just as they often skipped *i*; consequently forms like Anc. *kjwong*, Kor. *kong* and Anc. *pjwong*, Kan-on (*pogu* >) *pou* are not at all surprising or irregular.

Much more intriguing are the rimes of Div. I. There are two of them: 東 and 冬. There is, in fact, no dialects which distinguish them. Some indicate *u* as principal vowel in them, some *o*, for instance: both 114 b and 116 b Cant. Foochow, Wenchow Pek. *tung*, but Swatow Shanghai *tong*, Tat'ung, Sian *tuong* etc.

The three foreign ancient versions which ordinarily most faithfully observe the phonetic categories of Ts'ie yün indicate *o* in both rimes:

Final 114	Kor.	<i>kong, tong, mong;</i>	115	<i>kok,</i>	<i>rok,</i>	<i>pok</i>
	Ann.	<i>kong, ðong, mong;</i>		<i>kok,</i>	<i>lok,</i>	<i>bok</i>
	Kan-on	<i>kou, tou, bou;</i>		<i>koku,</i>	<i>roku,</i>	<i>poku</i>
Final 116	Kor.	<i>nong, tong, tsong;</i>	117	<i>ok,</i>	<i>hok,</i>	<i>tok</i>
	Ann.	<i>nong, ðong, tong;</i>		<i>ok,</i>	<i>kok,</i>	<i>ðok</i>
	Kan-on	<i>nou, tou, sou;</i>		<i>oku,</i>	<i>koku,</i>	<i>toku</i>

To reconstruct, on the strength of this, a *-uong* (*-uok*) in the second rime 冬 (Final 116) will do very well indeed. It is then fundamentally different from the final of rime 東 (118) *-jung* in Div. III, and it agrees fairly closely with the final of rime 冬 (120) *-jwong* of Div. III; if it has a rime of its own distinguished from that of 120, this shows that the *o* in *-uong* was somewhat different from the *o* after *i*: *-jwong*, just as we have witnessed above how Ts'ie yün could have different rimes in *-ən* and *-iən*, in *-əng* and *-iəng*, owing to such divergent nuances. But just as an *-i-* did not always cause such a different shade in the following principal vowel, and as we therefore had the same rime 麻 for Anc. *-a* and *-ia*, and the same rime 庚 for Anc. *-vng* and *-jvng* (see Tables H and L above), so we find in our present table that the other final in Div. I, Final 114, had the same Ts'ie yün rime 東 as the *-jung* in Div. III. This Final 114 in Div. I consequently must have been *-ung* in Ts'ie yün, contrasting with that other Final 116 (rime 冬) which was *-uong*.

So far very good. But then we have to answer the question: why do Kor., Kan-on and Ann. unanimously indicate an *o*, not an *u* in this Final 114, as we have seen in the survey above? We might propose that these three «foreign dialects» were based on an Anc. Northern dialect which differed on this particular point from the language of Ts'ie yün in so far that it had *-ong* (*-uong*) where Ts'ie yün decidedly had *-ung* (Final 114). This explanation, however, is not very convincing: we have seen in all our categories above that Kor. and Kan-on (and to a large extent also

Ann.) very faithfully adhere to the phonetic system of Ts'ie yün. The solution of the riddle is probably quite different. Suppose that the *u* in Final *-ung* (114) was somewhat slack, with a not very high and close velar articulation and a not very energetic rounding of the lips, something like German *u* in *drucken*, an *u* acoustically intermediate between *u* and a narrow *ö*, in contrast to the higher-backed sharp *u* in *-iung*. It is then easily conceivable that the foreign borrowers, who, as we have seen, were all the time inclined to simplify and lump together (cf. *kïän*, *kïön* and *kien* all Kan-on *ken*, etc.) lumped this *-ung* (tending towards *-öng*) together with the *-uong* of Final 116 and rendered them both by *-ong*; whereas the Ts'ie yün philologists did not consider this difference of nuance between *-ung* and *-iung* sufficiently important to warrant different rimes but placed them both under one rime 東.

We have now arrived at the following scheme for Table S in Anc. Chin.:

Div. I	114 <i>ung</i>	115 <i>uk</i>
	116 <i>uong</i>	117 <i>uok</i>
» III	118 <i>iung</i>	119 <i>iuk</i>
	120 <i>iwong</i>	121 <i>iwok</i> .

There is a small category which should be examined in this context. It consists of only one rime (two with the *j u s h e n g*), and in the Sung Sound tables it is placed in Div. II: Table T.

This final is at first sight very enigmatic. In Kor., Kan-on and a series of Southern dialects it is treated just as Anc. *-äng* (Table J, Div. I, Final 66):

	Kor.,	Kan-on,	Cant.,	Foochow,	Swatow,	Wenchou
66 a 剛 (Anc. <i>käng</i>):	<i>kang</i>	<i>kau</i>	<i>kong</i>	<i>koung</i>	<i>kang</i>	<i>kā</i> ;
122 江:	»	»	»	»	»	»
67 各 (Anc. <i>kāk</i>):	<i>kak</i>	<i>kaku</i>	<i>kok</i>	<i>kauk</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>ko</i> ;
123 覺:	»	»	»	»	»	»

But in Shanghai and the Mandarin dialects it is treated exactly like Anc. *-iang* (Table J, Div. III, Final 68):

	Shanghai	Pek.	Kueihua	Sian
68 a 疆 (Anc. <i>kīang</i>):	<i>tíang</i>	<i>tíang</i>	<i>tíā</i>	<i>tíā</i>
122 江:	»	»	»	»
69 a 脚 (Anc. <i>kīak</i>):	<i>tíā</i>	<i>tíue</i>	<i>tíā</i>	<i>tíuo</i>
123 覺:	»	»	»	»

These facts speak strongly in favour of an *a* vocalism in Anc. Chin. But, on the other hand, there are four important facts which suggest an *o* of some kind.

In the first place, Go-on on this point observes strictly the same distinction that Ts'ie yün makes through its rimes, giving our 122 here a different rime from 66 -*áng* and 68 -*iang*:

66 a (Anc. *káng*) *kau*; 67 a (Anc. *kák*) *kaku*; 68 a (Anc. *kíang*) *kau*;
39 a (Anc. *kíak*) *kaku*;

but here:

Final 122 *gou*, *sou*, *pou*; 123 *goku*, *soku*, *poku*.

Secondly, Ts'ie yün ranges our rime ㄩ as no. 4 immediately after the rimes of Table S (1. -*ung*, 2. -*uong*, 3. -*iwong*), whereas the rimes with *a* (-*áng*, -*iang*) come far down in the list, as nos. 38, 39; obviously the Ts'ie yün philologists regarded it as belonging to the *o* class and not to the *a* class.

Thirdly — and here we must anticipate somewhat our inquiry into Arch. Chin. — Shī king rimes the words having our Final 122 here, not with the words of Table J (Anc. -*áng*, *iang* etc.) but with the words of Table S (Anc. -*ung*, -*uong*, -*iung*, -*iwong*).

In the fourth place, the *hie sheng* characters for words with our Final 122 have as »Phonetics» preferably words belonging, not to the category of Table J but of Table S: 122 Mand. *k i a n g*, *h i a n g* have for Phon. ㄩ (Anc. *kung*), 撞 Mand. *c h u a n g* (rime 122) has 董 (Anc. *d'ung*), 123 b mand. *c h o* has 足 (Anc. *tsiwok*) etc.

All these facts convincingly prove that the principal vowel in our category T here was not an *a* but something more labialized. How, then, can we explain all the forms of our survey above? They certainly cannot simply be overlooked. Briefly, we have to surmise a principal vowel that partakes of both *a* and *o*. We must pose a very open *o*, here written *â*, which might be properly described as »intermediate between *a* and *o*»; something like the English vowel in *law*:

Final 122 Anc. *kâng*: *yâng*, *sâng*, *pâng*; 123 *kâk*: *ngâk*, *tsâk*, *pâk*.

With this reconstruction it might seem impossible to explain the evolution from *kâng* to modern Mandarin (e. g. Pek. *tsiang*, see the survey above). We have seen earlier (p. 241) that an *a* *aigu* provoked a parasitic *i* before it after gutturals, e. g. Final 62 家 Anc. *ka* > Mand. (*kia* >) *tsia*, Final 3 諫 Anc. *kan* > Mand. (*kian* >) *tsien*, Final 42 交 Anc. *kau* > Mand. (*kiau* >) *tsiau* etc., and if only we could suppose that our ㄩ *kâng* passed into a *kang* with a *aigu* we could construe, in the same way, *kang* > (*kiang* >) *tsiang*. But if a *kâng* (with open *o*) were to develop into a *kang* with a *aigu* through a gradual delabialization of the vowel, it would necessarily have to pass through the stage *â*: *kâng* > *kâng* > *kang* (> *kiang*), in which case it is unexplicable why Final 66, Anc. *kâng* (e. g. 剛), did not partake in this evolution and became *kâng* > *kang* > *kiang* as well. We have to imagine the evolution in another way, through »breaking»:

Final 122: 江 *kǎng* > *kǎǎng*; 項 *γǎng* > *γǎǎng*; 撞 *dǎng* > *dǎǎng*; 雙 *sǎng* > *sǎǎng*; 邦 *pǎng* > *pǎǎng*. Then, as a second step, after gutturals and labials the *ǎ* has ousted the *ǎ*, but after palatals and supradentals *ǎ* has been narrowed into *u*:

Final 122: *kang*, *yang* — *duang*, *ɣuang* — *pang*.

And finally, with the birth of the parasitic *i* just mentioned, we arrive at the present conditions in Pek. Mandarin:

(*kiaŋ* >) *tɕiaŋ*, (*ɣiaŋ* >) *ɕiaŋ* — *tɕuang*, *ɣuang* — *pang*.

Since the supposition of this »breaking« happily explains the modern contrast: a. *tɕiaŋ* — c. *tɕuang* in the words of this Anc. final, it may be considered quite plausible. And a tendency to such a breaking recurs in later stages of the language. Mand. (Pek. etc.) to (e. g. 多), *lo*, *so* have in certain Shantung dialects developed into *toǎ*, *loǎ*, *soǎ* in precisely the way accepted above (*kǎng* > *kǎǎng*). Thus there is nothing unnatural in this construction.

It is interesting to observe that the evolution *kǎng* > *kǎǎng* > *kang* etc. must have taken place during the T'ang dynasty, for Ann. was already based on forms with *a* *aigu* after gutturals and labials: Final 122: a. *zang*, b. *hang*, c. (*iaŋ*), d. *sǎng*, e. *bang*.

There remain to be examined some categories without final consonants. One of them, Tables U-V, has exclusively finals of Div. III (yodized gutturals etc.), but it is very complicated. There are no less than four Anc. finals (124—127), to be distinguished.

Two of them: 124 and 125 are treated exactly alike in all the foreign loans and all the modern dialects: Both 124 肌 and 125 己 Kor. *kwi*, Kan-on, Go-on, Ann. Hak. Swat. Foo. *ki*, Cant. *kei*, Wenchou, Shanghai and Mandarin *tɕi*; Both 124 夷 and 125 怡 Ann. *zi*, all the rest *i*.¹⁾ We must conclude that these two Anc. finals were simply *-i*: 124 and 125 *kji*, *tɕi*, *tsi* etc. What the difference between them was is an enigma which I have not been able to solve. When we come to Arch. Chin., we shall see that Final 124 comprises exclusively words ending in Arch. dentals (*-d* and *-r*), and Final 125 exclusively words ending in Arch. guttural (*-g*), but the knowledge of this is of no avail when it comes to Anc. Chin. We can hardly suppose that the authors of Ts'ie yün had such expert knowledge of the phonology in archaic times that they invented different rimes for words deriving from *-g* forms and words deriving from *-d*, *-r* forms, even though they all had simply the final *-i*

¹⁾ In Pek. Mand., when the palatals *tɕ* etc. and *tɕʃ* etc. became supradentals, they »hardened« the following *i* into *ɿ*: 124 脂 and 125 止 Pek. *tɕɿ*; and after the dental affricates and fricative there was a similar »hardening«: 124 b and 125 c *tsɿ*. To these rimes belong further most of the words having the curious syllable *ər* (Wade: *érh*) (the *r* is not an ordinary *r* but a rapid beat of the point of the tongue upwards and backwards towards the palate), e. g. Final 124 二, Final 125 耳, both anc. *nízi*. These words have passed through a long series of transformations: *nízi* > *ízi* > *zi* > *ɿi* > *ɿ* > *əz* > *ər*.

in their own time. Moreover such an idea is vetoed by the simple fact that in *h o k'o u* there is only one rime: 脂 *-jwi*, and this comprises words with both Arch. *-g* and Arch. *-d, -r*. No, the Ts'ie yün authors decidedly perceived some difference of *timbre*, some different shade in the 124 a *kji* and the 125 a *kji*, which to them motivated different rimes. But the difference must have been a subtle one since neither the foreign loans nor a single modern dialect show the faintest trace of it, but all invariably indicate a simple *-i*. We can, then, conscientiously do no more than reconstruct an *-i* for both Final 124 and Final 125, acknowledging the fact that there was a distinction which we are unable to determine.

Anticipating our examination of Arch. Chin. we should mention here that Arch. Final *-g* after certain vowels, among others *ə*, was vocalised into *-i*. Thus 125 a 己 was Arch. **kĭæg* (子, of this same rime and Arch. category, in Shī rimes with 始 *d'âi* < **d'æg* and 德 *tək* < **tək*, which reveals the Arch. principal vowel of the category: 子 **tsĭæg*, 己 *kĭæg*) and we might then imagine that 125 a, which developed thus: **kĭæg* > *kji(g)* > *kjii*, had a long *-i*, as against *-i* in 124 a 肌 with a shorter *-i*. But that is not satisfactory either, for, as we shall see, the latter derived from an Arch. **kĭer*, and here again the final *-r* was vocalized into *-i*: **kĭer* > *kji(r)* > *kjii*. Consequently there was no difference on that score between Finals 124 and 125, and the vowel quantity cannot explain the difference between the two rimes.

There is, however, another important point on which this derivation from Arch. 124 **-ĭer* and 125 **ĭæg* throws a valuable light. In the previously studied categories we have seen that Div. III had consonantic medial *ĭ*: *kĭän* etc., but Div. IV vocalic medial *i*: *kien* etc., and that guttural and labial initials were yodized before the former but not before the latter: *kjĭän* : *kien*, as revealed by different sets of spelling characters in the fan-ts'ie. We made the purely typographical simplification of writing merely *kĭän* in Div. III, because the yodizing is sufficiently indicated through the existence of the consonantic *ĭ*: *kĭän* automatically means *kjĭän*, and there is no need expressly to write *kjĭän*. But in our present category U-V we find, contrary to the general rule, yodized initials even before vocalic *i*: 124 a and 125 a Anc. *kji* (here, then, it is necessary to express the *j*: *kji*, as indicated by the yodized series of fan-ts'ie spellers; the typographical simplification is not applicable here). Why do we have yodized initials here before vocalic *i*: *kji*, *pji*, when there are pure (hard, not yodized) initials before vocalic *i* in other categories: *kien* (Table A), *kiem* (Table C), *kieu* (Table D), *kieng* (Table L)? The explanation is obvious: Our 124 a and 125 a *kji* derive from Arch. **kĭer* and **kĭæg* respectively, and here, sure enough, the initial stood before consonantic *ĭ* and should quite regularly become yodized.

From Finals 124 and 125 we pass on to Final 126. Here again we find exactly the same treatment of the final in all the foreign loans as well as in nearly all modern dialects: they all indicate an *-i*: 126 a Kor. *kwi*, Kan-on, Go-on, Ann., Hak., Swat. *ki*, Wenchou, Shanghai, Mand. *tši*. But among the Min dialects of Fukien (exceedingly conservative on many points) we find a clue to the Anc. value of Final 126.

Foochow has not *-i*, as in Finals 124 and 125, but *-ie* in a majority of the words with this Anc. final:

寄 企 奇 戲 移 池 支 侈 施 匙 兒 離 披

kie k'ie k'ie hie ie tie tsie ts'ie sie sie nie lie p'ie.

Amoy and Swatow also have a few cases of *-ia* in this rime, e. g. 寄 奇 Am. Swat. *kia*, 蟻 Swat. *hia*. We cannot very well pose an Anc. *kia* (following the latter), for then the Ts'ie yün rime list would have placed this rime together with the 歌 *-ā* and 麻 *-a*, *-ia* of Table G, which it does not (our rime 126 is placed along with 124, 125 *-i*, far from the *-ā*, *-a*, *-ia* groups). Foochow must be nearer to the Anc. final: *-ie*. But there remains the fact that all the foreign borrowers apprehended it as an *-i*; consequently the *-e* at the end must have been quite short and subordinated: *-iɛ*. Here again arises the question why the initials were yodized before vocalic *i*: *kjiɛ*. We shall see further below that the Anc. Final 126 *-iɛ* has three different Arch. sources: *-iɛg*, *-iär* *-iar*, and *ia*. It is quite in order that the former two should by their consonantic *i* have yodzied the initials. But *-ia*, with its vocalic *i*, should not properly do so. That it does, none the less, is in all probability due to analogy: *kiɛ* < **kia* followed the pattern of *kiɛ* < **kiɛg*, *kjä*, *kjar* and consequently became *kjiɛ*.

There remains the fourth final of our Div. III: 127. This final exists exclusively after guttural (and laryngal) and labial initials, and these were yodized, as is shown by the fan-ts'ie spelling characters.

Once more we find almost exactly the same treatment as that of Finals 124, 125 (and 126): 127 a Kor. *kwi*, Kan-on, Ann., Hak., Swat., Foo. *ki*, Wenchou, Shang-hai, Mand. *tsi*, all of which would seem to indicate an Anc. *-i*. But there are a few sources which allow us to deduce the Anc. value of this final. In the first place, Go-on observes on this point the same distinction as does Ts'ie yün, which fact permits us to draw upon it for elucidating our problem. Whereas Go-on regularly has *-i* for the other Anc. finals (124, 125, 126), it has just as regularly *-e* for our present Final 127: 127 a *ke*, 127 b *ke*, 127 c *e*, etc. Wenchou (a Wu dialect, in the region from which the Go-on originated) also has some cases of *-e*: 幾 機 譏 *ke*. The first two of these are furthermore Ann. *kə*, the 1st and 3rd have Swat. *kui*, 氣 Swat. *k'ui*, 衣 Swat. *ui*. The Anc. final could not be simply an *-e* or an *-ə*, for this is ruled out by the Swatow forms, and by the fact that the *h i e s h e n g* characters combine it with other finals of the Anc. type *-äi* etc., i. e. with diphtongs ending in *-i*: 豈 (Final 127 here) Phon. in 凱 Anc. *k'äi*, 氣 (Final 127 here) Phon. in 愷 Anc. *k'äi*. With a view to the Ann. forms *-ə* and the Swat. forms *-ui* (cf. 根 Anc. *kən* > Amoy *kun*) it is tempting to construe a final *-ɛi*. In fact, we shall show later that at an earlier stage the words of this Final 127 really had *-ɛi*: *kjɛi* etc. But at the time of Ts'ie yün the influence of the following *-i* had already palatalized the *-ɛi* into *-ɛi*, as is proved by Go-on, and the Wenchou forms in *-e* are a remnant of this stage.

We have to conceive the *e* as very short and subordinated, *kjɛi* etc. since Kor. and Kan-on treated Final 127 exactly like Finals 124, 125 (Anc. -*i*).

We have now arrived at this result concerning Tables U-V:

Div. III	124	(j)i	128	(j)wi
	125	(j)i		
	126	(j)ɛɿ	129	(j)wiɿ
	127	(j)ɛi	130	(j)wɛi

The next-following category, Table X, offers certain analogies with Table S treated above.

We start with Div. III: it has two different rimes, Finals 132 and 133. In Table S we likewise had two different rimes in Div. III: Anc. Chin. Final 120 -*iwong* (121 -*iwok*) and Final 118 -*iung* (119 -*iuk*). In our present category we may suspect something analogous, though in open syllables. This suspicion is confirmed by a series of ancient sources.

Final 132:	居	猪	初	背
Kor.	<i>kə</i>	<i>tʂə</i>	<i>tʂ'o</i>	<i>sə</i>
Kan-on	<i>kiyo</i>	<i>tiyo</i>	<i>siyo</i>	<i>siyo</i>
Go-on	<i>ko</i>	<i>tio</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>so</i>
Ann.	<i>kɯ</i>	<i>tɯ</i>	<i>sə</i>	<i>tɯ</i>
Final 133	拘	誅	芻	須
Kor.	<i>ku</i>	<i>tʂu</i>	<i>tʂ'u</i>	<i>su</i>
Kan-on	<i>ku</i>	<i>tiyu</i>	<i>siyu</i>	<i>siyu</i>
Go-on	<i>ko</i>	<i>tiyu</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>su</i>
Ann.	<i>ku</i>	<i>tɯ</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>tu</i>

Kan-on, whose close adherence to the Ts'ie yün sound system we have witnessed all through, here again maintains a rigorous distinction between the two Ts'ie yün rimes: Final 132 regularly has -*iyo*, Final 133 just as regularly has -*iyu* (or truncated: *ku*). Go-on on the whole reflects the same distinction: 132 -*io*, -*o*, 133 -*iyu*, -*u*, (though after gutturals an -*o* has penetrated even into Final 133). Kor. and Ann. likewise have -*iu*, -*u* in Final 133, whereas in Final 132 the -*o* remains in Kor. after supradentals and for the rest reveals itself indirectly, through vowels like -*ə* and -*ɯ*, which appear to be the foreign rendering of the palatal -*ü* in a *kjwo* pronounced as *küo*. The principal distinction thus being established, we obtain: Final 132 -*iwo*: Final 133 -*iu*.

Contrary to what was the case in Table S, our present category has only one Ts'ie yün rime in Div. I, Final 131. In the modern dialects this is mostly represented by -*u*, but the ancient sources are not so unanimous:

Final 131	古	烏	都	補
Kor	<i>ko</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>po</i>
Kan-on	<i>ko</i>	<i>uo</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>po</i>
Ann.	<i>ko</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ɬo</i>	<i>bo</i>
Gon-on	<i>ku</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>pu</i>

They show that whereas the northern Anc. Chin. of Ts'ie yün, on which Kor. and Kan-on are directly based, had *-o*, there existed very early South-eastern dialects, on which Go-on is based, which had already narrowed the *o* into *u*: *kuo* > *ku*, as in modern Pekinese. That the evolution did not proceed in the opposite direction — an original *ku* (like Go-on) breaking into *kuo* in ancient Northern Chinese — is shown by the frequent contacts in words of our final here, with finals having more open vowels: 賈 Mand. *k u* and *k i a*, 吾 *w u* Phon. in 衙 *y a*; 苦 *k' u* riming with 下 *h i a* (Ode 32: 3); 組 *t s u* riming with 馬 *m a* (Ode 78: 1) etc.

The ancient *o* in *-uo* has not been lost without any trace at all in Mandarin. There is, for instance, the T'aiku dialect (middle Shansi), which has *-o* after dentals (but *-u* after other initials): Pek. *nu*, *lu*, *tu*, *t'u*, *tsu*, *ts'u*, *su* are in T'aiku *no*, *lo*, *to*, *t'o*, *tso*, *ts'o*, *so*. In some other dialects, e. g. Sian (Shensi) and Cant. this *no* etc. has been diphthongized: *nou*, *lou*, *tou*, *t'ou*, *tsou*, *ts'ou*, *sou* (just as in English *no* pron. *nou*).

Finally, we must answer an important question. Why do we reconstruct Div. I Final 131 *kuo* (with the vocalic »medical *u*» typical of Div. I, as shown above in Tables B, F, H), and Div. III Final 132 *k'wo*, thus treating both these finals as having *h o k'o u* (medial *u*, *w*)? Why not pose simply 131 *-o* (*ko* etc.) and 132 *-io* (*k'io* etc.), giving them *k'a i k'o u*? This latter would seem to tally better with the Kor., Kan-on, Go-on and Ann. forms adduced above.

In answering this question, we must first emphasize that these two finals are correlated: Final 132 is the final with *ɨ* corresponding to 131, the final without *ɨ* (though there must have been a difference of *nuance* in the principal vowel *o*, motivating different Ts'ie yün rimes). This is shown in various connections: 古 (131) is Phon. in 居 (132); 吾 (131) is Phon. in 語 (132); 盧 (131) is Phon. in 驢 (132); 余 (132) is Phon. in 途 (131) etc. Thus either both had *k'a i k'o u*: 131 *ko*, 132 *k'io*; or both had *h o k'o u*: 131 *kuo*, 132 *k'wo*.

This being established, we are fortunately able to prove that the latter alternative is correct. The proof is furnished by Kan-on. It is true that after gutturals Kan-on has simply 131 *ko* and 132 *k'io* without medial *u* (just as it skips the medial elements in many other cases: 端 Anc. *tuán*, Kan-on *tan*; 宣 Anc. *s'iwán*, Kan-on *sen* etc.), but when there is no oral initial, the final standing bare, the medial *u* in 131 appears quite clearly and regularly. Ancient Japanese distinguishes very strictly between the syllables *wo* and *o* (giving them different Kana characters), and here, in Final 131, we find 烏 朽 汙 惡 etc. all Kan-on *wo* (spelled *wo*, not *o*). Our category X was thus in Anc. Chin:

Div.	I	131	uo
»	III	132	iuo
		133	iu.

There remains to be discussed only Table Y.

Final 134 (Div. I) is represented in a motley way: 134 a Kor. Go-on *ku*, Kan-on *kou*, Ann. Cant. *kru*, Wenchou *kau*, Ft'ai *kau*, Hak. *keu*, Kueihua *käu*, Shanghai T'aiku, Nanking *kəu*, Swat. Pek. Sian *kou* etc. If we compare these forms with the values in Table N above (discussed on p. 244 in connection with Tables A—C) showing how an Anc. *kən* has given Kan-on *kon*, Ann. *kon*, Cant. *kon*, Wenchou *kang*, Fengt'ai *kə*, Hak. *ken*, Sian *kä*, Pek. *kən* etc., the analogy is striking. We have necessarily to pose an Anc. final *-əu* here, which alone can satisfy all these various derivatives. But the forms in Kor. and Go-on: both *ku*, reveal that the *u* has been the preponderant vowel and *ə* a very short and subordinated element: *kəu*.

The brevity of Anc. *ə* is even more evident, when we turn to the corresponding final of Div. III, Final 135, which as usual has »medial *i*»: Final 135 a: Kor. Go-on *ku*, Kan-on *kiu*, Ann. *kyu*, Cant. *kru*, Wenchou *tšiau*, Fengt'ai *tšiau*, Kueihua *tšieu*, Swat. *kiu*, Pek. K'aifeng, Sian, Nank. *tšiu* (in shang sheng Pek. mostly *tšiou*) — the *ə* has here been entirely lost in a great many dialects; and its subordinate rôle is further emphasized by the fact that in ancient transcriptions of Buddhistic terms and names the syllable 135 a often serves to render foreign *ku*, e. g. *Kumāra* 鳩摩羅. We must express this conscientiously in our reconstruction: *kiəu*. Since 134 *-əu* and 135 *-iəu* have different Ts'ie yün rimes, we must conclude that there was a different *nuance* in the *əu* when it was preceded by *i*.

There remains the rather enigmatic rime 136 which everywhere (in ancient loan forms as well as in modern dialects) follows the pattern of Final 135 above. The difficulty here is that it is represented, in Ts'ie yün, by very few words. It has been suggested by Y. R. Chao, and I believe rightly, that it was Anc. *-iəu* (as opposed to the long-vowelled Final 44 *-ieu* in Table D). In fact the words of the present final have frequent contacts with words of the Anc. *e* class (136 a has the same Phon. as 叫 Anc. *kieu*, 136 b the same Phon. as 寮 Anc. *lieu*, 136 c has for Phon. 𠂔 Anc. *ieu*). We thus obtain these Anc. finals in our Table Y:

Div.	I	134	əu
»	III	135	iəu
		136	iəu.

Having finished the reconstruction of the various Tables of Anc. Chin. we must revert once more and in detail to a very perplexing phenomenon concerning the »medial *u*».

In general, the fan-ts'ie very clearly and consistently indicate which words have *k'ai* *k'ou* and which have *h'o* *k'ou*. But after labial initials there is a certain amount of uncertainty and inconsistency.

管 in Kuang yün is spelled with 滿, which shows that the latter had *h o k' o u* : *muán*; indeed, in one of the Ts'ie yün manuscripts it is spelled 莫 卯 *m(ák)-(l)uán* = *muán*. But in another Ts'ie yün manuscript it is spelled 莫 旱 *m(ák)-(γ)án* as if it had *k'a i k' o u* : *mán*. The former is right; it is parallel with, for instance, 盤 Ts'ie yün 薄 官 *b'(ák)-(k)uán* = *b'uán* etc. Such inconsistencies are easily accounted for if we conclude that the labial initial was articulated with strongly protruding lips: *p^w*. The ts'ie constructor may then have easily conceived a real *puán* as a *p^wán* and therefore given it a *k'a i k' o u* final -*án*. Similarly 方 was undoubtedly *h o k' o u p^wiang* (being the ts'ie final for 王. Anc. *j^wiang*), but it is spelled 府 良 as if it were Anc. *p^wiang*. Evidently a *p^(w)i^wang* was apprehended as a *p^(w)i^{ang}* by the ts'ie author and spelled accordingly. Inconsistencies of this nature can easily be corrected and the reconstructions normalized.

Matters, however, become more seriously complicated when we come to certain other word groups which have »medial *ɿ*«. The Anc. combination *p^wia* (a here meaning a final *quelconque*) regularly gives (during the lapse of Suei and T'ang) *fua* and modern *fa*, e. g. the just quoted: *p^wiang* > *f^wang* > *fang*. This is the general rule obtaining in an overwhelming majority of cases. But there is a category, the rime 庚 (Anc. Final 89), in which we have the combination *p^wi^w-* and which none the less has preserved its bilabials:¹⁾

- 兵 Anc. *p^wi^wang* (being ts'ie final for 榮), Mand. *p i n g*;
- 丙 Anc. *p^wi^wang* (being spelled with 永), Mand. *p i n g*;
- 命 Anc. *m^wi^wang* (being ts'ie final for 泳), Mand. *m i n g*; etc.

That the transition *p^wjw- > f^w-* has failed to take place here is not due to the following vowel, for 反 Anc. *p^wi^wan* has right enough become *fuan* > Mand. *f a n*.

From the two facts combined, viz.:

- a) that no single modern dialect and none of the ancient loan versions show *h o k' o u* in this category,
- b) that the transition *p^wi^w > f^w* has not taken place, in this category,

I draw the conclusion that the *h o k' o u* in Ts'ie yün's language (which is indubitable in the light of the said fan-ts'ie) was a »secondary *h o k' o u*«, a not original *w*, created through the influence of that same articulation of the initial, with protruding lips, which we deduced just now: an original *p^wi^{ang}*, because it had the nuance: *p^(w)i^{ang}* developed, through metathesis, into Anc. *p^wi^wang*; but this secondary *h o k' o u w* was not so forceful (we should, perhaps, rather designate it thus: *p^{i^w}ang*) as to cause dentilabialization, it was not rendered in the ancient loans and it disappeared in the modern dialects.

In the Anc. rimes 124 (128) and 126 (129) we likewise find that no dentilabials have been produced:

¹⁾ There are also some stray instances in Anc. Final 104, too few to allow of any conclusions.

悲 Anc. *pjiwi*, Mand. *pei*, 美 Anc. *mjiwi*, Mand. *mei*;
 碑 Anc. *pjiwi*, Mand. *pei*, 靡 Anc. *mjiwi*, Mand. *mi*.

Here we could, of course, say that the vocalic *i* as principal vowel prevents the transition *p* > *f*; but that is, after all, somewhat strained. I believe that here likewise the *w* was a secondary *h o k'o u*, not existing in Arch. Chin. and born in the same way as in the Anc. *piwung* just discussed. The reason for this is, again, the non-appearance of the *p* > *f* transition combined with the fact that there are only faint traces of the Anc. *w* in the dialects¹) and none in the ancient loans.

This conclusion may seem unallowable, because these rime categories contain both *k'ai k'o u* and *h o k'o u* words:

寐 (spelled 彌 二) *mji*: 媚 (spelled 明 秘) *mjiwi*. They are well distinguished by different fan-ts'ie inside one and the same Ts'ie yün rime. If 媚 developed a secondary *h o k'o u*: *mji^wi* > *mjiwi*, why did not 寐 do the same? In fact, this is not acceptable except as an inconsistency, a vacillation within the Ts'ie yün language, due to an influence, within the metropolitan language, from some sister dialect. If *mji* (without *w*) is the regular and natural descendant of an Arch. form without *w*, *mjiwi* in some words only but not in all must be due to some extraneous influence. Such a phenomenon has many parallels. In Pekinese words like 貞 偵 *ch en*, 肯 *k'e n* should, according to the general laws of that dialect, be *ch en g*, *k'e n g* but they are aberrant through some mixing of dialects. Similarly 季 and 遺 should be *kui* and *wei* (both Anc. *h o k'o u*) but they are in fact *ki*, *yi* (*k'ai k'o u*) in Pekinese, being, again, exceptions from the normal rules.

* * *

The tones in Anc. Chin. have already been summarily described in our introductory pages. The very arrangement of the Ts'ie yün reveals the system:

<i>tung</i> ⁻	<i>tung</i> [']	<i>tung</i> [`]	<i>tuk</i> .
<i>p'ing</i>	<i>shang</i>	<i>k'ü</i>	<i>ju</i> ²)

But the question is whether these tones were subdivided or not. In practically all dialects the *p'ing sheng* is divided into two: one (in the Mandarin romanisations mostly marked by an *x*¹) obtains in all words with Anc. Chin. voiceless initials, e. g. 單 Anc. *tán*⁻, Pek. *t a n*¹, 蘇 Anc. *suo*⁻, Pek. *s u*¹. The other (in the Mandarin romanisations generally indicated by an *x*²) obtains in words with Anc. voiced initials, e. g. 彈 Anc. *d'án*⁻, Pek. *t 'a n*², 徒 Anc. *d'uo*⁻, Pek. *t 'u*², etc. Since there are similar subdivisions of the other tones in various Southern dialects, and thus

¹) Hak. Swat. 悲 *pui*, 美 *mui*; but again 碑 Hak. Swat. *pi*.

²) That the third tone is called *k'ü* 去 'departing' and not as might be expected 下 *h i a* 'descending' does not prevent its having been a falling tone: one wished to name it by a word which itself had the tone in question, and this was true of *k'ü* but not of *h i a*.

this tonal phenomenon is universal in the dialects, we may safely conclude that this distinction (subdivision of the tones according to the voiceless or voiced initials) already obtained in Anc. Chin. A sufficiently large number of dialects reveal the fact that after voiceless initials the tone was in a comparatively high pitch, after voiced initials in a lower pitch: *tán*ː: *d'án*ː etc. In Mandarin the upper and lower *shang sheng* have coincided, and the upper and lower *k'ü sheng* likewise; and words with Anc. voiced explosive, affricative and fricative initials in the *shang sheng* have passed over into *k'ü sheng*: 但 *d'án'* > *tan*⁴, 讚 *dz'án'* > *tsan*⁴, 善 *šan'* > *shan*⁴. Moreover, in many Mandarin dialects (e. g. Pek.), when the final *-p -t -k* of the *ju sheng* words have been dropped, the words that once had them have been distributed over the *p'ing*, *shang* and *k'ü sheng* according to rather intricate rules; in other Mand. dialects (e. g. T'aiyüan) *-p, -t, -k* have been replaced by glottal stop: *pat* > *pa'*, and then the *ju sheng* still forms a category by itself, opposed to the other tones.

Finally it should be mentioned that the evolution from Ancient Chinese into modern Mandarin has been succinctly described in *Grammata Serica*.

II.

In going back to Archaic Chinese in order to attempt to reconstruct its sound system, we now naturally have to base ourselves on the Ancient Chinese just reconstructed. The modern dialects do not on the whole reveal anything which is prior to the Ts'ie yün in the Sui dynasty (the Min dialects alone sometimes point further backwards). Our materials for the language of early Chou is, as stated in our introduction above, mainly of two kinds: the rimes in *Shi king* and other early texts; and the phonetic loan characters, whether used unaltered (s.-c. *kia tsie*) or elucidated, mostly in Han time, by the addition of a «radical» (s.-c. *hie sheng*).

In investigating the Arch. initials we are obviously restricted to the latter source, but none the less some highly important conclusions may be drawn and at the same time some facts concerning certain final consonants are revealed by the same source.

If the phonetic series of the script are written out with the Anc. Chin. sound values, we shall find that, as a rule, the final consonants are the same inside a series, (e. g. 方 *piwang* Phon. in 放 *piwang*, 紡 *p'iwang*, 房 *b'iwang*, 夥 *p'wáng*, 彷彿 *b'wáng*), and in the rare cases in which they are not, they are at least homorganic (all gutturals or all labials etc.), e. g. 占 *tsiäm* Phon. in 帖 *t'iep* (*-m* and *-p* being homorganic). In the same way the initial consonants, if they are not identical (as is often the case) they are mostly homorganic (as in the example just quoted: *p, p', b'* all labials). However, there are certain large categories which break these rules, and they are highly instructive.

I:

- I a. *ɿwo* — *d'ɿwo*, *zɿwo*, *d'uo*, *d'uo*, *d'uo*, *t'uo*
 b. *ɿang* — *ɿ'ɿang*, *ɿ'ɿang*, *d'ɿang*, *d'ɿang*,
t'ang, *d'ang*, *d'ang*, *ɿang*
 c. *ɿäp* — *d'iep*, *d'iep*, *d'iep*, *d'iep*, *d'iep*,
d'iep, *ɿiäp*
 d. *ɿuk* — *d'iek*, *d'uk*, *d'uk*, *d'uk*, *d'uk*, *d'uk*,
d'uk, *d'uk*, *dʒɿwok*, *zɿwok*
 e. *ɿwong* — *zɿwong*, *t'ung*, *t'ung*, *t'ung*,
d'ung
 f. *ɿiäm* — *ɿäm*, *ts'ɿäm*, *ɿiäm*, *t'äm*, *d'äm*,
d'äm, *d'äm*, *d'äm*

II:

- II g. *jɿwɑŋ* — *kɿwɑŋ*, *k'ɿwɑŋ*, *g'ɿwɑŋ*.
 h. *jɿwɔn* — *χɿwɔn*, *χɿwɔn*, *ɣuɔn*, *ɣuɔn*.
 i. *jɿwək* — *kʷək*, *ɣwək*, *ɣwək*, *kʷək*.
 j. *jɿwɛ* — *kjɿwɛ*, *ŋgɿwɛ*, *χjɿwɛ*.
 k. *ɿuēt* — *kɿuēt*, *kɿuēt*, *g'ɿuēt*, *g'ɿuēt*, *kʷāt*,
kiwet, *kiwet*, *kiwet*.

III:

- III 1. *yái* — *kát*, *yăt*, *xuăt*
 m. *d'uái* — *d'uăt*, *t'uăt*, *tšiwăt*, *iwăt*,
šiwăt
 n. *b'iai* — *piăt*, *p'iat*, *b'iet*
 o. *šiai* — *šiat*, *šiat*, *šiat*
 p. *tši* — *tiēt*, *liēt*, *tšiet*, *d'iet*, *šiet*, *d'iet*,
d'iet, *d'iet*, *d'iet*

IV:

- IV q. *dz'a — tʃvk, tsák, tsák, dz'ák, dz'ák,*
dz'ák
 r. *·a — ·ák, ·ák, ·ák*
 s. *ts'ig — tʃ'ek, tʃek, tsjak*
 t. *ja — jak, jak, jak, jak, jak*

Let us first examine types I and II.

It might seem that the constructors of these characters were satisfied with an identity or at least a fair amount of similarity in regard to vowels and final consonants, provided there was no positive divergence in regard to initial: that a *d'wo* 除 and a 涂 *d'uo* could have as Phon. a 余 *wo*, though not a 古 *kuo* or a 舉 *k'wo*. In other words, that words without oral initial (not counting *i* or *ji*) could serve for words with all kinds of initials: that a *jäp* could serve both for a *tiep* and a *šiäp* and *kjäp* and *liäp*. But there was certainly no laxity of that kind, for in that case we should expect to find, in each of the series a—k above, a mixture of initials of different groups, e. g. series a: *wo* Phon. in *d'wo*, *k'wo*, *tsiwo*, *liwo* etc. Instead we observe a strict limitation: in series a—f all the derivatives have dental or (before *i*) palatal initials, whereas in series g—k all the derivatives have guttural initials. This can only mean one thing: the first words in series a—f: *wo*, *iang*, *jäp*, *uk*, *wong*, *jiäm* all had some dental initial in Arch. Chin. which explains their rôle as phonetics in those series. And the first words in series g—k: *jiwang*, *jiwon*, *jiwək*, *jiwɛ*, *jiwət* all had some guttural initial in Arch. Chin., since all their derivatives have guttural initials.

What these lost initials really were is easy to realize. As we have seen, Anc. Chin. possessed the initials *k-*, *k'-*, *g'-* and *t-*, *t'-*, *d'-* but no ordinary unaspirated mediae, *g-* and *d-*. Here we find the missing link: Arch. Chin. had the complete sets: *k-*, *k'-*, *g-*, *g'-* and *t-*, *t'-*, *d-*, *d'-*, but *g-* and *d-* have been lost before a following *i*, just as e. g. in Swedish *djup* has become *iup* and *giuta* has become *iuta*. That the lost consonant was really voiced and not voiceless is further proved by the tones: all words with such lost initial consonants have either initial *i-* or *ji-*, and as we have seen earlier (p. 228) these are the pure and yodized aspects of an initial that is typically voiced, conveying »lower even» tone (Pek. tone 2), (e. g. 陽 Anc. *iang*_, Pek. *y a n g*²) as opposed to the voiceless initial (laryngal explosive) which conveys »upper even» tone (Pek. tone 1), (e. g. 央 Anc. *iang*, Pek. *y a n g*¹). In most cases a lost *d-* disappears traceless: *dja* > *ia* (as in series a—e), and a lost *g-* leaves a trace, a yod: *gia* > *jiä*, as in series g—j. But this rule is not without exceptions, witness series f and k.

The reconstruction of Arch. *d-* and *g-*, moreover, furnishes a reasonable explanation of certain cases of double readings of a character which otherwise would be quite enigmatic: 傭 Anc. *iwong* (Mand. *y u n g*) »to hire» and *i'iwong* (Mand. *c h' u n g*) »even»; 鬻 Anc. *uk* (Mand. *y ü*) »to sell» and *tsuk* (Mand. *c h u*) »gruel»; 繇 Anc. *äu* (Mand. *y a o*) »flourishing» and *d'izu* (Mand. *c h o u*) »oracle»; 蜃 Anc. *iwək* (Mand. *y ü*) and *ɣwək* (Mand. *h u o*) »water insect»; 穎 Anc. *iäng* (Mand. *y i n g*) »awn» and *käng* (Mand. *k i n g*) »cushion», etc.

There are, however, some series in which the reconstruction Arch. *d-* still will not do. A scrutiny of the *hie sheng* characters will show that dental explosives do not often go together with affricates and fricatives: a *tän* or a *d'än* is not, as a rule, permitted as Phon. in a *tsän* or a *sän*. It stands to reason, therefore, that

when we find a series like this: 羊 Anc. *iang*: 祥 庠 詳 all Anc. *ziang*, the lost initial in 羊 was not an explosive *d*-; since it was voiced (*y a n g*² having »lower even« tone) it must have been a *z*-: 羊 Arch. **ziang*. But then how do we account for the 祥 etc. Anc. *ziang*? We shall witness presently through a striking parallel in the palatal class that Anc. *z*- derives from Arch. *dz*-. Anc. Chin. had *ts*-, *ts'*-, *dz*'- but no *dz*-; Arch. Chin. possessed *dz*- as well, but it has been worn down to *z*- in Anc. Chin.:

Arch. 羊 **ziang* Phon. in 祥 **dziang*
 Anc. 羊 *iang* Phon. in 祥 *ziang*

So much for the lost dental initials. They were *d*- and *z*-. For the guttural series (series *g*—*k* above) we have simply surmised a *g*-, since it has to be a voiced consonant and it fills the gap in the Anc. Chin. scheme: *k*-, *k'*-, —, *g'*-. But it is not *eo ipso* evident that it must have been a *g*-. We might also imagine the voiced consonant *ɣ*- (fricative). How do we know that 王 (series *g* in the table on p. 272) was an Arch. **giwang*, not a **ɣiwang*?

In Anc. Chin. we observe the remarkable fact that *ɣ*- occurs exclusively before the non-yodizing finals (*ɣá*, *ɣán*, *ɣien*, *ɣən*, *ɣuo*, *ɣung* etc.) i. e. the finals of Divs. I, II and IV. On the other hand, the initial *g'*- exists exclusively before the yodizing finals (*g'ǎn*, *g'iang*, *g'ǎu*, *g'ǐu*, *g'ǐung*, *g'ǐ* etc.) of Div. III. Furthermore, when there is a lost initial guttural as in the types *g*—*j* above (*jiwang*, *jiwən*, *jiwək*, *jiwɛ* etc.), it is again always a question of the yodizing finals¹⁾ (Div. III). It is then reasonable to assume that *ɣ*- in Divs. I, II, IV and another initial in Div. III are complementary, so that they both derive from one and the same Arch. initial which has split up into two Anc. ones according to the different finals; that is almost self-evident. But the question then arises: Is it the *g'*- or the *j*- in Div. III that forms the counterpart to the *ɣ* in Divs. I, II, IV? In other words, have we to construe:

Arch.	Anc.
皇 <i>*g'wáng</i>	> <i>ɣwáng</i>
王 <i>*g'ǐwang</i>	> <i>g'ǐwang</i>

or:

皇 <i>*ɣwáng</i>	> <i>ɣwáng</i>
王 <i>ɣǐwang</i>	> <i>jiwang</i>

In the former case, Anc. *ɣ*- is a development from Arch. *g'*-, arisen before the finals of Divs. I, II, IV (**gá* > *ɣá*, **g'án* > *ɣán*, **g'ien* > *ɣien*, **g'ən* > *ɣən*, **g'ung* > *ɣung* etc.). In the latter case the *ɣ* was original and Archaic (*ɣá*, *ɣán* etc.), and before the finals of Div. III it became *j* (**ɣiwang* > *jiwang*, **ɣiwán* > *jiwən*, *ɣiwək* > *jiwək*).

¹⁾ Many more examples could be adduced: 運 *jiuən* with Phon. 𠂔 *kjuən*, 曰 *jiwət* Phon. in 汨 *kuət*; 羽 *jiu* Phon. in 樹 *xiu*. There is nearly always *h* o *k'o u*; *k'a i k'o u* examples are very rare: 𠂔 *jiäp* with Phon. 𠂔 *ɣäp*.

The choice is hardly doubtful: the former alternative is the correct one, for several reasons.

In the first place the *hie sheng* characters prove it. An explosive *k*- and a fricative *χ* rarely go together (e. g. 干 Anc. *kân*: 罕 Anc. *χân*), though they are both voiceless. It would have still less appeal to combine *k*- and *γ*-, the former voiceless explosive, the latter voiced fricative. But the combination occurs with extreme frequency: 古 Anc. *kuo* Phon. in 胡 Anc. *γuo*, 干 Anc. *kân* Phon. in 旱 Anc. *γân* etc. If, with the first alternative theory above, we derive Anc. *γ*- from an Arch. *g'*-, the system becomes more natural: **kuo* Phon. in *g'uo*, *kân* Phon. in *g'ân* — both members then have explosives for initials.

In the second place, morphology comes to our aid. One of the most frequent and well attested alternations within a word stem in Arch. Chin. was that between tenuis (voiceless unaspirated) and aspirated media (asp. voiced): *k*-: *g'*-; *t*-: *d'*-; *p*-: *b'*-; *ts*-: *dz'*- etc., e. g. 乾 Anc. *kân* »dry» and *g'iân* »Heaven»; 分 Anc. *p'iuən* »a share» and *b'iuən* »to divide»; 長 Anc. *i'iang* »to grow up» and *d'iang* »long»; 中 Anc. *i'jung* »middle» and 仲 *d'jung* »the middle one»; 曾 Anc. *tsəng* »to add» and 層 *dz'əng* »a second layer». There are hundreds of good examples. We now find here 見 read Anc. *kien* »to see» and *γien* »to be seen, appear»; 解 Anc. *kai* »to unloose» and *γai* »(unloosened) remiss, careless»; 干 Anc. *kân* »a shield» and 扞 *γân* »to shield, ward off», etc. If we apply the Arch. *g'*- deduced above as the origin of the Anc. *γ*- (*k*- »to see»; *g'*- »to be seen»; *k*- »to unloose»; *g'*- »remiss»; *k*- »shield»; *g'*- »to shield»), then these words naturally and beautifully range themselves into the large category with the alternation of tenuis: aspirated media just adduced. This proof is really decisive.

Since it is thus clear that the lost guttural initial (lines *g*—*k* in the table above) was not an Arch. *γ*, and since Arch. *k*-, *k'*- and *g'*- are already there in other word categories, we can confidently accept as definite our preliminarily advanced theory that it was the ordinary *g*-, which happily completes the Arch. scheme: *k* (光 **kwáng*), *k'* (匡 **k'iwang*), *g* (王 **giwang*), *g'* (狂 **g'iwang*).

If, however, 王 was thus Arch. **giwang*, not **γiwang*, there are certain indications that in the passage **giwang* > *jiwang* from Arch. to Anc. Chin. this initial has passed through a fricative stage: **giwang* > *γiwang* > *jiwang*. This must have obtained quite late, immediately before Anc. Chin., for there are some belated cases even in Ts'ie yün, e. g. 雲 Arch. **giwən*, spelled 戶 分 *γ(uo)-(p)iuən* i. e. *γiuən* in a Ts'ie yün manuscript.

The reconstruction system sketched here has a very curious feature: Arch. *g*- exists only before *i* and mostly with *w*: types 𠂔 **giap*, 王 **giwang*, but not before other vowels; we cannot reconstruct any **gân*, **gung*, **gən* etc. This appears quite anomalous, and it seems evident that these types must have existed, but they passed into other categories before the time of Anc. Chin. I strongly suspect that they are hidden in the large category of words with Anc. initial *ng*-. When 干 Anc. *kân* is Phon. in 岸 Anc. *ngân*, it is very tempting to assume that the latter was an Arch. **gân*, which has developed into *ngân*. But since we have no more

strict and binding proofs, we must leave this question open. Similarly, the lost Arch. *d-* always appears before *i*, and we cannot reconstruct forms like Arch. **dā*, **dān*, **du* etc. Here again there is every probability that such syllables have existed, but their *d-* has coincided with some other Arch. initial in the subsequent evolution, so that we may have some Arch. *dān* hidden among the numerous Anc. *d'an*, for instance. But nothing can be proved on this point.

If we now revert to our survey on p. 272 above, sections III and IV, we find exactly the same phenomenon as that we have just studied in the initials, but here obtaining in the finals: in the series in lines l—p all the derivatives have final *-t* (no *-p* or *-k*), and we can therefore conclude that the Anc. *γái*, *d'uái*, *b'iai*, *siai*, *tái* which serve as Phonetics in these *-t* series had some kind of dental final in Arch. Chin. In the series of lines q—t the final consonant in the derivatives is invariably *-k*, and we realize that the Phonetics Anc. *dz'a*, *a*, *tšig*, *ia* had some Arch. guttural final lost before the time of Anc. Chin. The final nasals: *-n*, *-ng* as well as the final tenuis: *-t*, *-k* being already engaged in other word categories, it seems most simple and natural to suppose Arch. final mediae, *-d*, *-g*: Anc. *γái* < *-d*, Anc. *dz'a* < *-g*. It is true that there exist other dentals and gutturals: the fricatives *-ð*, *-γ*, or in the dental series, consonants like *-z* or *-l* or *-r*. But it is easily seen that they would not satisfy the *hie sheng* characters. It is bad enough that an Arch. 割 **kāt* had for Phon. a 害 if this was an Arch. **g'ād*; it would be far worse if the latter were an Arch. *g'ád* or *g'áz* or *g'al* or *g'ár*; in other words, alternations in the phonetic loans like *-k*: *-g* and *-t*: *-d* may be plausible; alternations with a greater degree of phonetic discrepancy would not be convincing.

Our reconstruction is further confirmed by many words with double readings. In the dental series we might adduce as examples 殺 Anc. *šat* (Mand. *sh a*) and *šai* (Mand. *sh a i*); 綴 Anc. *īwāt* (Mand. *ch o*) and *īwāi* (Mand. *ch u e i*); 出 Anc. *tš'iuēt* (Mand. *ch' u*) and *tš'wi* (Mand. *ch' u e i*); 沸 Anc. *pīuət* (Mand. *f u*) and *pjwēi* (Mand. *f e i*); 質 *tšīēt* and *īi* (both Mand. *ch ī*). In the guttural series 易 Anc. *īäk* and *iē* (both Mand. *y i*); 惡 Anc. *ák* (Mand. *o*) and *uo* (Mand. *w u*); 告 Anc. *kuok* (Mand. *k u*) and *káu* (Mand. *k a o*); 覺 Anc. *kāk* (Mand. *k ü e*) and *kau* (Mand. *k i a o*); 祝 Anc. *tšīuk* (Mand. *ch u*) and *tšīu* (Mand. *ch o u*); 射 Anc. *dž'īäk* (Mand. *sh ī*) and *dž'ia* (Mand. *sh e*). By the insertion of a final *-d* in the former and a *-g* in the latter series these double forms, which appear quite unreasonable, become intelligible: 殺 *šat* and *šai* < *-d* etc. (The discrepancies in vocalism will be explained later).

The most decisive proof of all, however, is that in many cases such words of types 害 Anc. *γái* and 乍 Anc. *dz'a*, in which the *hie sheng* indicate final *-d* and *-g* (lost in Anc. Chin.), rime in Shī king with words ending in *-t* and *-k* (•*ju sheng* words), e. g. Ode 202 riming 烈 Anc. *liät*: 發 *pīwət*: 害 *γái* (< *-d*); Ode 278 riming 惡 Anc. *uo* < *-g*: 戮 *īäk* (again, the discrepancies in vocalism will be explained later). Many more examples will be adduced further below.

We now revert to the initials. Just as the complementary nature of certain initials: Anc. Divs. I, II, IV γ -: Div. III g' - led us to valuable reconstructive results, we may draw similar conclusions in another group. The Anc. supradental affricates and fricatives never exist before the finals of Div. I, and the dental affricates and fricatives never exist before the finals of Div. II. In other words, we have Anc. *tsán* (*ts'án*, *dz'án*, *sán*), *tsám*, *tsáu*, *tsái*, *tsá* etc. but no *tśán*, *tśám*, *tśáu* etc. We have *tšan* (*tš'an*, *dž'an*, *šan*), *tšam*, *tšau*, *tšai*, *tša*, but no *tsan*, *tsam*, *tsan*, *tsai*, *tsa*. The dental and supradental series of affricates and fricatives are complementary, one of them being primary, the other secondary, originated through the influence of certain following vowels. There can be no doubt that the dental series *ts-*, *ts'-*, *dz'-*, *s-*, which occurs throughout the Anc. Chin. language before various vowels (*tsuo*, *tsuan*, *tsung*, *tsəu*, *tsəng*, *tsi*, *tsiəng* etc.) is primary, whereas the supradental series, which only occurs before the Anc. vowels *a*, *u*, *ε*, *ä* (Div. II) is secondary: Arch. **tsan*, **tsa*, **tsäng* etc. have become Anc. *tšan*, *tša*, *tšəng* etc.

It should be observed, however, that there exists a set of supradental *tš* etc. before *i* in certain finals, which cannot be derived from dental *ts-* etc., but must be original, since it coexists with words having *ts-* in the said finals: 將 Anc. *tšiang*; 將 Anc. *tšiang*; 緇 Anc. *tšiqu*; 酒 Anc. *tšiqu*.

In the *hie sheng* characters the dental affricates Anc. *ts-*, *ts'-*, *dz'-*, interchange freely with each other and also with the said original *tš-*, *tš'-*, *dž'-*, e. g. 將 *tšiang* Phon. in 將 *tšiang*, 牆 *dz'iang*, 壯 *tšiang*, 牀 *dž'iang* etc. In the same way, the dental explosives *t-*, *t'-*, *d'-* interchange with each other and also with the palatal explosives *î-*, *î'-*, *d'-* e. g. 寔 *tân*, Phon. in 壇 *d'ân*, 鸕 *îän*, 揅 *d'îän* etc. But these two groups: the explosives *t-*, *t'-*, *d'-*, *î-*, *î'-*, *d'-* and the affricates: *ts-*, *ts'-*, *dz'-*, *tš-*, *tš'-*, *dž'-* do not, as a rule, interchange; a *tân* is not Phon. in a *tsân* or a *d'ân* in a *dz'ân*.

Against this background, it is highly surprising to find that the Anc. palatal affricates *tš-*, *tš'-*, *dž'-* interchange, not with the affricates *ts-*, *ts'-*, *dz'-*, etc. as might be expected, but with the series of explosives: *t-*, *t'-*, *d'-*, *î-*, *î'-*, *d'-*, e. g. 者 Anc. *tšia*, Phon. in 豬 *îiwo*, 楮 *î'iuo*, 箸 *d'iuo*, 都 *tuo*, 屠 *d'uo*; 周 Anc. *tšiqu* Phon. in 惆 *î'iqu*, 稠 *d'ieu*, 彫 *tieu*, 調 *d'ieu* etc. The rule is of course not absolute, but the tendency is very pronounced, and clearly reveals an important fact: the Anc. palatal affricates derive from Arch. explosives: *tš* < *î*, *tš'* < *î'*, *dž* < *d'*; therefore 者 *tšia* < *î-* could be a good phonetic in 都 *tuo* and 屠 *d'uo* (for the discrepancy in vocalism see further below).

But if that is so, how are we to account for the palatal explosives which, as we have seen, existed in Anc. Chin.: 豬 *îiwo*, 箸 *d'iuo* etc.? The answer is very simple. The Anc. dental explosives *t-*, *t'-*, *d'-* existed only before the finals of Divs. I and IV (types *tân*, *tám*, *táu*, *tái*, *tá*, *täng*, *təng*, *təu*, *tuən*, *tung*, *tuo*; *tien*, *tiem*, *tieu*, *tei*, *tieng*); the Anc. palatal explosives occurred only before the finals of Divs. II and III (types *îän*, *îäm*, *îäu*, *îäi*, *îä*, *îiang*, *îiën*, *îiëng*, *îiəng*, *îiqu*, *îiung*, *îi*, *îig*, *îiwo*, *îä*, *îän*, *îän*, *îvng*, *îeng*, *îäng* etc.) The two sets are complementary and the latter

have evidently developed out of the former: 展 Arch. **tjan* has become Anc. *t̃iän*, etc. It is important to observe the time element here: *first*, Arch. *t̃-* was broken into *ts-*: 戰 Arch. **tjan* > Anc. *tsiän* etc. and, *after that*, Arch. 展 **tjan* > *t̃iän* etc. In other words: after the Arch. set of palatal explosives had been transformed into palatal affricates, a new set of palatal explosives arose out of original dentals, before certain finals.

Particularly interesting in this context are the words with Anc. initial *z-*, e. g. 尙 Anc. *ziang*, 禪 *ziän*, 時 *zi*, etc. It is not a voiced counterpart to the voiceless fricative that exists both as supradental *ʃ* and as palatal *ʃ̟*. The voiced *z* has no supradental counterpart and it occurs exclusively before the finals of Div. III (*i-*). Moreover, in the *hie cheng* characters it does not interchange with Anc. *ts-*, *ts'-*, *dz'-*, *s-*, *z-* but with the Anc. explosives, original *t-*, *t'-*, *d'-*, and the Anc. *t̃-*, *t̃'-*, *d̃'-*, which derived from Arch. *t-*, *t'-*, *d'-*, as has just been shown, and with the Anc. palatals *ts-*, *ts'-*, *dz'-* which derived from Arch. explosives *t̃-*, *t̃'-*, *d̃'-*, as was likewise demonstrated above:

- a. 尙: 掌 悄 當 堂
- b. 壽: 畤 壽 禱 禱 禱
- c. 蜀: 燭 觸 獨 嚼 鐳
- d. 是: 提 韃 醒 提
- e. 甚: 堪 蹉 甚 甚 港 黠

- a. Anc. *ziang* Phon. in Anc. *tsiang* (< **t̃iang*), *ts'iang* (< **t̃'iang*) *täng*, *d'äng*;
- b. Anc. *ziä* Phon. in *d'izü* (< **d'-*), *t̃izü* (< **t-*), *täu*, *d'äu*;
- c. Anc. *ziwok* Phon. in *tsiwok* (< *t̃-*), *ts'iwok* (< *t̃'-*) *d'iwok* (< *d'-*), *d'uk*, *täk* (< *t-*), *d'äk* (< *d'-*);
- d. Anc. *ziq* Phon. in *tsiq* (< *t̃-*), *tiei*, *t'iei*, *d'iei*;
- e. Anc. *ziem* Phon. in *t̃iem* (< *t-*), *t̃'iem* (< *t'-*), *tsiem* (< *t̃-*), *dé'iem* (< *d̃'-*), *täm*; *t'äm*.

This is further emphasized by double readings like 𪛗 Anc. *d'iuən* and *ziuən* etc.

From all this we must conclude that Anc. *z-* derives from an Arch. explosive, and its nature leaves hardly any room for doubt. Arch. Chin. possessed *t-*, *t'-*, *d-*, *d'-*, but *d-* has been lost in Anc. Chin. (*dja* > *ja* etc., as proved above), leaving only Anc. *t-*, *t'-*, *-*, *d'-* (and before *i* the *t̃i-*, *t̃'i-*, *d̃'i-* have become Anc. *t̃i-*, *t̃'i-*, *d̃'i-*, as already described). Furthermore, Arch. Chin. possessed palatal explosives *t̃-*, *t̃'-*, *d̃-*, *d̃'-*, but before the time of Anc. Chinese these were broken into affricates *ts-*, *ts'-*, *dz-*, *dz'-*. Of these, the third, the unaspirated *dz-* went on further and became a fricative: *z*. The *z* of Anc. Chin. thus derived from an Arch. *d̃-* just as French *jour* (*ʒur*) derives from Latin *diur-*, and this explains why an Arch. **djan* (> Anc. *ziang*) could be Phonetic in a *t̃iang* and a *täng*, etc.

It is interesting to observe that the Buddhist transcriptions, which extend over some centuries, illustrate the two previous stages (*dž-* and still earlier *ǵ-*) of Anc. *ž-*. We have Anc. 闍 *šja* in (*Ajāta*, i. e.) (*A-*)*dža(-ta)*; Anc. 殊 *šju* in (*Manjuśri*, i. e.:) (*Man-*)*džu(-śri)*; Anc. 什 *šjəp* in (*Kumārajiva*, i. e.:) (*Kumāra-*)*dživ(-a)*. These three cases reveal the stage *dž-* shortly before the time of Anc. Chin. But then we have further the striking case of Sanskr. *dhyān(a)* rendered by 禪 *šjān*; here we have the still earlier phase Arch. **ǵjan*, which must thus have kept alive well into our era before it passed on to *> džjan > šjān*.

To sum up: Arch. Chin. possessed the following initials:

k, k', g, g'; ng;
 · (as in *·áng*).
t, t', d, d', n, l, s, z, ts, ts', dz, dz';
tš, tš', dž', š;
ī, ī', ǵ, ǵ', ŋ, š.
p, p', (b?), b', m.

In Anc. Chin. as well as in all modern dialects there is a strict rule that there are no consonant combinations: the initial is invariably a single consonant (as such we also reckon, of course, the affricates *ts, tš, tš, nš* etc.). But the *h i e s h e n g* characters often reveal initial consonant groups in Arch. Chin. A few examples:

1. 東闍 2. 莒呂 3. 屢婁 4. 果保
5. 盤藍覽 6. 兼廉 7. 禁林 8. 泣立
9. 京鯨諒 10. 各閣 恪格洛略
11. 鬲 12. 稟廩 13. 變蠻鸞戀
14. 埋蘿里 15. 睦陸 16. 茆卯柳
17. 螭離 18. 獺刺 19. 寵龍 20. 豐禮體
21. 率蟀率腓 22. 醜麗 23. 史使吏
24. 數婁 25. 需儒 26. 裏讓曩
27. 攝聶 28. 恕絮如
29. 歎難難 30. 匿匿 31. 丑紐
32. 麾麻靡 33. 撫無 34. 昏民
35. 忽勿 36. 微微 37. 黑墨
38. 海每 39. 耗毛

1. Anc. *kan* : *lân*; 2. *kɨwo* : *lɨwo*; 3. *kɨu* : *lɨu*; 4. *kuá* : *luá*; 5. *kam* : *lám*; 6. *kiem* : *liám*; 7. *kɨəm* : *liəm*; 8. *k'ɨəp* : *liəp*; 9. *kɨvng*, *g'ɨvng* : *liang*; 10. *kák*, *kák*, *k'ák*, *ɣák* : *lák*, *liák*; 11. *kək*, *liek*.
12. *pɨəm* : *liəm*; 13. *pɨän*, *man* : *luän*, *liwän*; 14. *măi*, *măi* : *lji*; 15. *mɨuk* : *liuk*; 16. *kau* : *mau* : *liəu*.
17. *ɿ'ig* : *ljiɿ*; 18. *t'át* : *lât*; 19. *ɿ'iwong* : *liwong*; 20. *t'iei* : *liei*.
21. *ɣiüət*, *ɣiüət* : *liüət*, *liüət*; 22. *ɣig* : *liei*; 23. *ɣi*, *ɣi* : *lji*; 24. *ɣiu* : *liu*.
25. *ɣiu* : *níɣu*; 26. *ɣiang* : *níɣiang*, *náng*; 27. *ɣiäp* : *niäp*; 28. *ɣiwo*, *ɣiwo* : *níɣwo*.
29. *t'án* : *nán*, *níɣän*; 30. *t'ək*, *niək*; 31. *ɿ'ɣu* : *niɣu*.
32. *ɣjwɿɿ* : *ma*, *mjiɿ*; 33. *ɣuo* : *mɨu*; 34. *ɣuən* : *miən*; 35. *ɣuət* : *mɨuət*; 36. *ɣjwɿɿ* : *mjwɿɿ*; 37. *ɣək* : *mək*; 38. *ɣəi* : *muəi*; 39. *ɣáu* : *máu*.

A discrepancy in initials like *kan* : *lân* between »Phonetic« and derivate goes strongly against the general rule that the initials should be, if not identical, at least phonetically cognate (both gutturals, or both labials etc.), and it clearly reveals that in cases 1—11 there must have been some combination of guttural and *l*, and so on. The great difficulty is to determine whether there was a consonant group in both Phonetic and derivate or only in one of them; in other words: which of the following three alternatives is true?

- a. 東 *klan* : 關 *glân*
- b. 東 *kan* : 關 *klân*
- c. 東 *klan* : 關 *lân*

The same question arises in regard to the other consonant combinations here exemplified: 12, 13 *p* and *l*; 13—16 *m* and *l*; 17—20 *t'*, *ɿ'* and *l*; 21—24 *ɣ* and *l*; 25—28 *s*, *ɣ* and *ni* (< *ni*-), *n*; 29—31 *t'*, *ɿ'* and *n*, *ni*, *ni* (< *ni*); 32—39 *ɣ* and *m*.

Though it is only rarely that we can find proofs in one direction or the other, the *points d'appui* suffice to show that of the alternatives given above we cannot invariably follow one and the same.

In the first group, we have 5 a *kam*: 5 b *lám*. Here we can prove that the second member had a consonant group, since the word 5 b »indigo« is the same (whether by loan or by affinity) as Siamese *k'ram*, old Siam. *gram*. We can thus confidently construe 5 b Arch. **glám*, and likewise 5 c *glám* »to see«. But then we also reach the first member, for 5 a Anc. *kam* »to see, to inspect« is clearly cognate to 5 c Arch. **glám* and we must reasonably construe: 5 a *klam*: 5 b, 5 c *glám*. Thus 5 a and 5 c have the plausible stem variation *klam* : *glám*. Here, then, alternative a above is indubitable. Similarly, in ex. 11, the same character having double readings Anc. *kək* and *liek*, this certainly is best explained according to alternative a: **klek* and **gliek*.

But in other cases we can prove that the second member had simple consonant. Both 32 c Anc. *mjiɛ* 'not' and 35 b Anc. *miuət* »do not« belong to a large family of negation words which all begin with labials: *p*- and *m*-, and it is therefore certain that our *mjiɛ* and *miuət* here never had any consonant group for initial. Hence the combination is concealed behind the Anc. *χ*- of the first member: Arch. 35 a **χmwət*: 35 b *miwət*, etc.

In the same way we have 15 a Anc. *miuk*: 15 b *liuk*. 15 b *liuk* is the common word »six«, and this is the Chinese counterpart to Tibetan *drug*, and has certainly never had any labial initial. The compound initial must therefore be found in the first member 15 a **miuk*: 15 b **liuk*. Again in the pair 17 a Anc. *i'ie*: 17 b *lije* we may be fairly sure that the second member had a simple Arch. *l*-, since the syllables *liu-li* 流離 occur as the name of a bird (»the *liu-li* bird«) in Ode 37. This is one of the many bisyllabic words having alliteration, and since for *liu* 流 there is not the slightest indication of any other initial than *l*-, the *l*- in *lije* is likewise confirmed. Thus: 17 a *i'ie* < *i'l*:- 17 b *lije* < *l*-.

A third good example is offered by the series 16 a *kau*: 16 b *mau*: 16 c *liɛu*. If we had only: *kau*: *liɛu* we should be tempted to propose *kau* < *kl*:- *liɛu* < *gl*-, like the cases 1—11 above. But then 16 b *mau* makes its appearance, indicating a labial initial, and we must needs construe: 16 a *kau* < *kl*:- 16 b *mau* < *ml*-, 16 c *liɛu* < *l*-.

In short, our reconstructions of compound initials in Arch. Chin. are often merely tentative: the *hie sheng* indicate them unmistakably in certain cases, but the details of the reconstruction remain uncertain.¹⁾ And we may take it for granted that many more cases of compound initials existed, though there do not happen to be any *hie sheng* characters to reveal them.

Passing on to the Arch. vocalism, we shall base ourselves on the Anc. Chin. finals, as reconstructed above (Finals 1—136 in Tables A—Y p. 232), and sort them out in Archaic phonological groups. The criterion for which finals are kindred and belong together in one group will, of course, in the first place be the rimes of the Shī and, to a small extent, rimes in other Chou texts.²⁾ For certain finals, which do not happen to have representatives among the rime words of the Chou texts, we shall have to resort to other considerations, above all the *hie sheng* characters. Once a certain Arch. phonological group has been delimited as to which Anc. finals belong to it, we shall try to determine their Arch. values. It must be particularly observed that one Anc. final does not necessarily belong in its entirety to one Arch.

¹⁾ In some cases the initial groups are even more complicated and obscure than those adduced above, see, for instance, Grammata n:ris 359, 467, 502, 613, 1069, 1125, 1169.

²⁾ The rimes in the Shī are carefully registered in The Book of Odes, Chinese text, transcription and translation by Bernhard Karlgren, Stockholm 1950. There, in the Mandarin transcription of each stanza, the Arch. reading of every riming word is indicated in parenthesis. The tables of Shī rimes in our present article are based on the records in that book. There exist, in this extensive collection of poems, a small number of irregular cases, hedge rimes which break the general rules of riming categories. In our synthesis here we have of course disregarded these faulty rimes.

group. We shall see, for instance, that the Anc. final *-ien* derives from three different Arch. finals: **-ian*, *-ien*, *-iən* which have coincided in Anc. Chin.

In the following the Arch. Chin. finals will be numbered by figures in italics, as opposed to Anc. Chin. finals, which are numbered by figures in Roman type. These figures in Roman type thus refer to our Sound Tables pp. 232—234 above.

Group I.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. I 1. <i>ān</i> (Anc. 1)	I 7. <i>uān</i> (Anc. 13)
» II 2. <i>an</i> (Anc. 3)	II 8. <i>wān</i> (Anc. 15)
3. <i>ǎn</i> (part of Anc. 5)	9. <i>wǎn</i> (part of Anc. 17)
» III 4. <i>ǐān</i> (Anc. 7)	III 10. <i>ǐwān</i> (Anc. 19)
5. <i>ǐən</i> (Anc. 9)	11. <i>ǐwən</i> (Anc. 21)
» IV 6. <i>ien</i> (part of Anc. 11)	IV 12. <i>iwen</i> (part of Anc. 23).

Type words:

1a 干 乾 b 衍 c 翰 d 岸 e 漢 罕 f 安 g 單 瘡 亶 旦 h 嘆 i 檀 j 難 k 漿
 餐 l 殘 m 爛 n 歎
 2a 澗 菅 b 顏 鴈 c 晏 d 汕 e 慢 f 諫
 3a 閒 簡 簡 b 閑 憫 c 山 [d 琰 e 剡 f 產 g 辦 h 揀]
 4a 愆 b 虔 c 衍 d 彥 e 筵 f 焉 g 展 h 挺 i 塵 j 旃 k 憚 l 墀 m 然
 n 連 連 o 遷 p 踐 q 羨 r 僊 s 弁
 5a 言 嶽 b 軒 憲 獻
 6a 肩 見 b 燕 宴 c 霰 [d 研 e 顯 f 邊 g 扁 h 片 i 練
 7a 冠 瘡 館 管 b 寬 c 完 丸 d 緬 浹 c 斂 f 博 溥 g 亂 h 泮 i 樂
 8a 關 卅 貫 b 環 c 板 反 d 反 c 蠻
 9a [爰 b 幻 c 頤]
 10a 巷 b 巷 翬 c 僂 d 恂 e 轉 f 泉 g 還 h 宣 選 i 變
 11a 繼 b 遠 援 媛 垣 園 c 原 願 d 咍 諼 e 怨 婉 f 陟 藩 反 g 幡
 h 樊 幡 繁 絆
 12a 駟 [b 睞 c 縣]

All these words, except those which are placed within brackets, are rime words in the Shī, and rime with each other within the range of all these Anc. finals, e. g. Anc. *kân* : *ngiwn* (Ode 39); *şăn* : *k'ân* (O. 171); *yân* : *çiwn* : *ńziân* (O. 215); *jiwn* : *kwan* : *liân* : *ngiwn* : *tşîân* (O. 58); *·iwn* : *ngân* : *p'uân* : *·ien* : *·an* : *tân* : *pîwn* (O. 58), etc.

It is easy to recognize that in Arch. Chin. the principal vowel in the whole of this Group was an «a» of some kind or other, and that the finals *-iân*, *-iwn*, *-ien* have been created through «i-umlaut»: **iân* > *iân*, **iân* > *iwn*, **ian* > *ien*. This is fully confirmed by the *h i e s h e n g*; we need only give a few examples of the connection of *iân*, *iwn* and *ien* with *ân* and *an*: 4 *d ngiân* is Phon. in 2 *b ngan*; 4 *j tşîân* has Phon. *tân*, 4 *k tş'iân* has Phon. *tân*; 4 *p dz'iân* has the same Phon. as 1 *l dz'ân*; 5 *b çiwn* has Phon. 1 *a kân*; 6 *c sien* has Phon. *sân*.

If we further observe that Finals 3 (with 9) and 5 (with 11) are the short-vowelled counterparts of the long-vowelled finals in the rest, the Arch. sound system emerges as a very simple and logical whole:

Div. I 1. <i>*ân</i>	I 7. <i>wân</i>
» II 2. <i>an</i> 3. <i>-ăn</i>	II 8. <i>wan</i> 9. <i>wăn</i>
» III 4. <i>iân</i> 5. <i>iân</i>	III 10. <i>iwan</i> 11. <i>iwăn</i>
» IV 6. <i>ian</i>	IV 12. <i>iwân</i> .

It is then perfectly natural that these finals should all have rimed with each other in the Shī.

It is important to observe that words with Anc. finals *ân*, *an*, *iân*, *iwn*, *uân*, *wan*, *iwân*, *iwn* occur as rime words in the Shī exclusively in this rime group, never, as a rule, in the Groups with Anc. *-ən* or *-en* to be studied later.¹⁾ We may therefore safely conclude that all words with these Anc. finals *ân*, *an*, *iân*, *iwn* etc., even those which do not happen to occur as rime words, invariably derive from Arch. *ân*, *an*, *iân*, *iân* etc. In other words, no other Arch. finals than 1. **ân*, 2. **an*, 4. **iân*, 5. **iân* etc. resulted in Anc. *ân*, *an*, *iân*, *iwn* etc., and the Arch. and Anc. finals are congruent as to the words they comprise: we may establish an equation: Anc. *ân* = Arch. **ân*, etc.

Matters are quite different in the Anc. finals *ăn*, *ien*, *wăn*, *iwen*. Each of them has two or more different Archaic origins, since words with these Anc. finals occur in two or more of the Shī rime groups. An equation Anc. *ăn* = Arch. **ăn* is not possible: among the words with Anc. *ăn* we have to determine from case to case which do belong to our Group I here and which do not. Those words that are not put within brackets in our Table have their placing in our present Group I proved by Shī rimes. As to those in brackets we observe:²⁾

¹⁾ The irregular rimes which break this rule are exceedingly rare.

²⁾ When there is no documentation through rimes, we have sometimes to resort to the testimony of the Phonetics in the script. Thus, for instance, since 殘 Anc. *dz'ân* is proved by Shī rimes to belong

3*d* Anc. *tṣǎn* and 3*e* Anc. *tṣ'ǎn* have the same Phon. as 1*l*; 3*f* Anc. *ṣǎn* rimes in Kuan: Nei ye with 11*b*1; 3*g* Anc. *b'ǎn* has the same Phon. as several Anc. *b'ǎn* (e. g. 辨), and as we saw, all words with Anc. *ǎn* (< **ian*) belong to our Group I here; 3*h* Anc. *kǎn* has the same Phon. as 2*f* and 1*m*; 6*d* Anc. *kien* is wr. 6*a*1 in Shī, hence Arch. **kian*; 6*e* Anc. *χien* rimes in Tso: Chao 3 with 1*g*4, and in Li: Liyün with 1*f*; 6*f* Anc. *pien* has a Phon. which with radical 75 gives a char. **mian*; 6*g* Anc. *pien* is Phon. in several Anc. *piän*, *p'ǎn*, *b'ǎn* < **ian* (Fin. 4); 6*h* has two readings: Anc. *p'ien* and *p'uän* (the latter Arch. **p'wän*); 6*i* Anc. *lien* has the same Phon. as 2*f* and 1*m*; 9*a* Anc. *ywǎn* has the same Phon. as 11*b*2,3; 9*b* Anc. *ywǎn* is etym. cognate to 換 Anc. *ywän* which has the same Phon. as 7*d*2; 9*c* Anc. *ngwǎn* has the same Phon. as 7*c*1; 12*b* Anc. *kiwen* has the same Phon. as 12*a*; 12*c* Anc. *yiwen* in the sense of »distant» is closely cognate to 11*b*1.

If we insert the Arch., Anc. and modern Mand. values of our type words in the table, we obtain:

1 <i>a.</i> * <i>kân</i> / <i>kân</i> / <i>k a n</i>	2 <i>e.</i> * <i>man</i> / <i>man</i> / <i>m a n</i>
<i>b.</i> * <i>k'ân</i> / <i>k'ân</i> / <i>k' a n</i>	<i>f.</i> * <i>klan</i> / <i>kan</i> / <i>k i e n</i>
<i>c.</i> * <i>g'ân</i> / <i>g'ân</i> / <i>h a n</i>	3 <i>a.</i> * <i>kǎn</i> / <i>kǎn</i> / <i>k i e n</i>
<i>d.</i> * <i>ngân</i> / * <i>ngân</i> / <i>a n</i>	<i>b.</i> * <i>g'ǎn</i> / <i>g'ǎn</i> / <i>h i e n</i>
<i>e.</i> * <i>χân</i> / <i>χân</i> / <i>h a n</i>	<i>c.</i> * <i>sǎn</i> / <i>sǎn</i> / <i>s h a n</i>
<i>f.</i> * <i>ân</i> / <i>ân</i> / <i>a n</i>	<i>d.</i> * <i>tsǎn</i> / <i>tsǎn</i> / <i>c h a n</i>
<i>g.</i> * <i>tân</i> / <i>tân</i> / <i>t a n</i>	<i>e.</i> * <i>ts'ǎn</i> / <i>ts'ǎn</i> / <i>c h' a n</i>
<i>h.</i> * <i>t'ân</i> / <i>t'ân</i> / <i>t' a n</i>	<i>f.</i> * <i>sǎn</i> / <i>sǎn</i> / <i>c h' a n</i>
<i>i.</i> * <i>d'ân</i> / <i>d'ân</i> / <i>t' a n</i>	<i>g.</i> * <i>b'ǎn</i> / <i>b'ǎn</i> / <i>p a n</i>
<i>j.</i> * <i>nân</i> / <i>nân</i> / <i>n a n</i>	<i>h.</i> * <i>klǎn</i> / <i>kǎn</i> / <i>k i e n</i>
<i>k.</i> * <i>ts'ân</i> / <i>ts'ân</i> / <i>t s' a n</i>	4 <i>a.</i> * <i>k'ian</i> / <i>k'ian</i> / <i>k' i e n</i>
<i>l.</i> * <i>dz'ân</i> / <i>dz'ân</i> / <i>t s' a n</i>	<i>b.</i> * <i>g'ian</i> / <i>g'ian</i> / <i>k' i e n</i>
<i>m.</i> * <i>glân</i> / <i>lân</i> / <i>l a n</i>	<i>c.</i> * <i>gian</i> / <i>ian</i> / <i>y e n</i>
<i>n.</i> * <i>t'nân</i> / <i>t'ân</i> / <i>t' a n</i>	<i>d.</i> * <i>ngian</i> / <i>ngian</i> / <i>y e n</i>
2 <i>a.</i> * <i>kan</i> / <i>kan</i> / <i>k i e n</i>	<i>e.</i> * <i>dian</i> / <i>ian</i> / <i>y e n</i>
<i>b.</i> * <i>ngan</i> / <i>ngan</i> / <i>y e n</i>	<i>f.</i> * <i>ian</i> / <i>ian</i> / <i>y e n</i>
<i>c.</i> * <i>an</i> / <i>an</i> / <i>y e n</i>	<i>g.</i> * <i>tian</i> / <i>tian</i> / <i>c h a n</i>
<i>d.</i> * <i>san</i> / <i>san</i> / <i>s h a n</i>	<i>h.</i> * <i>t'ian</i> / <i>t'ian</i> / <i>c h' a n</i>

to our Group I here, and since 3*d* 𪛗 Anc. *tṣǎn* has the same script Phon. as the former, we conclude that the latter also belongs to our Group I, and, like it, had an Arch. »a» vocalism. This kind of proof is, indeed, not entirely conclusive, for sometimes one Phon. series of the script comprises words belonging to two different Shī rime Groups. But, after all, such cases are comparatively rare (see *Grammata Serica*), and the chances that our conclusion is correct are very great indeed. — This fact implies that we need not record, in our Tables of type words, more than one or two examples of each Phon. series, leaving out the rest, if they have the same Anc. rime. Thus, since 𪛗 Anc. *tân* is placed here by Shī rimes, it is not necessary to record 𪛗 Anc. *t'ân* and 𪛗 Anc. *d'ân* — their Arch. final follows from their having the same Anc. final and the same Arch. script Phon. as the former; since 6*i* 練 Anc. *lien* belongs here (because it has the same Phon. as 2*f* Anc. *kan*, Shī rime word), we need not record 練 Anc. *lien*, which was obviously homophonous with the former, not only in Anc. but also in Arch. Chin., having the same script Phon. In fact, in each Final we add in brackets only such words, the script Phonetics of which are not represented among the Shī rime words earlier in the line.

- 4 i. *d'ian / d'ian / ch'an
 j. *t'ian / ts'ian / chan
 k. *l'ian / ts'ian / ch'an
 l. *d'ian / éian / ch'an
 m. *n'ian / n'ian / jan
 n. *l'ian / l'ian / lien
 o. *ts'ian / ts'ian / tsien
 p. *dz'ian / dz'ian / tsien
 q. *s'ian / s'ian / sien
 r. *b'ian / b'ian / pien
 5 a. *ng'ian / ng'ian / yen
 b. *x'ian / x'ian / hien
 6 a. *kian / kien / kien
 b. *ian / ien / yen
 c. *sian / sien / sien
 d. *kian / kien / kien
 e. *xian / xien / hien
 f. *pian / pien / pien
 g. *pian / pien / pien
 h. *p'ian / p'ien / p'ien
 i. *g'ian / lien / lien
 7 a. *kwán / kuán / kuan
 b. *k'wán / k'uán / k'uan
 c. *g'wán / yuán / (wan)
 d. *xwán / xuán / huan
 e. *twán / tuán / tuan
 f. *d'wán / d'uán / t'uan
 g. *lwán / luán / luan
 h. *p'wán / p'uán / p'an

- 7 i. *blwán / luán / luan
 8 a. *kwan / kwan / kuan
 b. *g'wan / ywan / huan
 c. *pwan / pwan / pan
 d. *b'wan / b'wan / pan
 e. *mlwan / mwan / man
 9 a. *g'wán / ywán / huan
 b. *g'wán / ywán / huan
 c. *ngwán / ngwán / wan
 10 a. *k'iwán / k'iwán / k'uan
 b. *g'iwán / g'iwán / k'uan
 c. *x'iwán / x'iwán / huan
 d. *i'iwán / i'iwán / yuan
 e. *t'iwán / t'iwán / chuan
 f. *dz'iwán / dz'iwán / ts'uan
 g. *dz'iwán / z'iwán / süan
 h. *s'iwán / s'iwán / süan
 i. *bl'iwán / l'iwán / luan
 11 a. *k'iwán / k'iwán / k'uan
 b. *g'iwán / j'iwán / yuan
 c. *ng'iwán / ng'iwán / yuan
 d. *x'iwán / x'iwán / huan
 e. *i'iwán / i'iwán / yuan
 f. *p'iwán / p'iwán / fan
 g. *p'iwán / p'iwán / fan
 h. *b'iwán / b'iwán / fan
 12 a. *x'iwán / x'iwán / huan
 b. *k'iwán / kiwán / k'uan
 c. *g'iwán / y'iwán / huan

Group II.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Div. I 13. át (Anc. 2) | I 19. uát (Anc. 14) |
| » II 14. at (Anc. 4) | II 20. wat (Anc. 16) |
| » 15. ät (part of Anc. 6) | 21. wät (part of Anc. 18) |
| » III 16. iät (Anc. 8) | III 22. iwät (Anc. 20) |
| » 17. iwt (Anc. 10) | 23. iwwt (Anc. 22) |
| » IV 18. iet (part of Anc. 12) | IV 24. iwet (part of Anc. 24) |

Type words:

- 13a 葛 𠵿 渴 c 渴 d 曷 過 e 怛 f 達 隨 g 達
 14a 牽 [𠵿 瞎 c 晰]
 15a [軋 𠵿 札 c 察 d 殺]
 16a 榮 𠵿 竭 c 榮 傑 竭 揭 d 藥 孽 e 舌 f 烈 g 滅
 17a 揭 [𠵿 馭 c 謁]
 18a 截 [𠵿 渌 c 竊 d 楚 e 蔑]
 19a 括 活 𠵿 闊 c 活 估 d 濺 c 掇 f 說 g 奪 h 撮 i 拊 j 撥 發 k 輓 芟
 𠵿 秣
 20a 刮 𠵿 刖
 21a 八 𠵿 拔
 22a 𠵿 說 閱 c 說 d 雪 e 威 [f 缺]
 23a 𠵿 閱 c 越 鉞 d 月 e 發 髮 f 伐
 24a [決 𠵿 缺]

All the words not placed within brackets are Shī rime words and interchange freely, e. g. Anc. *pwāt* : *d'āt* : *jiwāt* : *liāt* : *dz'iet* (Ode 304); *ngiwt* : *yuāt* : *g'īāt* : *kuāt* : *k'āt* (O. 66); *yat* : *k'āt* : *kuāt* (O. 218), etc.

This Group II is the exact -*t* counterpart of the -*n* category in Group I. Just as in that group, *īāt* derives from **iat*, *īwt* from **iāt*, *iet* from **iat*, all through *ii*-umlaut; this is confirmed by *hie sheng* cases like 16 b *k'īāt* with Phon. *yāt*, 17 b *xiwt* with Phon. *yāt*, 24 a *kiwt* with the same Phon. as 快 Anc. *k'wai* (< **k'wad*, see next group). In exactly the same way as in that Group, we have the distinction between long- and short-vowelled finals:

Div.	I 13.	<i>*āt</i>		I 19.	<i>wāt</i>
»	II 14.	<i>at</i>	15. <i>āt</i>	II 20.	<i>wat</i>
»	III 16.	<i>iat</i>	17. <i>īāt</i>	21. <i>wāt</i>	
»	IV 18.	<i>iat</i>		III 22.	<i>īwat</i>
				23. <i>īwāt</i>	
				IV 24.	<i>iwat</i>

It is but natural that these finals interchange in the Arch. rimes.

The parallelism with Group I is perfect in one more respect. Anc. Finals I *āt*, *uāt*, III *īāt*, *īwāt*, *īwt*, *īwāt* never, as a rule, occur in other Shī rime groups, so that we can conclude that every Anc. *āt* derives from an Arch. **āt*, every *īāt* from a **iat* etc. The same is also true of Anc. *at*, *wat*, though the riming words are here too rare to be conclusive, and *hie sheng* evidence has to be drawn upon (14 b has

Phon. *g'ád, see Group III; 14 c has Phon. *îiat, 20 a has Phon. *kwât, 20 b Phon. *ngiwât).¹⁾ On the contrary, Anc. Fin. *ât*, *iet*, *wât*, *iwet* do not all derive from Arch. »a» group finals, but some of them from »ə» and »e» group finals (to be studied below), and so no general equation Anc. *ât* = Arch. *ât is permissible. Here, as in Gr. I, the words which belong in our »a» group have to be determined from case to case. Those type words not placed within brackets are carried here by Shī rimes. Further:

15b *tšât* is etym. closely cognate to 折 *îiat (Fin. 16); 15c Anc. *tš'ât* rimes in Lü: Li su with 害 *γái* < *g'ád and has Phon. *tsiad (see next group); 15d Anc. *šât* rimes in Lao: Jen wei with 19c1 and in Lü: Hiao hing with 23b; 18b Anc. *kiet* has a Phon. which in Yi: Hi ts'i rimes w. 15c; 18c Anc. *ts'iet* in Chuang: Ts'i wu lun is loan char. for 15c; 18d Anc. *b'iet* has a Phon. which with rad. 205 gives *piat; 18e Anc. *miet* in Sung Yü: Feng fu rimes w. 13e; 21a Anc. *pwât*: the »a» vocalism is confirmed by Tibet. *brgyad*; 21b Anc. *b'wât*, altern. reading *b'wât (Fin. 19); 24a Anc. *kiwet* in Meng: Tsin sin rimes w. 15c and in Li: Yüe ling with 折 *îiat; 24b Anc. *k'iwet* has the altern. reading *k'iwât*, see above. The »a» Group nature of these words here recorded obtains likewise in other words written with the same Phonetics.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 13 a. *kât / kât / k o | 17 c. *îât / 'îpt / y e |
| b. *k'ât / k'ât / k'o | 18 a. *dz'iat / dz'iet / tsie |
| c. *g'ât / γât / h o | b. *kiet / kiet / kie |
| d. *ât / ât / o | c. *ts'iat / ts'iet / ts'ie |
| e. *tât / tât / t a | d. *b'iat / b'iet / pie |
| f. *t'ât / t'ât / t'a | e. *miat / miet / mie |
| g. *d'ât / d'ât / t a | 19 a. *kwât / kuât / k u o |
| 14 a. *g'at / γat / h i a | b. *k'wât / k'uât / k' u o |
| b. *γat / γat / h i a | c. *g'wât / γuât / h u o |
| c. *iat / îat / c h a | d. *χwât / χuât / h u o |
| 15 a. *ât / ât / y a | e. *lwât / luât / t o |
| b. *tsât / tšât / c h a | f. *t'wât / t'uât / t'o |
| c. *ts'ât / tš'ât / c h'a | g. *d'wât / d'uât / t o |
| d. *sât / šât / s h a | h. *ts'wât / ts'uât / t s'o |
| 16 a. *kîat / kîät / k i e | i. *lwât / luât / l o |
| b. *k'îat / k'îät / k' i e | j. *pwât / puât / p o |
| c. *g'îat / g'îät / k i e | k. *b'wât / b'uât / p o |
| d. *ngîat / ngîät / n i e | l. *mwât / muât / m o |
| e. *d'îat / dš'îät / s h e | 20 a. *kwat / kwat / k u a |
| f. *lîat / lîät / l i e | b. *ngwat / ngwat / w a |
| g. *mîat / mîät / m i e | 21 a. *pwât / pwât / p a |
| 17 a. *g'îât / g'îpt / k i e | b. *b'wât / b'wât / p a |
| b. *χîât / χîpt / h i e | 22 a. *îiwat / îiwât / c h o |

¹⁾ Anc. Fin. *îwpt is quite common in rimes, but îpt is rare, and we have added 17b *χîpt* and 17c *'îpt*, the »a» nature of which is confirmed by their Phon. *g'ât. In 22 we have added 22f *k'îwât* (alternative reading, cf. 24) which in Lao: Shun hua rimes with 15c *ts'ât.

- 22 b. *d_iwat / i_wät / y ü e
 c. *š_iwat / š_iwät / s h u o
 d. *s_iwat / s_iwät / s ü e
 e. *χ_miwat / χ_iwät / h ü e
 f. *k'iwat / k'iwät / k' ü e
 23 a. *k_iwät / k_iwät / k ü e
 b. *k'iwät / k'iwät / k'ü e

- 23 c. *g_iwät / j_iwät / y ü e
 d. *ng_iwät / ng_iwät / y ü e
 e. *p_iwät / p_iwät / f a
 f. *b'iwät / b'iwät / f a
 24 a. *kiwat / kiwet / k ü e
 b. *k'iwat / k'iwet / k'ü e

Group III.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Div. I 25. <i>ái</i> (Anc. 45) | I 31. <i>wái</i> (Anc. 53) |
| » II 26. <i>ai</i> (Anc. 49) | II 32. <i>wai</i> (Anc. 57) |
| 27. <i>äi</i> (part of Anc. 48) | 33. <i>wäi</i> (part of Anc. 56) |
| » III 28. <i>iai</i> (Anc. 50) | III 34. <i>iwäi</i> (Anc. 58) |
| 29. <i>iwi</i> (Anc. 51) | 35. <i>iwi</i> (Anc. 59) |
| » IV 30. <i>iei</i> (part of Anc. 52) | |

Type words:

- 25a 害 𠂇 艾 c 帶 d 大
 26a 薑
 27a 療 [𠂇 介 c 殺]
 28a 惕 揭 總 𠂇 哲 c 逝 d 世 e 泄 勸 f 厲
 29a 艾
 30a [契 𠂇 蝦 c 蟬 鈇]
 31a 外 𠂇 噉 c 脫 兌 d 駝 e 肺 f 茂 拔
 32a 敗 𠂇 蓮
 33a 拜
 34a 蹶 𠂇 衛 c 喙 d 悅 說 e 歲
 35a 吠

Here again, all our type words, except those in brackets, figure as rime words in the Shī and rime with each other within the range of these Anc. finals; e. g. Anc. *mwai* : *j_iwäi* : *yái* (Ode 39); *liäi* : *b'wai* : *d'ai* (O. 253); *ngwäi* : *ziäi* : *ziäi* (O. 111).

That we have here the -d group corresponding to the -n category in Group I and the -t category in Group II is already evident from the fact that there are frequent

Shī rime contacts with the preceding -t group, e. g. *p̄iwt* (**p̄iwăt*) : *l̄iăt* (**l̄iat*) : *γăt* (**g'ăt*) : *s̄iwăi* (34e) rime in Ode 154; *l̄iăt* (**l̄iat*) : *p̄iwt* (**p̄iwăt*) : *γăi* (25a) in Ode 202; *γăt* (**g'ăt*) : *k'ăt* : *kuăt* (**kwăt*) : *z̄iăi* (28c) in Ode 218; *nḡiwt* (**nḡiwăt*) : *d'ăt* : *γăi* (25a) in Ode 225; *b'uăt* (**b'wăt*) : *l̄iăt* (**l̄iat*) : *s̄iwăi* (34e) in Ode 245; *b'uăt* (**b'wăt*) : *s̄iăi* (28d) in Ode 255; *d̄z'jăt* (*d̄'jăt*) : *ngwăi* (31a) in Ode 260.

Furthermore, we have already concluded from the hie sheng characters that the -i is a vocalization of an Arch. -d, and our rime words offer a series of examples of such hie sheng proofs: 25a *γăi* is Phon. (with rad. 18) in a **kăt*; 27a *t̄săi* has the same Phon. as 15c *t̄s'ăt*; 28a *k'jăi* has Phon. **g'ăt*; 28b *t̄s̄jăi* has Phon. **l̄jăt*; 30a *k'iei* is Phon. in 18b **kiat*; 31c *t'wăi* has a second reading **t'wăt*; 31f1 *b'wăi* has Phon. **b'iwăt*; 31f2 *b'wăi* has a second reading **b'wăt*; 34a *k̄iwăi* has a second reading **k̄iwăt*.

It is likewise evident that we have here exactly the same «i-umlaut» as in Groups I and II, viz.: **iad* > *iai*, **jăi* > *ivi*, **iad* > *iei*, and this is confirmed by hie sheng, e. g. 27a *t̄săi* with Phon. *t̄s̄jăi*; 28a *k'jăi* with Phon. *γăt*, etc.

The Arch. scheme is now clear:

Div.	I 25.	<i>ád</i>			I 31.	<i>wád</i>
»	II 26.	<i>ad</i>	27.	<i>ăd</i>	II 32.	<i>wad</i> 33 <i>wăd</i>
»	III 28.	<i>iad</i>	29.	<i>ĩăd</i>	III 34.	<i>iwad</i> 35 <i>iwăd</i>
»	IV 30.	<i>iad</i>				

Here, as in the preceding groups, there are certain Anc. finals only a part of which derive from Arch. «a» finals. Those are, exactly corresponding to those in Groups I and II, our finals 27 Anc. *ăi*, 30 *iei* and 33 *wăi*. Some of their words belong in other groups, and those belonging here have to be determined individually:

27a is placed here by a Shī rime; 27b Anc. *kăi* in Ch'u ts'ī: Kiu pien rimes with 25c, 32b etc.; 27c Anc. *şăi* has a second reading **săt*; 30a Anc. *k'iei* is Phon. in 18b **kiat*; 30b Anc. *tiei* has the same Phon. as 19e **twăt*; 30c1 Anc. *d'iei* has Phon. 25c; 30c2 Anc. *d'iei* has Phon. 25d; 33a Anc. *puăi* is placed here by a Shī rime.

Résumé of the type words:

25 a.	* <i>g'ád</i> / <i>γăi</i> / <i>h a i</i>	28 c.	* <i>d̄iad</i> / <i>z̄iăi</i> / <i>sh ī</i>
b.	* <i>ngád</i> / <i>ngăi</i> / <i>a ĩ</i>	d.	* <i>şiad</i> / <i>şjăi</i> / <i>sh ī</i>
c.	* <i>tád</i> / <i>tăi</i> / <i>t a i</i>	e.	* <i>ziad</i> / <i>jăi</i> / <i>y i</i>
d.	* <i>d'ád</i> / <i>d'ăi</i> / <i>t a</i>	f.	* <i>liad</i> / <i>l̄jăi</i> / <i>li</i>
26 a.	* <i>lad</i> / <i>l'ăi</i> / <i>ch'ai</i>	29 a.	* <i>ngiăd</i> / <i>nḡivi</i> / <i>y i</i>
27 a.	* <i>tsăd</i> / <i>t̄săi</i> / <i>ch a i</i>	30 a.	* <i>k'iad</i> / <i>k'iei</i> / <i>k' i</i>
b.	* <i>kăd</i> / <i>kăi</i> / <i>k i e</i>	b.	* <i>tiad</i> / <i>tiei</i> / <i>t i</i>
c.	* <i>săd</i> / <i>şăi</i> / <i>sh a i</i>	c.	* <i>d'iad</i> / <i>d'iei</i> / <i>t i</i>
28 a.	* <i>k'iad</i> / <i>k'jăi</i> / <i>k' i</i>	31 a.	* <i>ngwăd</i> / <i>ngwăi</i> / <i>w a i</i>
b.	* <i>l̄iad</i> / <i>t̄s̄jăi</i> / <i>ch ī</i>	b.	* <i>χwăd</i> / <i>χwăi</i> / <i>h u e i</i>

- 31 c. *t'wád / t'wái / t'uei
 d. *d'wád / d'wái / t'uei
 e. *p'wád / p'wái / p'ei
 f. *b'wád / b'wái / p'ei
 32 a. *b'wad / b'wai / pai
 b. *mwad / mwei / mai
 33 a. *pwäd / pwäi / pai

- 34 a. *k'iwad / k'iwäi / k'uei
 b. *g'iwad / g'iwäi / wei
 c. *t'iwad / t'iwäi / ch'uei
 d. *s'iwad / s'iwäi / shuei
 e. *siwad / siwäi / suei
 35 a. *b'iwäd / b'iwäi / fei

Group IV.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. I 36.	ən (Anc. 91)	I 41.	uən (Anc. 98)
» II 37.	ăn (part of Anc. 5)	II 42.	wăn (part of Anc. 17)
» III 38 A.	ien (Anc. 94)	III 43 A.	iūn (Anc. 102)
» 38 B.	iěn (part of Anc. 92)	43 B.	iüēn (part of Anc. 100)
» 39 A.	iēn (part of Anc. 96)	44.	iwēn (part of Anc. 100)
39 B.	iěn (part of Anc. 92)	IV 45.	iwen (part of Anc. 23)
IV 40.	ien (part of Anc. 11)		

Type words:

36a 恩 [b根]

37a 艱 b 盼 [c限]

38A a 勤 b 欣 c 殷 慇

38B d 振 畛 e 辰 晨 f 忍 g 胤 h 負 [i 軫 j 彬 k 民 縉 旻 l 吝]

39A a 詵

39B b 巾 c 瑾 d 裡 [e 銀]

40a 典 b 倩 (舊) c 先 [d 煙 e 殿 f 殄 g 荐]

41a 昆 b 壺 c 噶 燂 d 遯 e 存 f 孫 飧 g 奔 h 門 璫 (滿) 璽 i 瘡

42a 鰥

43A a 君 b 困 c 羣 d 雲 員 苑 輝 云 耘 e 蕪 訓 f 恆 g 秀 芬 h 焚 i 聞 問 [j 攢]

43B k 眷 川 l 順 m 濬 鵠 n 牯 o 狍 p 輪 淪 [q 純 r 俊 遵 s 隼 t 循 巡]

44a 廡 b 隕 c 閔 [d 圉 窞]

45a [b 犬]

All the type words, except those within brackets, figure as rime words in the Shī, and rime with each other within the range of these Anc. finals, e. g. *muən* : *·iən* : *b'ǐən* : *kǎn* (Ode 40); *χiuan* : *dǎ'iuən* (O. 256); *ʃiən* : *tǎiən* (O. 5); *kwǎn* : *jǐuan* (O. 104) etc.

The principal vocalism in this group is easily determined. In spite of Fin. 37 it cannot have been an »an» group, for that was already there in our Group I. Nor can it have been an »en» group, in spite of Fin. 38 B and 40 for, as we shall see, there is another Shī rime class, distinguished from our present one, which has exclusively Anc. *-iən* and *-ien* and obviously represents an Arch. »en» group. The Arch. »leading» vowel was evidently *ə*: we have here the Arch. »ən» class, with a short, slack principal vowel, and the Arch. values have been preserved in Fin. 36, 38 A (41, 43 A).

If that is the case, what about Fin. 38 B and 39 B *ǐən* (and, correspondingly, 43 B *ǐuən* and 44 *ǐwən*)? They are readily accounted for. The Arch. **iən* has developed differently according to the initials: after gutturals (and the laryngal) it has been maintained in Anc. Chin.: 38 a *g'ǐən* etc.; but after palatals and labials it was carried over into the »en» class (to be studied later), **iən* becoming Anc. *tǎiən* etc. Similarly in all the Arch. Final 40 **iən* (and 45 *iwən*) the strong vocalic »medial *i*» has worked »i-umlaut»: **tiən* > Anc. *tien* etc.

We next come to Fin. 37 *ǎn* and 39 A *ǐen*. The latter gives us the clue: the vowel *ε*, an open, slack »ä» sound, stands sufficiently close, acoustically, to *ə* to allow a **ken* and a **kən* to rime in the Shī. After the supradental initials and with medial *ǐ* (39 A Anc. *ʃiən*) the Arch. *ǐen* has been preserved, but in type 37 (**ken*, without »medial *ǐ*») it has changed into *ǎn*: Anc. *kǎn* etc. Then, finally, we can also account for 39 B Anc. *kǐən* etc. (with 44 Anc. *kǐwən* etc.). It cannot have been Arch. **kǐən*, for then it would have remained Anc. *kǐən* (38 A), as we have already seen. But 39 B comprises exclusively words with guttural and laryngal initials (*kǐən* etc.), whereas 39 A Anc. *tǎiən* has exclusively supradentals. Evidently the two are complementary, and in 39 B we have Arch. **kǐen*, which (after gutturals and laryngals only) has passed over to the *-iən* final in Anc. Ch.

That the Anc. *-ǎn* in 37 had an origin (*ε*) more cognate to *ə* than *ǎ* is sometimes confirmed by the *hie sheng* characters, e. g. 37b *p'ǎn* with Phon. *pǐwən*. Similarly the *hie sheng* often confirm that the Anc. *ǎ* in our 38 B had an Arch. *ə* origin, e. g. 38h Anc. *b'ǐən* with Phon. *pǐwən*.

The Arch. scheme is now clear:

Div.	I 36.	<i>*ən</i>	I 41.	<i>wən</i>
»	II 37.	<i>en</i>	II 42.	<i>wen</i>
»	III 38 A, B.	<i>ǐən</i>	III 43 A, B.	<i>ǐwən</i>
»	III 39 A, B.	<i>ǐen</i>	III 44.	<i>ǐwen</i>
»	III 40.	<i>iən</i>	III 45.	<i>iwən</i>

They all, naturally, rime in the Arch. texts. All words with Anc. Finals *ən*, *iən*, *uən*, *iuən*, *iwěn* as a rule rime in this Arch. rime class, and so we can assume that every Anc. *ən* derives from an Arch. **ən*, every Anc. *iuən* from an Arch. **iəwən* and so on.¹⁾ But the words of the remaining Anc. finals do not invariably belong to our present Arch. *ən* class. We have seen that some words with Anc. *ăn* and *ien* belonged to the Arch. *an* class (having Arch. **ăn* and **ian*, see Group I), and we shall see further below that many Anc. *-iěn* belong in another Arch. category. In order to determine which words in these Anc. rimes really belong to our Arch. finals 37 (42), 38 B, 39 B and 40 (and correspondingly 42, 43 B, 45) we must examine the words individually. Those not placed within brackets are proved by Shī rimes to belong here.

37c has Phon. **kən*; 38i Anc. *tsiěn* in Ch'u: Kiu chang rimes with 38f; 38j Anc. *piěn* has Phon. 43h **b'iəwən*; 38k1 Anc. *mïěn* must have had two Arch. readings, **mïěn* and **mïən*, since it rimes in the *en* class in Shī but is Phon. in 昏 **ɣmwən*; 38k2 Anc. *mïěn* has Phon. **ɣmwən*; 38k3 and 38l Anc. *mïěn* have Phon. **mïəwən*; 39e Anc. *ngiěn* has Phon. **kən*; 40d Anc. *'ien* has the same Phon. as 39d **iən*; 40e Anc. *tien* is Phon. (with rad. 130) in a **d'wən*; 40f Anc. *d'ien* has Phon. **t'iən*; 40g Anc. *dz'ien* has Phon. **dz'wən*; 43j Anc. *kïuən* has Phon. 43b; 43q Anc. *éiüěn* has a second reading **d'wən*; 43r1 Anc. *tsiüěn* has a Phon. which in its turn has Phon. **ziəwən* (cf. 43o); 43r2 Anc. *tsiüěn* has Phon. **tsəwən*; 43s Anc. *sïüěn* has Phon. **swən*; 43t1 Anc. *ziüěn* in Ta Tai: Ai kung wen rimes with 43q and its Phon. with rad. 162 is **d'wən*; 43t2 is etym. s. w. a. 43t1; 44d1 Anc. *g'iüěn* has the alt. reading *k'iüən*; 44d2 Anc. *g'iüěn* has Phon. **kïəwən*; 45a Anc. *kiwen* has Phon. *k'wən*; 45b Anc. *k'iuən* in Li: Fang ki rimes w. 珍 **t'iən*, which has the same Phon. as 38d2.

Résumé of the type words:

36 a. <i>*ən</i> / <i>ən</i> / <i>en</i>	38B k. <i>*mïən</i> / <i>mïěn</i> / <i>min</i>
b. <i>*kən</i> / <i>kən</i> / <i>ken</i>	l. <i>*mliən</i> / <i>liěn</i> / <i>lin</i>
37 a. <i>*kən</i> / <i>kăn</i> / <i>kien</i>	39A a. <i>*sïən</i> / <i>sïen</i> / <i>shen</i>
b. <i>*p'ən</i> / <i>p'ăn</i> / <i>p'an</i>	39B b. <i>*kïən</i> / <i>kïěn</i> / <i>kin</i>
c. <i>*g'ən</i> / <i>g'ăn</i> / <i>hien</i>	c. <i>*g'ien</i> / <i>g'iěn</i> / <i>kin</i>
38A a. <i>*g'ien</i> / <i>g'ien</i> / <i>k'in</i>	d. <i>*iən</i> / <i>iěn</i> / <i>yin</i>
b. <i>*ɣiən</i> / <i>ɣiən</i> / <i>hin</i>	e. <i>*ngiən</i> / <i>ngiěn</i> / <i>yin</i>
c. <i>*iən</i> / <i>iən</i> / <i>yin</i>	40 a. <i>*tiən</i> / <i>tien</i> / <i>tien</i>
38B d. <i>*t'iən</i> / <i>tsiěn</i> / <i>chen</i>	b. <i>*ts'ien</i> / <i>ts'ien</i> / <i>ts'ien</i>
e. <i>*d'ien</i> / <i>ziěn</i> / <i>ch'en</i>	c. <i>*sien</i> / <i>sien</i> / <i>sien</i>
f. <i>*n'ien</i> / <i>n'ien</i> / <i>jen</i>	d. <i>*ien</i> / <i>ien</i> / <i>yen</i>
g. <i>*d'ien</i> / <i>iěn</i> / <i>yin</i>	e. <i>*tiən</i> / <i>tien</i> / <i>tien</i>
h. <i>*b'ien</i> / <i>b'iěn</i> / <i>p'in</i>	f. <i>*d'ien</i> / <i>d'ien</i> / <i>tien</i>
i. <i>*t'iən</i> / <i>tsiěn</i> / <i>chen</i>	g. <i>*dz'ien</i> / <i>dz'ien</i> / <i>tsien</i>
j. <i>*p'ien</i> / <i>p'iěn</i> / <i>pin</i>	41 a. <i>*kwən</i> / <i>kuən</i> / <i>kun</i>

¹⁾ The *ən* words are few, and we have added 36b (involving a long series) which rimes in Lao: Ch'eng siang with 41e and 38a.

- 41 b. *k'wən / k'uən / k'ü n
 c. *t'wən / t'uən / t'ü n
 d. *d'wən / d'uən / t'ü n
 e. *dz'wən / dz'uən / ts'ü n
 f. *swən / suən / s'ü n
 g. *pwən / puən / p'ü n
 h. *mwən / muən / m'ü n
 i. *ɣmwən / ɣuən / h'ü n
 42 a. *kwən / kwän / k'ü a n
 43A a. *kiwən / kiuan / k'ü n
 b. *k'iwən / k'iuən / k'ü n
 c. *g'iwən / g'iuən / k'ü n
 d. *giwən / jiuən / y'ü n
 e. *ɣiwən / ɣiuən / h'ü n
 f. *i'wən / i'üən / y'ü n
 g. *p'iwən / p'iuən / f'ü n
 h. *b'iwən / b'iuən / f'ü n
 i. *m'iwən / m'iuən / w'ü n

- 43A j. *kiwən / kiuan / k'ü n
 43B k. *i'iwən / ts'iuən / c'h'ü n
 l. *d'iwən / dz'iuən / sh'ü n
 m. *ɣiwən / ɣiuən / ch'ü n
 n. *hiwən / hiuən / j'ü n
 o. *ziwən / iuən / y'ü n
 p. *liwən / liuən / l'ü n
 q. *ɣiwən / ɣiuən / ch'ü n
 r. *tsiwən / tsiuən / ts'ü n
 s. *siwən / siuən / s'ü n
 t. *dziwən / ziuən / s'ü n
 44 a. *kiwen / kiwän / k'ü n
 b. *giwen / jiwän / y'ü n
 c. *miwen / miwän / m'ü n
 d. *g'iwən / g'iwän / k'ü n
 45 a. *kiwən / kiwen / k'ü a n
 b. *k'iwən / k'iwən / k'ü a n

Observe: 43k2 has irregularly passed over to the »an» Group in Anc. and Mand.: *t'iwən / ts'iwän / c'h'ü a n; 36a *ən / ən / e n breaks the rule that Shī rimes and Phonetics generally harmonize in their attribution of the words to the phonological groups: 恩 *ən rimes in the »ən» Group, but its Phon. 因 *iən / iən / y i n in the »en» Group below. Such cases are, on the whole, quite rare.

Group V.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. I	—	I 49.	uat (Anc. 99)
» II 46.	ät (part of Anc. 6)	II 50.	wät (part of Anc. 18)
» III 47 A.	iät (Anc. 95)	III 51 A.	iuät (Anc. 103)
» 47 B.	iët (part of Anc. 93)	51 B.	iuët (part of Anc. 101)
	—	52.	iuët (part of Anc. 101)
» IV 48.	iet (part of Anc. 12)	IV 53.	iwet (part of Anc. 24)

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the rimes, e. g. liuët: piwät (Ode 202); piwät: ngiät (0.241) etc. Similar contacts occur in the hie sheng: 50b Anc. ywät has Phon. 49c kuät; 51c k'iuät has Phon. ts'iuët; 49d has both readings tswät and tsiuët etc.

Type words:

- 46a[夏]
 47Aa 仇 [b 訖 c 汔]
 47Bd 疾 [e 筆]
 48a [敵 b 黎 鐵]
 49a 沒 b 忽 [c 骨 d 卒 e 梓 f 淳]
 50a [副 b 猾]
 51Aa 弗 第 b 拂 [c 屈]
 51Bd 出 e 述 f 卒 g 倖 [h 率]
 52a 遙 [b 橘]
 53a 闕

The Shī rime words in this group (those type words not placed within brackets) are scarce and the scheme has to be filled in by other expedients. On the whole, the words in this category are so few that we have largely to rely, for the reconstruction of the Arch. system, upon the analogy with the preceding »*ən*» group. The parallelism is indeed striking, but for the fact that the finals *ən* and *ien* do not happen to have corresponding words with *ət* and *iet* in the present group. Here, as in that group, Arch. **et* has given Anc. *ăt*; and, just as in the »*ən*» group, whereas after gutturals and labials the **iet*, *iwət* have preserved the *ə*: Anc. *iet*, *iwət*, after palatals and dentals it has become Anc. *iet̃*, *iuət̃*. Arch. **iwet* has given Anc. *iuət̃*, and through »i-umlaut» **iet* has become Anc. *iet* and **iwet* > *iwet*. In all these respects the parallelism is perfect. The following Arch. scheme thus results:

Div.	I	—	I 49.	<i>wət</i>
»	II 46.	<i>et</i>	II 50.	<i>wet</i>
»	III 47 A, B.	<i>iet</i>	III 51 A, B.	<i>iwət</i>
		—	III 52.	<i>iwet̃</i>
»	IV 48.	<i>iet̃</i>	IV 53.	<i>iwət̃</i>

The hie sheng sometimes confirm that our Anc. *ăt*, *iet̃* and *iet* here have an Arch. origin closer to the *ə* of the principal rimes: 50b Anc. *ɣwăt* has Phon. **kwət*; 51d Anc. *t̃s'iuət̃* is Phon. in 51c *k'iwət̃*; 48b Anc. *t'iet* has Phon. **d'ien*.

The parallelism with the »*ən*» group above concerns still another important point. The words with Anc. Fin. *iet̃*, *wət̃*, *iuət̃* all belong to this category, and

we have added a few words not in the Shī rimes only to give some more examples¹). For the rest, no general equation can be laid down; in the remaining Anc. finals the words that belong in our category here must be determined from case to case, these same Anc. finals occurring (with some of their words) in other Shī rime groups as well:

46a Anc. *kāt* belongs here since in Shu: K'ang kao etc. it is loan char. for 楷 **k'ər* (see Group VII below); 47e Anc. *piē!* has the same Phon. as 51g, rime word; 48a has two readings: Anc. *γiet* and *yuət*; 48b1 Anc. *t'iet* has Phon. **d'ian*; 48b2 Anc. *t'iet* has a variant with Phon. 夷 **d̥iər* (see Group VII below); 50a Anc. *kwāt* has the same Phon. as 52a; 50b *γwāt* in Kyü: Tsin 1 rimes w. 49c and e; 51h *ʃiuēt* in Ode 178 rimes w. 滂 **liəd*; 52b Anc. *k̥iuēt* has the same Phon. as 52a.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 46 a. * <i>ket</i> / <i>kāt</i> / <i>ki a</i> | 50 a. * <i>kwet</i> / <i>kwāt</i> / <i>ku a</i> |
| 47A a. * <i>ngiət</i> / <i>ngiət</i> / <i>yi</i> | b. * <i>g'wet</i> / <i>γwāt</i> / <i>hu a</i> |
| b. * <i>k̥iət</i> / <i>k̥iət</i> / <i>ki</i> | 51A a. * <i>piwət</i> / <i>piuət</i> / <i>fu</i> |
| c. * <i>χiət</i> / <i>χiət</i> / <i>hi</i> | b. * <i>b'iwət</i> / <i>b'iuət</i> / <i>fu</i> |
| 47B d. * <i>dz'iat</i> / <i>dz'iet</i> / <i>t si</i> | c. * <i>k'iwət</i> / <i>k'iuət</i> / <i>k'ü</i> |
| e. * <i>pliət</i> / <i>piət</i> / <i>pi</i> | 51B d. * <i>i'iwət</i> / <i>t̥'iuēt</i> / <i>ch'u</i> |
| 48 a. * <i>g'iat</i> / <i>γiet</i> / <i>hie</i> | e. * <i>d'iwət</i> / <i>d̥'iuēt</i> / <i>shu</i> |
| b. * <i>t'iat</i> / <i>t'iet</i> / <i>t'ie</i> | f. * <i>tsiwət</i> / <i>tsiuēt</i> / <i>tsu</i> |
| 49 a. * <i>mwət</i> / <i>muət</i> / <i>mo</i> | g. * <i>bliwət</i> / <i>liuēt</i> / <i>lü</i> |
| b. * <i>χmwət</i> / <i>χuət</i> / <i>hu</i> | h. * <i>sliwət</i> / <i>ʃiuēt</i> / <i>shu a i</i> |
| c. * <i>kwət</i> / <i>kuət</i> / <i>ku</i> | 52 a. * <i>giwət</i> / <i>iuēt</i> / <i>y ü</i> |
| d. * <i>tswət</i> / <i>tsuət</i> / <i>tsu</i> | b. * <i>k̥iwət</i> / <i>k̥iuēt</i> / <i>k ü</i> |
| e. * <i>dz'wət</i> / <i>dz'uət</i> / <i>tsu</i> | 53 a. * <i>k'iwət</i> / <i>k'iwet</i> / <i>k'ü e</i> |
| f. * <i>b'wət</i> / <i>b'uət</i> / <i>po</i> | |

Group VI.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- | | |
|---|---|
| Div. I 54. <i>äi</i> (part of Anc. 46) | I 59. <i>uäi</i> (part of Anc. 54) |
| » II 55. <i>äi</i> (part of Anc. 48) | II 60. <i>wäi</i> (part of Anc. 56) |
| » III 56A. <i>j̥ei</i> (part of Anc. 127) | III 61A. <i>j̥wi</i> (part of Anc. 130) |
| » III 56B. <i>ji</i> (part of Anc. 124) | 61B. <i>j̥wi</i> (part of Anc. 128) |
| » III 57. <i>ji</i> (part of Anc. 124) | 62. <i>j̥wi</i> (part of Anc. 128) |
| » III 58. <i>iei</i> (part of Anc. 52) | 63. <i>iwei</i> (part of Anc. 60). |

¹) 47b Anc. *k̥iət*, c *χiət* have the same Phon. as 47a (rime word); 49d Anc. *tsuət* has a second reading *ts̥iuēt* (51f), rime word; 49e has the same Phon. as the preceding, and Kyü: Tsin 1 rimes it with 49c; 49f *b'uət* in Tso: Chuang 11 rimes with 49b; 51c *k'iuət* is Phon. (with rad. 116) in a *k'uət*.

Type words:

- 54a 洩 既 愛 優 c 逮 [d 氣]
 55a 屈
 56a 堅 [b 既 c 氣 懷 d 餓]
 56B e 羝 f 四 駟 肆 g 利 h 累 i 寐 j 泣
 57a 棄 [b 暨 c 器]
 58a 戾 根
 59a 潰 內 c 對 d 退 e 悖 f 妹 [g 憤]
 60a 崩 [b 喟 c 賁]
 61A a 謂 渭 蔚 [c 貴 d 味]
 61B e 出 f 慙 g 醉 h 瘁 萃 i 遂 隧 穗 總 j 誅 k 類
 62a 季 匱 悽 c 位 [d 喟 e 饋 f 遺]
 63a 惠 噲 [c 慧]

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the Shī rimes, e. g. *zui* : *ljui* : *tuqi* : *tsui* : *b'uqi* (Ode 257); *yiwei* : *liei* : *kāi* (0.191); *yiwei* : *si* : *kāi* (0.222); *tuqi* : *kjwi* (0.241); *yuqi* : *i* : *xjei* (0.35), etc. There are similar contacts in the *hie sheng*, e. g. 56b Anc. *kjei* Phon. in 54a *kqi*; 61c *kjwe* Phon. in 59a *yuqi* and in 62a2 *kjwi*; the same Phon. in 59f *muqi* and 61d *mjwe*; the same Phon. in 54c *d'qi* and in 58b *tiei*; the same char. read 60b *k'wāi* and 62d *k'jwi*, etc.

In this scheme we find no single Anc. final with *ə* or *ε* as principal vowel, and yet we assume that our group here is the *-d* counterpart (*-əd*, *-εd*) of the *-t* category (*-ət*, *-εt*) of Group V and the *-n* category (*-ən*, *-εn*) of Group IV above. On this assumption the interpretation will be the following:

Div.	I 54. *əd	I 59. wəd
	II 55. εd	II 60. wεd
	III 56. iəd	III 61. iwəd
	57. iεd	62. iwεd
	58. iəd	63. iwəd

If this is correct, we meet with exactly the same phenomena as in those earlier groups, and in the »ad» group (III) above: Final *-d* was vocalized into *-i* (just as **kād* > *kāi*), and **εd* became *āi*, just as we saw that **en* > *ān*, **et* > *āt*. An **iəd* first became *iai*, and this was preserved after gutturals and labials: *kjəi*, *pjwəi* (later on,

through »i-umlaut» *kjei*, *pjwɛi*), whereas it was reduced to -ji after other initials: *sɿəd > si, mɿəd > mji etc., just as *kɿən > kɿən but *sɿən > sɿən, and as *kɿət > kɿət but *sɿət > sɿət. The ɿəd was reduced to ji, just like the preceding, and *iəd through »i-umlaut» became iei, just as *iən > ien and *iət > iet. The parallelism is perfect. The only discrepancy is in Div. I: *ən > ən, and *wət > uət, but here *əd became not əi but əi, *wəd not wəi but uəi. There is, however, nothing surprising in this: we have already seen (p. 243) how *kəm > Anc. kəm and the present case is a parallel to that.

It is all very well that the construction meets all requirements for fitting into the evolutionary scheme from Arch. to Anc. Chin. and evinces conclusive parallels with the preceding groups. We must demand corroboration of a more direct and positive kind.

In the first place, the final -d as well as the »ə, ɛ» character of our group are confirmed by many rimes with *ət and *et words: 56j lji (acc. to our reconstr. *liəd): 51h *slɿwət (rime in Ode 178); 63a ɣiwei (*g'iwəd): 58a liei (*liəd): 55a kǎi (*kəd): 53a *k'iwət (0.191); 47d *dz'ɿət: 51a *pɿwət: 47a *ngɿət: 56f3 si (*sɿəd) (0.241); 47d *dz'ɿət: 58a liei (*liəd) (0.256); 47d *dz'ɿət: 55a kǎi (*kəd) (0.264); 物 *mɿwət: 56g lji (*liəd) (Kyü : Yüe yü, hia); etc.

In the second place, various h i e s h e n g afford weighty confirmation:

1 卒 2 萃 3 碎 4 翠 5 悴
6 碎 7 諄 8 弗 9 第 10 沸
11 沸 12 孝 13 悖 14 諄 15 疾
16 出 17 率 18 策 19 瞞 20 气
21 乞 22 屢 23 蔚 24 壯 25 戾

1. *tswət and *tsɿwət Phon. in 2 ts'uəi (*ts'wəd), 3 tswi (*tsɿwəd), 4 ts'wi (*ts'iwəd) 5 dz'wi (dz'iwəd), 6 swi (sɿwəd), 7 swi (*sɿwəd) and suəi (*swəd) and dz'iuət (*dz'iwət); 8 *pɿwət Phon. in 9, read both p'iuət (*p'iwət) and pjwɛi (*pɿwəd); 10 read b'iuət (*b'iwət) and b'jwɛi (*b'iwəd); 11 pɿuət (*pɿwət) and pjwɛi (*pɿwəd); 12, 13, 14 all read both b'uət (*b'wət) and b'uəi (*b'wəd); 15 dz'ɿət (*dz'ɿət) and dz'i (*dz'ɿəd); 16 ts'iuət (*t'iwət) and ts'wi (*t'iwəd); 17 sɿuət (*sɿwət) and swi (*sɿwəd); 18 pɿuət (*pɿwət) and pjwɛi (*pɿwəd); 19 ɣiwet (*ɣiwət) and ɣjwi (*ɣiwəd); 20 k'jɛi (*k'jəd) Phon. in 21 k'ɿət (*k'ɿət); 22 and 23 both ɿuət (*ɿwət) and ɿjwɛi (*ɿwəd); 24 p'jwɛi (*p'jwəd) and p'uət (*p'wət); 25 liei (*liəd) and liet (*liət).

The -əd, -ɛd character of our Group VI is thus firmly established.

There are no Anc. rimes, all the words of which fall within this Arch. category. Every one of these Anc. rimes has several origins and we must determine from case to case whether a word belongs here or not. All the type words not within brackets

are placed here by Shī rimes. In some of the lines the Shī rime words are scarce and we have had to complement them in other ways:

54d Anc. *k'āi*, alternative reading of 56c2 which in Li: Wen sang rimes with a **χmwət*; 56b *kjgi* is Phon. in 56a, rime word; 56c *k'jgi* in Yi: Shuo kua rimes w. 54c and 59e; 56c2 and *d* have the same Phon. as the preceding; 56j *lji* has a variant consisting of rad. 117 and rad. 171, the latter also Phon. in 54c and 58b; 57b *kji* has the same Phon. as 56a; for 57c *k'ji* one might hesitate between **k'ied* and **k'ier* (next Group), but the falling tone mostly indicates a lost -*d*, not -*r*, and the word in Han time rimes with various -*d* words (Liu t'ao 1); 59g *kuāi* has the same Phon. as 59a; 60a *k'wāi* is a Shī rime word, quoted in Tso: Cheng 9, r. w. 61h2 and 62a2; 60b *k'wāi*, second reading 62d *k'jwi* has the same Phon. as 61a; 60c *ngwāi* has same Phon. as 62a2; 61c *kjwgi* in Yi: Yi kwa rimes w. 61k and 59c; 61d *mjwgi* (**mjwəd*) in Lao, par. 35, rimes with 56b, and has the same Phon. as 59f; 62e *g'jwi* (**g'iwəd*) in Yi: Kia jen rimes w. 61i1 and has same Phon. as 62a2; the latter is also true of 62f *jwi* (**giwəd*); 63c *yiwei* (**g'iwəd*) has the same Phon. as 63b.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 54 a. * <i>kəd</i> / <i>kāi</i> / <i>kai</i> | 59 f. * <i>mwəd</i> / <i>muāi</i> / <i>mei</i> |
| b. * <i>əd</i> / <i>āi</i> / <i>ai</i> | g. * <i>kwəd</i> / <i>kuāi</i> / <i>kuei</i> |
| c. * <i>d'əd</i> / <i>d'āi</i> / <i>tai</i> | 60 a. * <i>k'wəd</i> / <i>k'wāi</i> / <i>k'uai</i> |
| d. * <i>k'əd</i> / <i>k'āi</i> / <i>k'ai</i> | b. * <i>k'wəd</i> / <i>k'wāi</i> / <i>k'uai</i> |
| 55 a. * <i>kəd</i> / <i>kāi</i> / <i>kie</i> | e. * <i>ngwəd</i> / <i>ngwāi</i> / <i>wai</i> |
| 56 a. * <i>χiəd</i> / <i>χjgi</i> / <i>hi</i> | 61 a. * <i>giwəd</i> / <i>jwgi</i> / <i>wei</i> |
| b. * <i>kjəd</i> / <i>kjgi</i> / <i>ki</i> | b. * <i>iwəd</i> / <i>jwgi</i> / <i>wei</i> |
| c. * <i>k'jəd</i> / <i>kjgi</i> / <i>k'i</i> | c. * <i>kjwəd</i> / <i>kjwgi</i> / <i>kuei</i> |
| d. * <i>χiəd</i> / <i>χjgi</i> / <i>hi</i> | d. * <i>mjwəd</i> / <i>mjwgi</i> / <i>wei</i> |
| e. * <i>djəd</i> / <i>i</i> / <i>yi</i> | e. * <i>t'iwəd</i> / <i>tš'wi</i> / <i>ch'uei</i> |
| f. * <i>siəd</i> / <i>si</i> / <i>si</i> | f. * <i>d'iwəd</i> / <i>d'wi</i> / <i>chuei</i> |
| g. * <i>liəd</i> / <i>lji</i> / <i>li</i> | g. * <i>tsiwəd</i> / <i>tswi</i> / <i>tsuei</i> |
| h. * <i>pjəd</i> / <i>pji</i> / <i>pi</i> | h. * <i>dz'iwəd</i> / <i>dz'wi</i> / <i>tsuei</i> |
| i. * <i>mjəd</i> / <i>mji</i> / <i>mei</i> | i. * <i>dzjwəd</i> / <i>zwi</i> / <i>suei</i> |
| j. * <i>liəd</i> / <i>lji</i> / <i>li</i> | j. * <i>siwəd</i> / <i>swi</i> / <i>suei</i> |
| 57 a. * <i>k'ied</i> / <i>k'ji</i> / <i>k'i</i> | k. * <i>liwəd</i> / <i>ljwi</i> / <i>lei</i> |
| b. * <i>kjied</i> / <i>kji</i> / <i>ki</i> | 62 a. * <i>kjwəd</i> / <i>kjwi</i> / <i>1 ki, 2 kuei</i> |
| c. * <i>k'jied</i> / <i>k'ji</i> / <i>k'i</i> | b. * <i>g'iwəd</i> / <i>g'jwi</i> / <i>ki</i> |
| 58 a. * <i>liəd</i> / <i>liei</i> / <i>li</i> | c. * <i>giwəd</i> / <i>jwi</i> / <i>wei</i> |
| b. * <i>tiəd</i> / <i>tiei</i> / <i>ti</i> | d. * <i>k'iwəd</i> / <i>k'jwi</i> / <i>k'uei</i> |
| 59 a. * <i>g'wəd</i> / <i>yuāi</i> / <i>huei</i> | e. * <i>g'iwəd</i> / <i>g'jwi</i> / <i>kuei</i> |
| b. * <i>nwəd</i> / <i>nuāi</i> / <i>nei</i> | f. * <i>giwəd</i> / <i>jwi</i> / <i>yi</i> |
| c. * <i>twəd</i> / <i>tuāi</i> / <i>tuei</i> | 63 a. * <i>g'iwəd</i> / <i>yiwei</i> / <i>huei</i> |
| d. * <i>t'wəd</i> / <i>t'uāi</i> / <i>t'uei</i> | b. * <i>χiwəd</i> / <i>χiwei</i> / <i>huei</i> |
| e. * <i>b'wəd</i> / <i>b'uāi</i> / <i>pei</i> | c. * <i>g'iwəd</i> / <i>yiwei</i> / <i>huei</i> |

Observe: 59b **nwəd* and 59c **twəd* rime as -*d* words in Shī, but they derive, as is shown by script and etymology, from older **nwəb*, **twəb*, which have changed their labial final through dissimilation. For 62a1 and b the Mand. *ki* is irregular,

normally there should have been *kuei*; the same is true of 62*f*, Mand. *yi* inst. of a normal *w ei*. This latter, 62*f* is rather enigmatic. Its *hie sheng* Phon. places it in this group: **giwed*, but Shī rimes it in several instances with words in the next group, which would indicate **giwer*. Were there double readings, like 民 *mjēn* and *mjən*?

Group VII.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. I 64.	ai	(part of Anc. 46)	I 69.	uai	(part of Anc. 54)
• II 65.	ai	(part of Anc. 48)	II 70.	uai	(part of Anc. 56)
• III 66A.	jai	(part of Anc. 127)	III 71A.	jai	(part of Anc. 130)
• 66B.	ji	(part of Anc. 124)	71B.	jwi	(part of Anc. 128)
• 67.	ji	(part of Anc. 124)	72.	jwi	(part of Anc. 128)
• IV 68.	iei	(part of Anc. 52)	IV 73.	iwei	(part of Anc. 60)

Type words:

64a 豈凱) 哀 [c 開 墮]

65a 皆階偕 淦 [c 齋 d 儕 e 排]

66a 幾 纖芹 頤 c 晞 d 衣依 [c 旂 f 展]

66Bg 遲坻穉 h 夷娣捷 i 旨脂指底砥祗 j 鵠矰見 l 矢蓄 m 師
n 姊術資 o 茨欣 p 兒 q 私死 r 履 s 比妣 悲 t 眉湄鄢美廩

67a 几飢 卮 卮 c 屎 d 伊 [e 覲 f 舊]

68a 氏底 涕 c 弟第 d 躋躋 涕 e 妻妻 涕 f 齊濟 齊濟 濟 g 西洒棲
犀 h 禮醴 黎 i 毗 j 迷 k 緇 泥 l 體 [m 稽 n 啓 o 詣 p 翳]

69a 回 嵬 c 數 d 頽推 e 隕 f 崔摧 g 罪 h 霽 璽 i 枚沅 [j 瑰 k 排]

70a 懷壞 [b 淮 c 歲]

71Aa 歸 達 葦 韋 輝 c 威農 d 飛 e 駢罪菲 f 腓 g 微微 尾 [h 非 i 妃 j 肥]

71Bk 追 l 維惟 m 水 n 唯 (雉) o 纍 藟 p 綏 [q 推]

72a 葵駸 [b 愧 c 餽]

73a [目笑]

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the Shī rimes, e. g. *dz'uai* : *swi* : *kjwɛi* : *ɣwɛi* (Ode 102); *d'i* : *ts'iei* : *kǎi* : *g'jɛi* : *kjwɛi* : *i* (O. 168); etc. And this is confirmed by the *hie sheng*, e. g. 64*b* *ái* with Phon. 66*d* *jai*; 65*d* *dz'ái* w. Phon. 68*f* *dz'iei*; 69*k* *b'uai* w. Phon. 71*h* *pjwɛi*; 69*h* *luai* same Phon. as 71*o* *ljwi*; etc.

The scheme of Anc. finals above must appear surprising, since it is identical in every detail with the table of Anc. finals in the preceding Group VI. Still, the two groups must be kept apart, as was recognized by Wang Nien-sun and Tuan Yü-ts'ai. The fundamental differences which distinguish them are of two kinds.

We witnessed under VI above how the finals of that group had frequent contacts, both in the Shī rimes and in the *hie sheng*, with the **ət*, **et* finals of Group V, and this confirmed their nature of Arch. **əd*, **ed*. In our present group we do not find such contacts with **ət*, **et* words (Group V) nor even with **əd*, **ed* words (Group VI), but for some very rare exceptional cases. On the contrary, we find frequent contacts with words ending in Arch. **ən*, **en* (Group IV) both in rimes and in *hie sheng*:

1 崑:怨 2 偕:近 3 水準 4 羣:鎗
5 辰:旂 6 塵:底 7 芹:旂 8 晨:旂
9 遠:微 10 西:巡 11 分:歸 12 先:兇
13 斤:祈 14 斤:沂 15 單:揮 16 交:投
17 矢:張 18 輶:輶 19 鎗:鎗 20 敦:敦 21 燔:燔 22 洗:洗
23 洒:洒 24 牝:牝 25 鹽:鹽 26 根:根 27 純:純

1. Anc. *nguäi* rimes with **iwn* (Ode 201); 2. *käi* r. w. *g'ien* (O. 169); 3. *šui* r. w. *šiuën* (O. 183); 4. *g'iuän* r. w. *d'uäi* (O. 118); 5. *ziën* r. w. *g'jēi* (O. 182); 6. *d'ien* r. w. *tiei* (O. 206); 7. *g'ien* r. w. *g'jēi* (O. 222 and 229); 8. *ziën* r. w. *g'jēi* (Tso : Hi 5); 9. *jüwn* r. w. *mjuēi* (Ta Tai : Wu ti te); 10. *siei* r. w. *ziuën* (Li : Tsi yi); 11. *püän* r. w. *kjuēi* (Li : Li yün); 12. *sien* r. w. *siei* (Ch'u : Chao hun); 13. *kien* Phon. in *g'jēi*; 14. *kien* Phon. in *ngjēi*; 15. *küän* Phon. in *gjuēi*; 16. *ts'iuën* Phon. in *tsuäi*; 17. *ši* Phon. in *šien*; 18. read *i'ien* and *i'i*; 19. *ziuën* and *d'uäi*; 20. *tuän* and *tuäi*; 21. *t'uän* and *t'uäi*; 22. *sien* and *siei*; 23. *sien* and *siei* and *šäi*; 24. *b'ien* and *b'ji*; 25. *müän* and *mjuēi*; 26. *g'jēi* and *ngien*; 27. *müän* : *muäi*.

It is evident that just as the *äi*, *äi*, *jēi*, *ji*, *iei* etc. of Gr. VI were Anc. representatives of Arch. finals with a dental end: **əd*, **ed*, the *-d* of which had been vocalized into *-i* before the time of Anc. Chin., so the *äi*, *äi*, *jēi*, *ji*, *iei* etc. in our present group must likewise be the representatives of Arch. finals which had some dental end consonant, since they had frequent contacts with **-n* words both in rimes and in *hie sheng*. Our Arch. finals here cannot have had a *-d*, since they are clearly kept apart from those in Gr. VI (**əd*, **ed*), in rimes as well as in *hie sheng*. Their dental consonant must have been acoustically more similar to *-n* than were the *-t* of Group V and the *-d* of Group VI, so as to allow occasional rimes with *-n* words and occasional contacts with *-n* words in the *hie sheng*. The choice

then is between *-r* and *-l*. The former is more convincing, in the light of some transcriptions: when, in early Han time, the Chinese first became acquainted with lions, they called them 獅, homophonous with our 66*m* 師 Anc. *ʃi*, and this, according to our reconstruction here, will be Arch. **ʃiər*, which obviously renders the well-known Indo-Iranian word for »lion«.

If we insert this final *-r* for instance in 旃: *g'iər*, there is nothing surprising in the fact that it rimes with a **g'iən*, nor that it has a **kiən* for Phonetic.

These considerations lead us to reconstruct this Group as a strict counterpart of Groups IV (*-n* words), V (*-t* words) and VI (*-d* words), in the following way:

Div.	I	64.	<i>ər</i>	I	69.	<i>wər</i>
»	II	65.	<i>er</i>	II	70.	<i>wer</i>
»	III	66.	<i>iər</i>	III	71.	<i>iwər</i>
»		67.	<i>i'er</i>		72.	<i>iwer</i>
»	IV	68.	<i>iər</i>	IV	73.	<i>iwər</i>

Here, as in the *-d* group, the end consonant has been vocalized into *-i* in Anc. Chin., and for the rest the transformations have been exactly analogous to those in Gr. VI: **ər* > *əi* > *qi*; **er* > *är* > *äi*; **iər* > *iəi* > *jxi* after gutturals and labials; *iər* > *iəi* > *iěi* > *ji* after palatals and dentals; **i'er* > *iěi* > *ji*; *iər* > *iəi* > *iei* etc. For the details, see *Grammata Serica*. With these Arch. values inserted, our list above becomes more reasonable: Thus for instance, 3 **siwər* riming with **siwən*; 4 **g'iwən* with **d'wər*; 5 **diən* with *g'iər*; etc. Furthermore many etymological affinities become immediately clear: 飢 *kji* (**ki'er*) »famine« is cognate to 饑 **g'i'en* »famine«; 衣 *·jxi* (**iər*) »clothes« to 隱 *·iən* »to cover, conceal«; 圍 *jwxi* (**giwər*) »to surround« to 運 **giwən* »to turn round«.

In each of the Anc. rimes *qi* etc. we have to determine individually which words belong to our **ər*, **er* group here, since all these Anc. rimes also contain words which belong to other Arch. groups. All those in our table which are not within brackets are brought here by Shī rimes. For the rest, we observe:

64*c* Anc. *k'qi*: the two words, one in even tone and one in rising, are variations of the same stem, the second has Phon. 64*a*; 65*c* *tš'äi* and *d d'äi* have Phon. 68*f*; 65*e* *b'äi* has same Phon. as 71*e*; 66*e* *g'jxi* has the same Phon. as 66*b*2; 66*f* *jxi* has Phon. 66*d*; 67*e* *kji* has Phon. 64*a*; 67*f* *g'ji* is Phon. in 66*l*3; 68*m* *k'iei* in Li: Ju hing rimes w. 69*d*2 and in Ta Tai: Si tai w. 66*k* and 66*r*; 68*n* *k'iei* is a variation of the same word stem as 64*c* *k'qi* (**k'ər*); 68*o* *ngiei* is sometimes written 68*m*; 68*p* *'iei* is closely cognate to 66*f* *jxi* (**iər*); 69*j* *kuäi* has the same Phon. as 69*b*; 69*k* *b'uäi* has the same Phon. as 71*e*; 70*b* *γwäi* in Tso: Chao 12 rimes w. 66*m*; 70*c* *wäi* has Phon. 71*c*; 71*h* *pjwxi* in Chuang: Tao Chī rimes w. 66*a*; 71*i* *p'jwxi* in Kyü: Tsin rimes w. 70*a*, 71*a*, 64*b*; 71*j* *b'jwxi* in Ch'u: T'ien wen r. w. 70*a*; 71*q* *d'wi* in Ts'e: Ts'in r. w. 66*a*; 72*b* *kjwi* and 72*c* *g'jwi* have the same Phon. as 69*b*; 73*a* *k'wei* has the same Phon. as 72*a*.

Résumé of the type words:

- 64 a. *k'ər / k'ái / k'ai
 b. *ər / 'ái / ai
 c. *k'ər / k'ái / k'ai
 65 a. *kər / k'ái / kie
 b. *g'ər / γái / hie
 c. *tsər / tšái / chai
 d. *dz'ər / dz'ái / ch'ai
 e. *b'ər / b'ái / p'ai
 66A a. *k'ər / k'jái / ki
 b. *g'ər / g'jái / k'i
 c. *χ'ər / χjái / hi
 d. *'ər / 'jái / yi
 e. *g'ər / g'jái / k'i
 f. *'ər / 'jái / yi
 66B g. *d'ər / d'ái / ch'i
 h. *d'ər / i / yi
 i. *t'ər / t'ái / ch'i
 j. *t'ər / t'ái / ch'i
 k. *d'ər / d'ái / sh'i
 l. *s'ər / s'ái / sh'i
 m. *s'ər / s'ái / sh'i
 n. *ts'ər / ts'ái / ts'i
 o. *ts'ər / ts'ái / ts'i
 p. *dz'ər / dz'ái / s'i
 q. *s'ər / s'ái / s'i
 r. *l'ər / l'ái / li
 s. *p'ər / p'ái / pi
 t. *m'ər / m'ái / mei
 67 a. *k'ər / k'jái / ki
 b. *g'ər / g'jái / k'i
 c. *χ'ər / χjái / hi
 d. *'ər / 'jái / yi
 e. *k'ər / k'jái / ki
 f. *g'ər / g'jái / k'i
 68 a. *t'ər / t'ái / ti
 b. *t'ər / t'ái / t'i
 c. *d'ər / d'ái / ti
 d. *ts'ər / ts'ái / ts'i
 e. *ts'ər / ts'ái / ts'i
 f. *dz'ər / dz'ái / ts'i
 g. *s'ər / s'ái / si
 h. *l'ər / l'ái / li
 i. *b'ər / b'ái / p'i
 68 j. *m'ər / m'ái / mi
 k. *n'ər / n'ái / ni
 l. *t'ər / t'ái / t'i
 m. *k'ər / k'ái / ki
 n. *k'ər / k'ái / k'i
 o. *ng'ər / ng'ái / yi
 p. *'ər / 'ái / yi
 69 a. *g'wər / γuái / huei
 b. *ngwər / nguái / wei
 c. *twər / tuái / tuei
 d. *t'wər / t'uái / t'uei
 e. *d'wər / d'uái / t'uei
 f. *dz'wər / dz'uái / ts'uei
 g. *dz'wər / dz'uái / tsuei
 h. *lwər / luái / lei
 i. *mwər / muái / mei
 j. *kwər / kuái / kuei
 k. *b'wər / b'uái / p'ei
 70 a. *g'wər / γwái / huai
 b. *g'wər / γwái / huai
 c. *wər / 'wái / wai
 71 a. *k'wər / k'jwái / kuei
 b. *g'wər / jwái / wei
 c. *'wər / 'jwái / wei
 d. *p'wər / p'jwái / fei
 e. *p'wər / p'jwái / fei
 f. *b'wər / b'jwái / fei
 g. *m'wər / mjwái / wei
 h. *p'wər / p'jwái / fei
 i. *p'wər / p'jwái / fei
 j. *b'wər / b'jwái / fei
 k. *t'wər / t'jwái / chuei
 l. *d'wər / jwái / wei
 m. *s'wər / swái / shuei
 n. *ts'wər / ts'wái / ts'uei
 o. *l'wər / ljwái / lei
 p. *sn'wər / swái / suei
 q. *d'wər / d'jwái / ch'uei
 72 a. *g'wər / g'jwái / k'uei
 b. *k'wər / k'jwái / kuei
 c. *g'wər / g'jwái / kuei
 73 a. *k'wər / k'jwái / k'uei¹⁾

¹⁾ 66g, last w. Mand. ch'i; 66s, last w. Mand. p'ei; 66t, last w. Mand. m'i; 68c, last w. Mand. t'i; 68f, last three w. Mand. ts'i.

Group VIII.

We have just witnessed how corresponding to the Arch. »an» group, the »at» group and the »ad» group there existed an »ar» group, and we must ask whether there did not exist, corresponding to the »an» group (Gr. I), the »at» group (II) and the »ad» group (III) also an »ar» group. In fact there did, and its logical place in our exposé would have been next after Gr. III. We have delayed its treatment purposely until we had attested the existence of an Arch. final -r in the large »r group (VII), and we have placed the »ar» group here after the former, because its words are comparatively few and seldom occur in Shī rimes.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. I	74. <i>d</i>	(part of Anc. 61)	I	79. <i>uā</i>	(part of Anc. 64)
II	—		II	80. <i>wa</i>	(part of Anc. 65)
	75. <i>ai</i>	(part of Anc. 47)		—	
III	76. <i>jiē</i>	(part of Anc. 126)	III	81. <i>jwiē</i>	(part of Anc. 129)
	77. <i>jiē</i>	(part of Anc. 126)		82. <i>jwiē</i>	(part of Anc. 129)
IV	78. <i>iei</i>	(part of Anc. 52)			

Type words:

74a 瘴 𠵿 憚 c 𠵿 d 那

75a 柴

76a 解

77a 訛 柴 𠵿 𠵿 c 通 d 貨 e 滿 弭

78a 𠵿

79a 果 𠵿 課 c 裸 d 火 e 踈 f 揣 g 妥 h 蓑 i 番 j 播 𠵿

80a 蹀 𠵿

81a 惴 𠵿 瑞 c 揣

82a 燬 烜 𠵿 萎 c 衰 d 累 e 綏

All these Anc. finals also comprise words that belong in other Arch. groups, so that those belonging here have to be determined individually; their final -r is proved by occasional contacts in rimes or *hie sheng* with words having final -n or with words having -r of the preceding »ar» group:

74a was read both Anc. *tā* and *tān*, and has Phon. *tān*; 74b was *tā* and *d'ān*, and has Phon. *tān*; 74c was *d'ā* and *d'ān*, and has Phon. *tān*, and in Li : Yüe ling rimes w.

a *ngi^hwǎn; 74d ná in Ode 215 rimes w. *g'án, *çiǎn, *ńian; 75a d^hai has a second reading tsi^h (77a2) which in Ode 179 rimes w. a *ts'iar; 76a tsi^h has Phon. tǎn; 77a1 tsi^h in Ode 195 rimes w. *ər, *iar; 77b ts'ie in Ode 43 rimes w. a *sian; 77c ńzi^h in Ode 10 rimes w. a *m^hiwar; 77d pji^h has also readings *pwǎn and *b'iwǎn; 77e1 mji^h in Ode 43 rimes w. a *sian; 77e2 mji^h in Ch'u: Kiu chang rimes w. a *t'iar; 78a niei has Phon. *nǎn; 79a kuǎ is Phon. in 裸 kuǎn, and 79b,c, 80a all have the former as Phon.; 79d xuǎ in Ode 154 rimes w. a *iar and in Ode 212 w. a *d'iar, and it is the same word stem as 82a below; 79e uǎ has the same Phon. as 82b below; 79f has the readings tuǎ (here), ts'wi^h (81c) and ts'iwǎn (*t'iwǎn) and has Phon. *twǎn; 79g t'ua (*t'n-) is Phon. in 82e below; 79h suǎ has Phon. 82c below; 79i puǎ in Ode 259 rimes w. *t'án, *g'án, *çiǎn and itself has a second reading *p'iwǎn; 79j1 b'ua in Kuan: Ti tsǐ chǐ rimes w. a *b'wǎn; 79j2 b'ua in Yi: Kua 22 rimes w. a. *g'án and in Tso: Sǎn 2 w. a g'án; 80a see 79a above; 81a ts'wi^h and 81b ńwi^h have Phon. *twǎn; 81c see 79f above; 82a1 ńjwi^h in Ode 10 rimes w. *m^hiwar; 82a2 ńjwi^h has a second reading *ńjwǎn; 82b jwi^h in Ode 201 rimes w. *iwǎn; 82c ts'wi^h has also readings *ts'wǎn and *s^hiwar, in the last riming in Lun: Wei tsǐ w. a *t^hiwar and in Sǎn: Ch'eng siang w. a *k^hiwar; 82d l^hjwi^h has a second reading l^hjwi (*l^hiwar), same Phon. as 71o in the preceding group; 82e swi^h has a second reading swi (*s^hiwar), see 71p in that group.

Guided by the parallelism with Groups I, II and III above we establish the following Arch. scheme:

Div.	I	74.	*ár		I	79.	wár	
»	II	—	75. ǎr		II	80.	war	—
»	III	76.	iar	77. iǎr	III	81.	íwar	82. iwǎr
»	IV	78.	iar					

On the analogy of Groups I—III, in which we have a clear distinction between long-vowelled and short-vowelled Arch. finals, e. g. in Div. III:

Fin.	7.	*ian	9.	iǎn
	8.	iat	10.	iǎt

we have subdivided, in our present group, the Anc. ji^h into two Arch. finals:

76. *iar, 77. iǎr; 81. íwar, 82. iwǎr.

This may seem bold, but there are, in fact, noticeable traces of a distinction. The former (*iar, íwar) have, as was shown above, contacts with the long-vowelled *án, wǎn, the latter (*iǎr, iwǎr) quite particularly with the short-vowelled *iar (and *iǎn). In Div. II, Final 75 *dz'ǎr belongs to the Arch. short-vowelled class, since the same word also has a reading *tsiǎr, and as such rimes with *ts'iar; Final 80 *g'war, on the contrary, belongs to the long-vowelled class, since it has the same Phon. as 裸 *kwǎn with long vowel.

The phenomenon that in the evolution from Arch. to Anc. the final *-r* either has been lost or has been vocalized into *-i* (as in the preceding group) has nothing surprising in it. But it seems strange that 81a **t̥iwar* and 82a **χ̥iwǎr* have resulted not in Anc. *t̥iwe* and *χ̥iwe* but, with metathesis, in *t̥swiɛ*, *χ̥jwiɛ*. This is, however, due to the analogy with another Arch. final: **wia*, e. g. 𪛗 **k'wia* (Anc. *k'jwiɛ*) in which the labial precedes the *i* (see Group XXXV below).

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 74 a, b. <i>*tār</i> / <i>tā</i> / <i>t o</i> | 79 e. <i>*wār</i> / <i>'uā</i> / <i>w o</i> |
| c. <i>*d'ār</i> / <i>d'ā</i> / <i>t'o</i> | f. <i>*twār</i> / <i>tuā</i> / <i>t o</i> |
| d. <i>*nār</i> / <i>nā</i> / <i>n o (na)</i> | g. <i>*t'nwār</i> / <i>t'uā</i> / <i>t'o</i> |
| 75 a. <i>*dz'ār</i> / <i>dz'ai</i> / <i>ch'ai</i> | h. <i>*swār</i> / <i>suā</i> / <i>s o</i> |
| 76 a. <i>*t̥iār</i> / <i>t̥siɛ</i> / <i>chī</i> | i. <i>*pwār</i> / <i>puā</i> / <i>p o</i> |
| 77 a. <i>*tsiār</i> / <i>tsiɛ</i> / <i>tsī</i> | j. <i>*b'wār</i> / <i>b'uā</i> / <i>p o</i> |
| b. <i>*ts'iār</i> / <i>ts'iɛ</i> / <i>ts'ī</i> | 80 a. <i>*g'lwār</i> / <i>ɣwa</i> / <i>h u a</i> |
| c. <i>*n̥iār</i> / <i>n̥ziɛ</i> / <i>e r</i> | 81 a. <i>*t̥iwar</i> / <i>t̥swiɛ</i> / <i>chuei</i> |
| d. <i>*piār</i> / <i>pjiɛ</i> / <i>p i</i> | b. <i>*d̥iwar</i> / <i>z̥wiɛ</i> / <i>juei</i> |
| e. <i>*m̥iār</i> / <i>m̥jiɛ</i> / <i>m i</i> | c. <i>*ts'iwar</i> / <i>t̥swiɛ</i> / <i>ch'uei</i> |
| 78 a. <i>*niar</i> / <i>nei</i> / <i>n i</i> | 82 a. <i>*χ̥iwǎr</i> / <i>χ̥jwiɛ</i> / <i>huei</i> |
| 79 a. <i>*klwār</i> / <i>kuā</i> / <i>k u o</i> | b. <i>*'iwǎr</i> / <i>'jwiɛ</i> / <i>wei</i> |
| b. <i>*k'lwār</i> / <i>k'uā</i> / <i>k'u o</i> | c. <i>*ts'iwǎr</i> / <i>t̥swiɛ</i> / <i>ts'uei</i> |
| c. <i>*glwār</i> / <i>luā</i> / <i>l o</i> | d. <i>*l̥iwǎr</i> / <i>l̥jwiɛ</i> / <i>lei</i> |
| d. <i>*χwār</i> / <i>χuā</i> / <i>h u o</i> | e. <i>*sn̥iwǎr</i> / <i>swiɛ</i> / <i>suei</i> |

Group IX.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. III 83A. *i̯ɛn* (part of Anc. 92) 85. *i̯uɛn* (part of Anc. 100)
 83B. *i̯ɛn* (part of Anc. 96)
 Div. IV 84. *i̯en* (part of Anc. 11) 86. *i̯wen* (part of Anc. 23).

Type words:

- 83Aa 矜 𪛗 姻 𪛗 c 陳 d 引 e 神 f 臣 g 申 信 身 h 人 仁 i 親 j 盡 燼
 k 信 新 薪 l 鄰 磷 令 m 賓 濱 n 頻 蘋 o 民 泯 命 [p 繫 q 眞 r 瞋 s 進
 晉 t 秦]
 83Bu 榛 漆 萊 臻 v 莘
 84a 堅 𪛗 賢 c 巔 巔 d 天 e 填 閭 田 電 甸 𪛗 g 年 h 令 苓 零 [i 率 j 弦 k 咽]
 85a 均 鈞 𪛗 旬 c 詢 [d 筠 e 楸]
 86a 玄 𪛗 洵 c 淵

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the Shī rimes and the hie sheng :

lien : *ńziĕn* : *d'ien* : *iwen* : *ts'ien* (rime in Ode 50); *t'ien* : *sĕn* : *tsĕn* : *śĕn* (O. 194); *piĕn* : *śĕn* : *kĭuĕn* : *rien* (O. 205); 83*t* *dz'ĕn* Phon. in 83*u* *tsĕn*; 84*k* *ien* with the same Phon. as 83*b* *ĕn*; 86*a* *yiwen* Phon. in 84*i* *k'ien*; etc.

All these Anc. finals *ĕn*, *ien* and *ien* have already occurred in Group IV above, but there interchanging with Anc. *ən*, *ĕn* and, as we saw, then deriving from **iən*, **ĕn*, **iən*. In our present group they appear exclusively as an *ə* category, and we have every reason to reconstruct the Arch. values as follows:

83. <i>*ĕn</i>	85. <i>iwen</i>
84. <i>ien</i>	86. <i>wen</i>

Thus, in this category the Arch. finals have been preserved down to Anc. Chin., except in the words of 83*B*: there, exclusively after supradental initials (*ts*, *ś*), the principal vowel has become more open and slack: **tsĕn* > *tsĕn*, and so these words have coincided with the original *tsĕn* in Group IV above.¹⁾

Since the Anc. finals in our category here are not limited to the present Arch. group but occur in Gr. IV as well, we have to determine individually which words belong here. The type words which are not placed in brackets are brought to our present group by Shī rimes. For the rest:

83*p* Anc. *kĕn* has the same Phon. as 84*a*; 83*q* *tsĕn* is Phon. in 84*c* and *e*, and 83*r* *ts'ĕn* has the same Phon.; 83*s1* *tsĕn* in Yi: Tsa kua rimes w. 83*i* and 84*c1*; 83*s2* *tsĕn* is etym. id. w. the preceding; 83*t* *dz'ĕn* has the same Phon. as 83*u*; 84*i* *k'ien* and *j* *rien* have Phon. 86*a*; 84*k* *ien* has the same Phon. as 83*b*; 85*d* *ĭuĕn* has Phon. 85*a*; 85*e* has Phon. 85*b*.

Résumé of the type words:

83 <i>A a</i> . <i>*g'ĕn</i> / <i>g'ĕn</i> / —	83 <i>A o</i> . <i>*mĕn</i> / <i>mĕn</i> / <i>min</i>
<i>b</i> . <i>*ĕn</i> / <i>ĕn</i> / <i>yin</i>	<i>p</i> . <i>*kĕn</i> / <i>kĕn</i> / <i>kin</i>
<i>c</i> . <i>*d'ĕn</i> / <i>d'ĕn</i> / <i>ch'en</i>	<i>q</i> . <i>*ĭĕn</i> / <i>tsĕn</i> / <i>chen</i>
<i>d</i> . <i>*diĕn</i> / <i>ĕn</i> / <i>yin</i>	<i>r</i> . <i>*t'ĕn</i> / <i>ts'ĕn</i> / <i>ch'en</i>
<i>e</i> . <i>*d'ĕn</i> / <i>dz'ĕn</i> / <i>shen</i>	<i>s</i> . <i>*tsĕn</i> / <i>tsĕn</i> / <i>tsin</i>
<i>f</i> . <i>*d'ĕn</i> / <i>śĕn</i> / <i>ch'en</i>	<i>t</i> . <i>*dz'ĕn</i> / <i>dz'ĕn</i> / <i>ts'in</i>
<i>g</i> . <i>*śĕn</i> / <i>śĕn</i> / <i>shen</i>	83 <i>B u</i> . <i>*tsĕn</i> / <i>tsĕn</i> / <i>chen</i>
<i>h</i> . <i>*ńĕn</i> / <i>ńĕn</i> / <i>jen</i>	<i>v</i> . <i>*sĕn</i> / <i>sĕn</i> / <i>shen</i>
<i>i</i> . <i>*ts'ĕn</i> / <i>ts'ĕn</i> / <i>ts'in</i>	84 <i>a</i> . <i>*kien</i> / <i>kien</i> / <i>kien</i>
<i>j</i> . <i>*dz'ĕn</i> / <i>dz'ĕn</i> / <i>tsin</i>	<i>b</i> . <i>*g'ien</i> / <i>rien</i> / <i>hien</i>
<i>k</i> . <i>*sĕn</i> / <i>sĕn</i> / <i>sin</i>	<i>c</i> . <i>*tien</i> / <i>tien</i> / <i>tien</i>
<i>l</i> . <i>*lĕn</i> / <i>lĕn</i> / <i>lin</i>	<i>d</i> . <i>*t'ien</i> / <i>t'ien</i> / <i>t'ien</i>
<i>m</i> . <i>*piĕn</i> / <i>piĕn</i> / <i>pin</i>	<i>e</i> . <i>*d'ien</i> / <i>d'ien</i> / <i>t'ien</i>
<i>n</i> . <i>*b'ĕn</i> / <i>b'ĕn</i> / <i>p'in</i>	<i>f</i> . <i>*ts'ien</i> / <i>ts'ien</i> / <i>ts'ien</i>

¹⁾ That our Anc. *tsĕn* here derives from an Arch. **tsĕn* is a fact which I did not recognize in *Grammata Serica*.

84 g. *mien / mien / mien
 h. *lien / lien / —
 i. *k'ien / k'ien / k'ien
 j. *g'ien / yien / hien
 k. *ien / ien / yen
 85 a. *kiwǝn / kiwǝn / kün
 b. *dziwǝn / ziwǝn / sün

85 c. *siwǝn / siwǝn / sün
 d. *giwǝn / jiwǝn / yün
 e. *t'iwǝn / t'iwǝn / ch'un
 86 a. *g'iwǝn / yiwǝn / hün
 b. *xiwǝn / xiwǝn / hün
 c. *iwen / iwen / yüan¹⁾

Group X.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. III 87A. iēt (part of Anc. 93)	III 89. iuēt (part of Anc. 101)
♦ 87B. iet (part of Anc. 97)	—
♦ 88. iet (part of Anc. 12)	90. iwet (part of Anc. 24)

Type words:

87Aa 吉 卜 一 抑 c 窒 挫 d 秩 e 逸 f 實 g 室 h 日 i 即 j 七 漆 k 栗 慄
 l 秘 輯 m 匹 n 忸 o 密 [p 詰 q 姑 r 膝]
 87B s 櫛 t 瑟
 88a 結 結 卜 頤 c 噎 d 陟 埳 塹 e 節 f 切
 89a 減 卜 恤 [c 馱]
 90a 血 卜 穴

These Anc. finals interchange in the Shī rimes, e. g. d'iet : ts'iet : yiwet : siēt (rime in Ode 237), etc. They also frequently combine in the hie sheng, e. g. 87a kiēt Phon. in 88a kiet; 87s tsiēt with Phon. 88e tsiēt.

We have in this Group a strict parallel to the preceding group, and the Arch. finals were:

87. *iēt	89. iuēt
88. iet	90. iwet

Parallel to an evolution in that group our Arch. iēt here after supradentals has become Anc. iet (87s *tsiēt > tsiēt).

Here again, the same Anc. finals appear in other Arch. groups as well, and we have to determine from case to case those which belong here. The type words not within brackets are placed here by Shī rimes. 87p k'iēt and q g'iēt have Phon. 87a; 87r siēt has the same Phon. as 87j; 88f ts'iet has Phon. 87j; 89c iuēt has Phon. 90b.

¹⁾ 83a should give Mand. k'in, but the char. has been borrowed for a word king; 83o, last char., Mand. ming; 84e, last two words, Mand. tien; 84h Mand. ling.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 87A a. * <i>k'iet</i> / <i>k'iet</i> / <i>k i</i> | p. * <i>k'iet</i> / <i>k'iet</i> / <i>k'i</i> |
| b. * <i>i'et</i> / <i>i'et</i> / <i>y i</i> | q. * <i>g'iet</i> / <i>g'iet</i> / <i>k i</i> |
| c. * <i>ti'et</i> / <i>ti'et</i> / <i>ch i</i> | r. * <i>siet</i> / <i>siet</i> / <i>s i</i> |
| d. * <i>d'iet</i> / <i>d'iet</i> / <i>ch i</i> | 87B s. * <i>tsiet</i> / <i>tsiet</i> / <i>che</i> |
| e. * <i>diet</i> / <i>iet</i> / <i>y i</i> | t. * <i>siet</i> / <i>siet</i> / <i>se</i> |
| f. * <i>d'iet</i> / <i>d'iet</i> / <i>sh i</i> | 88 a. * <i>kiet</i> / <i>kiet</i> / <i>kie</i> |
| g. * <i>siet</i> / <i>siet</i> / <i>sh i</i> | b. * <i>g'iet</i> / <i>iet</i> / <i>hie</i> |
| h. * <i>ni'et</i> / <i>ni'et</i> / <i>j i</i> | c. * <i>iet</i> / <i>iet</i> / <i>ye</i> |
| i. * <i>tsiet</i> / — | d. * <i>tsiet</i> / <i>tsiet</i> / <i>tsie</i> |
| j. * <i>ts'iet</i> / <i>ts'iet</i> / <i>ts'i</i> | e. * <i>ts'iet</i> / <i>ts'iet</i> / <i>ts'ie</i> |
| k. * <i>li'et</i> / <i>li'et</i> / <i>li</i> | f. * <i>d'iet</i> / <i>d'iet</i> / <i>tie</i> |
| l. * <i>pi'et</i> / <i>pi'et</i> / <i>pi</i> | 89 a. * <i>xiwet</i> / — / <i>hü</i> |
| m. * <i>p'iet</i> / <i>p'iet</i> / <i>p'i</i> | b. * <i>xiwet</i> / <i>xiwet</i> / <i>sü</i> |
| n. * <i>b'iet</i> / <i>b'iet</i> / <i>pi</i> | 90 a. * <i>xiwet</i> / <i>xiwet</i> / <i>hü e</i> |
| o. * <i>mi'et</i> / <i>mi'et</i> / <i>mi</i> | b. * <i>g'iwet</i> / <i>iwet</i> / <i>hü e</i> ¹⁾ |

Group XI.

This Arch. group comprises some words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. III 91. *ji* (part of Anc. 124)
 » IV 92. *iei* (part of Anc. 52).

Type words:

91a 懿、乚 重 c 至 d 岌 杌
 92a 髻 乚 瞳 c 閉

The contacts (see below) and parallelism with the preceding »et« group shows clearly that we here have the corresponding »ed« category, the Arch. values being:

91. **ied*
 92. *ied*

The Final **ied* has developed > *iei* > *i* and **ied* has simply vocalized its final *d*: *iei* in Anc. Chin.

This group comprises very few words. Our type words belong here for the following reasons:

¹⁾ The char. 87b2, the **i'et* of which is deduced from Shī rimes, was early applied to a synonym. w. **iək* / *iək* / *y i*; in the same way 87i **tsiet* was applied to a synonym. **tsiək* / *tsiək* / *ts i*.

91a Anc. *i* has Phon. *ʔiēt*; 91b *ī* rimes in Ode 30 with 92b below; 91c *tī* rimes w. **siwēt* in Ode 167 and w. **dʔiet*, *šīēt* in Ode 156, and is Phon. in many words with Finals **iēt*, **iet* (e. g. 87c, 88d); 91d1 *pī* rimes w. **siwēt* in O. 257 and d2 *pī* has the same Phon. and has a second reading **piēt*; 92a *kī* has Phon. **kiēt*; 92b *ī* has Phon. *ʔiēt*; 92c serves as loan char. for 91d2 in Ode 128.

Résumé of the type words:

- 91 a. **iēd* / *ˈi* / y i
 b. **iēd* / *li* / c h ī
 c. **iēd* / *tši* / c h ī
 d. **piēd* / *pji* / p i
- 92 a. **kied* / *kiei* / k i
 b. **ied* / *iei* / y i
 c. **piēd* / *piei* / p i

Since we have seen that we had *-an*, *-at*, *-ad* and *-ar* groups, and *-ən*, *-ət*, *-əd* and *-ər* groups, we should expect to have corresponding to our *-ən*, *-ət*, *-əd* groups just examined, an *-ər* group as well. In fact, there are traces of such a group, but it is very difficult to find evidence of words belonging to this rare category. One typical case we have in the word 眞 **iĕr / tsiĕ / ch ī* which has 眞 **iĕn / tsiĕn / ch en* for Phon.

Group XII.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. I 93. *ām* (Anc. 25)
 » II 94. *am* (Anc. 29)
 » 95. *ām* (part of Anc. 31)
 » III 96. *īām* (part of Anc. 33)
 » 97. *īvm* (Anc. 35)
 » IV 98. *iem* (part of Anc. 37)
 » III 99. *īwvm* (Anc. 39)

Type words:

- 93a 甘敢 b 菱 c 談談 餃 d 藍濫 [e 覽 f 鑿暫 g 聊]
94a 巖 b 監 c 檻 [d 銜 e 饒]
95a 斬 [b 儼]
96a 瞻瞻 b 禱 c 貶 [d 柑 e 獫狽 f 淹 g 掩奔 h 厭 i 納染 j 剡 k 漸
殲 l 鋸 m 檢 n 廉]
97a 巖 [b 淹 c 檢]
98a 玷 [b 兼 c 恬]
99a 凡犯 b 汎

These Anc. finals rime freely in the Shī, e. g. *ngam*: *tsiām* : *d'ām* : *tsām* : *kam* (Ode 191), and the contacts between them in the *hie sheng* are frequent, e. g. 97a *ngiwm* Phon. in 94a *ngam*; 96j *iām* same Phon. as 93c *d'ām*, etc.

We leave aside, to begin with, no. 99, and discuss 93—98.

This group forms an almost exact *-m* parallel to the *-n* category in Group I. There we had the values placed hereunder to the left, and to the right we insert our corresponding reconstructions for our Group XII:

Div. I 1. <i>án</i> (* <i>án</i>)	I 93. <i>ám</i> (* <i>ám</i>)
» II 2. <i>an</i> (* <i>an</i>) 3. <i>ăn</i> (* <i>ăn</i>)	II 94. <i>am</i> (* <i>am</i>) 95. <i>ăm</i> (* <i>ăm</i>)
» III 4. <i>iăn</i> (* <i>ian</i>) 5. <i>ivn</i> (* <i>iăn</i>)	III 96. <i>iām</i> (* <i>iam</i>) 97. <i>iwm</i> (* <i>iām</i>)
» IV 6. <i>ien</i> (* <i>ian</i>)	IV 98. <i>iem</i> (* <i>iam</i>)

Thus, we have exactly the same distinction between long-vowelled and short-vowelled finals as in Gr. I, and the same evolution of the vocalism from Arch. to Anc. Chin. as in that category (*i*-umlaut).

In Group I we saw that as a rule no words with 1. *án*, 2. *an*, 4. *iăn* and 5. *ivn* rime in other Arch. groups than I, and that we were therefore authorized to establish equations: all Anc. *án* = Arch. **án*, all *ivn* = **iăn* etc. Quite the same is true here of 93. *ám*, 94. *am* and 97. *iwm*; all their words fall within our Arch. Gr. XII, and we can establish equations: all *ám* = **ám*; all *am* = **am*; all *iwm* = **iām* (in our table we have added within brackets a few more examples in order to fill out the cadre¹); but the Anc. final *-iām* (96 here) is not so unambiguous, some of its words belong elsewhere (Gr. XIV below). In the Anc. finals *ăm* (95 here), *iām* (96 here) and *iem* (98 here) we have therefore to examine the words individually, in order to determine which of them belong to our present «am» category.

All the type words not placed within brackets rime in this «am» class in the Shī. For the rest, observe:

95b Anc. *dz'ām* is loan char. for 93f2 *dz'ām* in Li: K'üli; 96d *g'iām* has Phon. 93a; 96e *xiām* has Phon. 97a, second form a variant; 96f *iām* in Ch'u: Chao hun rimes w. 96k1, see below; 96g1 *iām* has the same Phon. as the preceeding, and 96g2 is etym. the same word; 96h *iām* in Li: Ta hie is loan char. for 96g; 96i1 *niām* has the same Phon. as 93g, and 96i2 is loan char. for 96i1 in Ode 198; 96j *iām* has the same Phon. as 93c and in Li: Tsa ki rimes w. 95a; 96k1 *tsiām* and *dz'iām* and *dz'am* has Phon. 95a; 96k2 *tsiām* is closely cognate to 93f. 96l *siam* is another aspect of the same word stem as the preceeding; 96m *kiam* is altern. reading of 97c *kivm* (**kl'iām*) and in Kuan: Shan k'üan is loan char. for 98b; 96n *liām* (**gliām*) in Kuan: Cheng shī is loan char. for 93e **glām*; 98b *kiem* is Phon. in 96n; 98c *d'iem* has the same Phon. as 96l.

Let us add that 譚 *dz'am* and *dz'ām* in Ode 198 rimes in the «am» class below, but this must be a hedge-rime, since the «am» nature of this series is plainly revealed by 94e and 95b.

¹) 93e Anc. *lām* has the same Phon. as 93d; 93f *dz'ām* has Phon. 95a; 94d *yam* is closely cognate to 96d **g'iām*; 94e (the radical should be 167, not 184) *dz'am* is closely cognate to 93f1 *dz'ām*; 97b *iwm* is an altern. reading of 96f *iām*; 97c *kivm* is altern. reading of 96m.

In Group I there was a large *h o k'o u* category corresponding to the *k'ai k'o u* category:

**kân : kwân*
kan : kwan etc.

In our present group, in which the words end in *-m*, the »medial *w*», through some aversion from the double labials in the final, hardly exists: there is only one final which admits it: 99. *-iwm*, and there only in a few words. Anc. *iwm* being invariably Arch. **iäm*, as we have seen, our *-iwm* here was Arch. **iwäm*. These few cases are all words with labial initial, and it seems probable that the »medial *w*», otherwise inadmissible with final *-m*, has here been introduced as a consequence of the articulation movement of the initial: **b'iäm > b'iwäm*.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>93 a. <i>*kâm / kâm / k a n</i>
 b. <i>*t'âm / t'âm / t'a n</i>
 c. <i>*d'âm / d'âm / t'a n</i>
 d. <i>*glâm / lâm / l a n</i>
 e. <i>*glâm / lâm / l a n</i>
 f. <i>*dz'âm / dz'âm / t s a n</i>
 g. <i>*t'nâm / t'âm / t'a n</i></p> <p>94 a. <i>*ngam / ngam / y e n</i>
 b. <i>*klam / kam / k i e n</i>
 c. <i>*g'lam / gam / h i e n</i>
 d. <i>*g'am / gam / h i e n</i>
 e. <i>*dz'am / dz'am / c h'a n</i></p> <p>95 a. <i>*tsäm / tsäm / c h a n</i>
 b. <i>*dz'äm / dz'äm / c h a n</i></p> <p>96 a. <i>*t'iam / t'iam / c h a n</i>
 b. <i>*t'iam / t'iam / c h'a n</i>
 c. <i>*piam / piäm / p i e n</i></p> | <p>96 d. <i>*g'iam / g'iam / k'i e n</i>
 e. <i>*çiam / çiam / h i e n</i>
 f—h. <i>*iam / iäm / y e n</i>
 i. <i>*niam / niam / j a n</i>
 j. <i>*diam / iäm / y e n</i>
 k. <i>*tsiam / tsiam / t s i e n</i>
 l. <i>*siam / siäm / s i e n</i>
 m. <i>*kläm / kiäm / k i e n</i>
 n. <i>*gliam / liäm / l i e n</i></p> <p>97 a. <i>*ngiäm / ngiwm / y e n</i>
 b. <i>*iäm / iwm / y e n</i>
 c. <i>*kliäm / kiwm / k i e n</i></p> <p>98 a. <i>*tiam / tiem / t i e n</i>
 b. <i>*kliam / kiem / k i e n</i>
 c. <i>*d'iam / d'iem / t' i e n</i></p> <p>99 a. <i>*b'iwäm / b'iwvm / f a n</i>
 b. <i>*p'iwäm / p'iwvm / f a n¹⁾</i></p> |
|--|---|

Group XIII.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. I 100. *áp* (Anc. 26)
II 101. *ap* (Anc. 30)
102. *ăp* (part of Anc. 32)
III 103. *iăp* (part of Anc. 34)
104. *iwp* (Anc. 36)
IV 105. *iep* (part of Anc. 38)
III 106. *iwp* (Anc. 40).

¹⁾ 93/2 Mand. *c h a n*.

Type words:

- 100a [盞 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔]
 101a 甲 [𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔]
 102a [夾 𠂔 狹 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔]
 103a 葉 𠂔 涉 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 [𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔]
 104a 業 [𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔]
 105a [𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔]
 106a [法 𠂔 𠂔]

These Anc. finals interchange in the rimes, e. g. *ĭäp* : *šĭäp* : *kap* (Ode 60), and in the *hie sheng*, e. g. 102a *käp* Phon. in 101b *kap* and *kiep*, etc.

Our group here is a strict *-p* parallel to the *-m* category of Group XII, and the Arch. values can be filled in accordingly:

- Div. I 100. **äp*
 II 101. *ap* 102. *äp*
 III 103. *ĭap* 104. *ĭäp*
 IV 105. *iap*
 III 106. *ĭwäp*

Just as in the *-m* group, the words of finals 100 Anc. *äp*, 101 *ap*, 104 *ĭwäp*, 106 *ĭwäp* all belong to our Arch. »ap» category,¹⁾ but in the remaining rimes the words belonging here must be determined from case to case:

The words not within brackets are placed here by Shī rimes. For the rest, observe: 102a Anc. *käp* and *kiep* is the same word stem as 104b1 Arch. **k'äp* and 104c **χäp*; 102b *γäp* is the same stem as 101c1 *γap* (**g'ap*); 102c *tš'äp* is closely cognate to 103g2, see below; 103e *ĭäp* has Phon. 100a; 103f *'äp*, char. also read *'äm* (**'iam*); 103g1 *tsiäp* in Ch'u: Kiu chang rimes w. 101a and 103g2 has the same Phon.; 103h *l'äp* has the same Phon. as 100c, and 103i *ñäp* is another aspect of the same stem, both cognate to 105e below; 105a *kiep*, altern. reading *kap*, is the same stem as 102a, see above, and 105b has the same Phon.; 105c *γiep* has the same Phon. as 104c **χäp*; 105d *t'iep* has Phon. **iäm*; 105e *d'iep* has Phon. 103a; 106a *p'wäp* in Hanfei: Yang k'üan rimes w. 104b2 **k'äp* and in Yi: Meng with 103g1 **tsiäp*; 106b *b'wäp* is Phon. in 96c **p'iam*.

¹⁾ Moreover 100b *d'äp* is of the same stem as 105e **d'iap*, see below; 101c *γap* and d2 *'ap* have the same Phon. as 101a **kap*; 101d1 *'ap* has Phon. **'iam*; 101e has the same Phon. as 103g, see further on.

Since we have had, in the preceding groups, Arch. »am» and »ap» words, we should expect to find some »ab» words as well. In fact there are some, though rare. 去 Anc. *k'iwō* is Phon. is 104b **k'ǎp*, in 103e **giap* in 100a **g'áp* and in 106a **pǐwǎp*, so its labial final is indubitable; but this final consonant has been lost well before Anc. Chin., just like final *-d* and *-g*, and it must have been a *-b*. We shall see below that Arch. **-io* has been broken into Anc. *-iwo*, and the vowel *o* is the result of a »darkening» which took place after the loss of *-b*: the Arch. reading was obviously **k'iab*, which satisfies the various *hie sheng* adduced.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 100 a. <i>*g'áp</i> / <i>γáp</i> / <i>h o</i> | 103 e. <i>*giap</i> / <i>jiáp</i> / <i>y e</i> |
| b. <i>*d'áp</i> / <i>d'áp</i> / <i>t a</i> | f. <i>*iap</i> / <i>iáp</i> / <i>y e</i> |
| c. <i>*láp</i> / <i>láp</i> / <i>l a</i> | g. <i>*tsiap</i> / <i>tsiáp</i> / <i>t s i e</i> |
| 101 a. <i>*kap</i> / <i>kap</i> / <i>k i a</i> | h. <i>*liap</i> / <i>liáp</i> / <i>l i e</i> |
| b. <i>*kap</i> / <i>kap</i> / <i>k i a</i> | i. <i>*niap</i> / <i>niáp</i> / <i>n i e</i> |
| c. <i>*g'ap</i> / <i>γap</i> / <i>h i a</i> | 104 a. <i>*ngiáp</i> / <i>ngiáp</i> / <i>y e</i> |
| d. <i>*ap</i> / <i>'ap</i> / <i>y a</i> | b. <i>*k'ǎp</i> / <i>k'ǐvp</i> / <i>k' i e</i> |
| e. <i>*sap</i> / <i>šap</i> / <i>š h a</i> | c. <i>*χiáp</i> / <i>χiép</i> / <i>h i e</i> |
| 102 a. <i>*kǎp</i> / <i>kǎp</i> / <i>k i a</i> | 105 a. <i>*kiap</i> / <i>kiep</i> / <i>k i e</i> |
| b. <i>*g'ǎp</i> / <i>γǎp</i> / <i>h i a</i> | b. <i>*k'iap</i> / <i>k'iep</i> / <i>k' i e</i> |
| c. <i>*ts'ǎp</i> / <i>tš'ǎp</i> / <i>c h' a</i> | c. <i>*g'iap</i> / <i>γiep</i> / <i>h i e</i> |
| d. <i>*sǎp</i> / <i>šǎp</i> / <i>š h a</i> | d. <i>t'iap</i> / <i>t'iep</i> / <i>t' i e</i> |
| 103 a. <i>*dǐap</i> / <i>iǎp</i> / <i>y e</i> | e. <i>*d'iap</i> / <i>d'iep</i> / <i>t i e</i> |
| b. <i>*dǐap</i> / <i>ziáp</i> / <i>š h e</i> | 106 a. <i>*pǐwǎp</i> / <i>pǐwǎp</i> / <i>f a</i> |
| c. <i>*sǐap</i> / <i>siáp</i> / <i>š h e</i> | b. <i>*b'ǐwǎp</i> / <i>b'ǐwǎp</i> / <i>f a</i> |
| d. <i>*dz'ǐap</i> / <i>dz'ǐap</i> / <i>t s i e</i> | |

Group XIV.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. I 107. *ám* (Anc. final 27)
 II 108. *ǎm* (part of Anc. 31)
 III 109. *iəm* (Anc. 105)
 110. *iām* (part of Anc. 33)
 IV 111. *iem* (part of Anc. 37)
 I 112. *ung* (part of Anc. 114)
 III 113. *iung* (part of Anc. 118)

Type words:

- 107a 湛耽 𠵿 𠵿 c 三 d 南男 [e 感 f 埤 g 潭 啗 燂]
 108a [減 𠵿 咸 陷 c 畧 d 港 e 撈]
 109a 今 𠵿 錦 金 𠵿 欽 c 岑 琴 d 敵 e 音 f 琛 g 譚 h 枕 i 湛 甚 堪 黠
 j 深 k 浸 l 寢 駸 m 驚 n 心 o 𠵿 p 林 q 諗 [r 音 s 淫 t 參 u 禁]
 110a 驚 [𠵿 黔 c 諂 d 閤 e 燂 f 燂]
 111a 簞 𠵿 僭 c 念 [d 塾]
 112a [𠵿]
 113a 風 [𠵿 楓 c 鳳]

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the Shī rimes, e. g. **iəm : nəm* (rime in Ode 28); *p̄iung : siəm* (O. 35); *d'iem : ts'iem* (O. 189). They likewise interchange in the hie sheng, e. g. 109i1 Anc. *siəm* Phon. in 107a *təm*; 111c *niem* Phon. in 109q *siəm*; 107g1 *d'əm* with the same Phon. as 111a *d'iem*, etc. The Arch. final -m in 112a *b'ung* and 113a *p̄iung* is confirmed by their Phon. **b'iwām* (99a):

It is striking that the *əm*, *ām*, *iām*, *iem* words of this group do not as a rule go together, in rimes and in hie sheng, with the *am* words of the large Group XII above, but regularly with the *iəm* words here. It therefore stands to reason that we here have the *iem* category corresponding to the *am* category in Group XII, just as Gr. IV was the *en* category corresponding to the *an* category in Gr. I, and this parallelism is instructive, for we saw how the *en* Group, a category characterized by short, slack principal vowels, comprised Arch. rimes I **ən*, II **en*, III **iən*, **ien*, IV **iən*. We have to expect something analogous here, and the Arch. scheme for our Gr. XIV will be:

- I 107. **əm*
 II 108. *em*
 III 109. *iəm*
 110. *iem*
 IV 111. *iəm*
 I 112. *üm*
 III 113. *iüm*

The last point: 113 *iüm* has no counterpart in the *en* group and should be briefly commented upon. (The preceding 112 *üm* is represented by one single word, which has alternative readings **b'üm / b'ung / p'en g* and **b'iüm / b'iung / f'en g*). The Anc. final *iung* (Anc. 118) has several Arch. origins. One of them is the present -m final. But when a *iüm* rimes with **əm* and **em*, it presupposes a quality of the u

that makes it acoustically more akin to ə and ε than the ordinary u. Since a short, slack principal vowel is characteristic of our group here, we must conclude that u in this case was a short, slack and comparatively open ŭ, something like Swedish *kung*, *gubbe* (the nearest approach in English would, perhaps, be the u in *value*): *pīŭm*.¹⁾ It might be tempting to reconstruct **pīwəm*, in order the better to rime with **əm*, but, as we shall see, the question recurs in Gr. XIX below, where a Final **iūk / iuk* of certain words rimes with **ək, ek* and yet cannot have been Arch. **iŭək*, since this **iŭək / iŭək* exists as well, in other words.

We have already pointed out (p. 243), in discussing Anc. Chin. above, that the Anc. *ām* must have had an **əm* origin, and just as we have seen that **əd* has become Anc. *āi* (Gr. VI) and **ər > *āi* (Gr. VII), so here **əm* has developed into *ām*. And just as **en* passed over into the «an» group, becoming Anc. *ān* (Gr. IV), so here **em > ām*. In Div. III **iēm* has been drawn into the acoustically very cognate and large *iām* class: **iēm > iām*. And, finally, just as the strong vocalic *i* caused *ī*-umlaut: *iən > ien*, so here *iām* became Anc. *iem*.

As a rule, no words with Anc. Finals *ām, iām* rime outside our present category, and we can therefore establish the equations: all Anc. *ām* were Arch. **əm*, all Anc. *iām* were Arch. **iēm*.²⁾ But the remaining Anc. rimes include words in other Arch. groups as well, and those belonging here must be determined individually:

The type words not within brackets are placed here through Shī rimes. 108b1 Anc. *γem* is Phon. in 107e **kəm*; 108b2 *γem* has the same Phon. as 107f **k'əm* and 107b; 108c *ngām* has the altern. reading *ngiām*; 108d *d'ām* has also reading 107a; 108e *sām* has Phon. **sīām*; 110b Anc. *g'iām* has Phon. *kīām* and in Tso: Siang 17 rimes w. a **sīām*; 110c *i'iām* and 110d *iām* have the same Phon. as 107b; 110e *tsiām* has the same Phon. as 109g; 110f *dz'iām* has a second reading 107g3 **d'əm*; 111d *tiem* has Phon. **tīēp*; 112a *b'ung* has Phon. **b'iŭəm*; 113b *pīung* in Ch'u: Chao hun rimes w. **sīām, *nəm* and has 113a for Phon.; 113c has the same Phon. as 112a.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 107 a. <i>*təm / tām / t a n</i> | 108 d. <i>*d'əm / d'ām / c h a n</i> |
| b. <i>*d'əm / d'ām / t a n</i> | e. <i>*səm / sām / s h a n</i> |
| c. <i>*səm / (sām) / s a n</i> | 109 a. <i>*kīām / kīām / k i n</i> |
| d. <i>*nəm / nām / n a n</i> | b. <i>*k'iām / k'iām / k'i n</i> |
| e. <i>*kəm / kām / k a n</i> | c. <i>*g'iām / g'iām / k'i n</i> |
| f. <i>*k'əm / k'ām / k'a n</i> | d. <i>*χīām / χīām / h i n</i> |
| g. <i>*d'əm / d'ām / t'a n</i> | e. <i>*iām / iām / y i n</i> |
| 108 a. <i>*kēm / kām / k i e n</i> | f. <i>*t'iām / t'iām / c h'e n</i> |
| b. <i>*g'ēm / γām / h i e n</i> | g. <i>*tsīām / tsīām / c h e n</i> |
| c. <i>*ngēm / ngām / y e n</i> | h. <i>*tīām / tīām / c h e n</i> |

¹⁾ This brevity of the vowel was not indicated in *Grammata Serica*, where I simply wrote **pīum*. I believe the **pīŭm* here is a slight improvement.

²⁾ Furthermore, 107g1 Anc. *d'ām* in Ch'u: Kiu chang rimes with a **sīām*; 109r *iām* in Tso: Chao 21 r. w. a **kīām*; 109s *iām* in Ch'u: Li sao r. w. a **sīām*; 109u *kīām* in Li: Yüo ling r. w. the said 109s.

- 109 i. **d̥iəm* / *ziəm* / *chen*
 j. **ʃiəm* / *ʃiəm* / *shen*
 k. **tsiəm* / *tsiəm* / *tsin*
 l. **ts' iəm* / *ts' iəm* / *ts'in*
 m. **dz iəm* / *ziəm* / *sin*
 n. **siəm* / *siəm* / *sin*
 o. **niəm* / *niəm* / *jen*
 p. **gliəm* / *liəm* / *lin*
 q. **ʃniəm* / *ʃiəm* / *shen*
 r. **iəm* / *iəm* / *yin*
 s. **d̥iəm* / *iəm* / *yin*
 t. **ʃiəm* / *ʃiəm* / *shen*
 u. **kliəm* / *kiəm* / *hin*
 110 a. **dz' iəm* / *dz' iəm* / *ts'ien*

- 110 b. **g' iəm* / *g' iəm* / *k'ien*
 c. **t' iəm* / *t' iəm* / *ch'an*
 d. **d̥iəm* / *iəm* / *yen*
 e. **tsiəm* / *tsiəm* / *tsien*
 f. **dz' iəm* / *dz' iəm* / *ts'ien*
 111 a. **d' iəm* / *d' iəm* / *tien*
 b. **tsiəm* / *tsiəm* / *tsien*
 c. **niəm* / *niəm* / *nien*
 d. **tiəm* / *tiəm* / *tien*
 112 a. **b' ŭm* / *b' ŭm* / *p'eng*
 113 a. **p' iəm* / *p' iəm* / *feng*
 b. **p' iəm* / *p' iəm* / *feng*
 c. **b' iəm* / *b' iəm* / *feng*

Group XV.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. I 114. *āp* (Anc. 28)
 II 115. *ǎp* (part of Anc. 32)
 III 116. *iəp* (Anc. 106)
 117. *iǎp* (part of Anc. 34)
 IV 118. *iep* (part of Anc. 38)

Type words:

- 114a 合 𠵿 𠵿 [c 𠵿 d 𠵿 e 𠵿 f 𠵿 g 𠵿]
 115a 洽 [b 𠵿 c 𠵿]
 116a 及 𠵿 𠵿 c 𠵿 d 𠵿 e 𠵿 f 𠵿 g 𠵿 h 𠵿 i 𠵿 j 𠵿 k 𠵿 [l 𠵿 m 𠵿 n 𠵿]
 𠵿 o 𠵿 p 𠵿
 117a 𠵿 [b 𠵿 c 𠵿 d 𠵿]
 118a [𠵿 𠵿 𠵿]

These Anc. rimes interchange in the rimes and the *hie sheng*, e.g. *γāp*: *χiəp* (rime in Ode 164); *tsiǎp*: *g' iəp* (O. 238); *dz' iəp*: *γāp* (O. 254); 114a *γāp* Phon. in 115a *γāp*; the same Phon. in 114g *lāp* and 116j *liəp*; 116n *ziəp* Phon. in 118a *d' iep*, etc.

It is easily realized that there is a complete parallelism between this *-p* group and the preceding *-m* group. The Arch. values were:

- I 114. *əp
 II 115. ɛp
 III 116. iəp
 117. iɛp
 IV 118. iəp

The evolution phenomena (ə > â, iɛ > iä, iə > ie) are exactly the same as in the -m group.

As a rule no words with Anc. *əp* and *iəp* fall outside this Arch. group, and so we can establish the equations: all Anc. *əp* = Arch. *əp; all *iəp* = *iəp.¹⁾ But in the Anc. Finals *əp*, *iəp*, *iep* the words must be examined individually:

115b *kăp* has a second reading *kâp* (114c) and Phon. 114a; 115c *γăp* has Phon. 114a; 117b *g'îăp* has Phon. 116a; 117c *jiăp* has a second reading *jiəp*; 117d *tšîăp* has Phon. 116n; 118a (1 and 2 are etym. one word) *d'iep* has Phon. 116n; 118b *niəp* has Phon. *niəm (111c).

Here again, we should expect not only words ending in -p but also words ending in -b. Some do exist, but they are very scarce. When we have on the one hand 𪛗 *îiəp / tšîəp / c h ī »to catch, seize» and on the other hand 𪛗 *îiəb / tšî / c h ī »to catch, to seize», it is obvious that our construction of *îiəb must correct: the two »words» are variations of the same word stem, and the final -b in the second has been lost well before the time of Anc. Chin. Again, there is the words 內 Anc. *nuâi*. It belongs to the same word stem as 納 *nâp* (*nəp) and 入 *núiəp* (*núiəp) and was decidedly an Arch. -b word in h o k'o u, hence *nwb; this is the reason why the early script composers felt it to belong together with these two and wrote accordingly. But through dissimilation (labials w : b) it passed over (very early) into *nwəd (Anc. *nuâi* see Gr. VI above). As such it rimes in Ode 255 with 類 *lîwəd (61k). It is quite the same with 對 (*twəb >) *twəd riming in the same Ode stanza; it is of the same stem as 𪛗 114d *təp.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 114 a. *g'əp / γăp / h o | 115 a. *g'ɛp / γăp / h i a |
| b. *nəp / nâp / n a | b. *kɛp / kăp / k i a |
| c. *kəp / kâp / k o | c. *g'ɛp / γăp / h i a |
| d. *təp / tâp / t a | 116 a. *g'iəp / g'îăp / k i |
| e. *d'əp / d'âp / t a | b. *χiəp / χîăp / h i |
| f. *dz'əp / dz'âp / t s a | c. *iəp / iăp / y i |
| g. *gləp / lâp / l a | d. *d'iəp / d'îăp / c h ī |

¹⁾ Besides the testimony of the Shī rimes (the type words not placed within brackets) we have: 114c *kâp* has Phon. 114a; 114f *dz'âp* is a stem variation of 116i *dz'iəp*; 114g *lâp* has the same Phon. as 116j; 116l *tšîăp* in Kuan: Tī tsī chī rimes w. 116o *lîăp*, 116m *núîăp* in Ch'u: Kiu chang rimes w. 116i, 115a and 114a; 116o *lîăp* is Phon. in 116j, and 116p *kîăp* has 116a, and 116o and p rime in Ch'u: Li sao.

- 116 e. *šɿəp / šɿəp / shī
 f. *tsɿəp / tsɿəp / chī
 g. *tsɿəp / tsɿəp / tsi
 h. *dziəp / ziəp / si
 i. *dz'ɿəp / dz'ɿəp / tsi
 j. *liəp / liəp / li
 k. *k'liəp / k'liəp / k'i
 l. *t'liəp / t'liəp / chī
 m. *niəp / n'ziəp / ju

- 116 n. *dziəp / ziəp / si
 o. *liəp / liəp / li
 p. *kiəp / kiəp / ki
 117 a. *tsiəp / tsɿäp / tsie
 b. *g'ɿəp / g'ɿäp / kie
 c. *giəp / jɿäp / ye
 d. *t'ɿəp / t'ɿäp / che
 118 a. *d'ɿəp / d'iep / tie
 b. *niəp / niep / nie

Group XVI.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Div. I 119. áng (Anc. 66) | I 123. wáng (Anc. 70) |
| II 120. vng (Anc. 76) | II 124. wvng (Anc. 86) |
| III 121. iang (Anc. 68) | III 125. iwang (Anc. 72) |
| 122. iɤng (Anc. 80) | 126. iɤvng (Anc. 89). |

Type words:

- 119a 岡剛綱 康伉抗 c 杭頤 d 印 e 鏗湯 f 堂棠唐塘蕩 g 臺 h 狼琅
 i 臧 牂 j 倉蒼 k 藏 l 喪桑
 120a 庚梗羹 衡珩行 c 妨旁傍 d 亨 e 彭 蟄
 121a 姜彊疆 羌 c 仰 d 鄉饗享香 e 央 f 張張 長場腸 h 揚楊陽錫
 i 章璋掌 j 昌 k 尚裳常嘗 l 牀 m 商傷湯向 n 夾霜 o 讓讓穰 p 將漿
 q 滄滄斯鶬將 r 牆 s 祥詳翔 t 羊養痒洋 u 箱 v 浪梁梁兩糧 x 涼 y 襄
 122a 卿慶 競 c 英央 d 兵柄 e 明盟 f 京景
 123a 光廣洸 黃簧皇煌遑 c 彭 d 霄 e 芒 f 荒
 124a 觥 嚶
 125a 筐 狂 c 王往 d 配 e 方 f 房防魴 g 亡忘望罔
 126a 泳 兄

It is perfectly evident, in the light of what we have witnessed in regard to short-vowelled finals in earlier groups (*kǎn etc.), that in Finals 120, 122, 124, 126 we have short-vowelled types corresponding to the longer-vowelled types in 119, 121 etc. The Arch. scheme thus was:

Div. I	119. * <i>áng</i>	123. <i>wáng</i>
II	120. <i>ǎng</i>	124. <i>wǎng</i>
III	121. <i>iang</i>	125. <i>iwang</i>
	122. <i>ǎng</i>	126. <i>iwǎng</i>

All the words in our table above are rime words in the Shī. This group is very simple indeed. The words of these Anc. finals as a rule never rime outside our present Arch. group, and we can therefore establish equations: all Anc. *áng* were Arch. **áng*; all Anc. *wng* were Arch. **ǎng*, etc.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 119 a. * <i>káng</i> / <i>káng</i> / k a n g | 121 p. * <i>tsiang</i> / <i>tsiang</i> / t s i a n g |
| b. * <i>k'áng</i> / <i>k'áng</i> / k' a n g | q. * <i>ts'iang</i> / <i>ts'iang</i> / t s' i a n g |
| c. * <i>g'áng</i> / <i>g'áng</i> / h a n g | r. * <i>dz'iang</i> / <i>dz'iang</i> / t s' i a n g |
| d. * <i>ngáng</i> / <i>ngáng</i> / a n g | s. * <i>dziang</i> / <i>ziang</i> / s i a n g |
| e. * <i>t'áng</i> / <i>t'áng</i> / t' a n g | t. * <i>z'iang</i> / <i>iang</i> / y a n g |
| f. * <i>d'áng</i> / <i>d'áng</i> / t' a n g | u. * <i>siang</i> / <i>siang</i> / s i a n g |
| g. * <i>náng</i> / <i>náng</i> / n a n g | v. * <i>liang</i> / <i>liang</i> / l i a n g |
| h. * <i>láng</i> / <i>láng</i> / l a n g | x. * <i>gliang</i> / <i>liang</i> / l i a n g |
| i. * <i>tsáng</i> / <i>tsáng</i> / t s a n g | y. * <i>sniang</i> / <i>siang</i> / s i a n g |
| j. * <i>ts'áng</i> / <i>ts'áng</i> / t s' a n g | 122 a. * <i>k'ǎng</i> / <i>k'ǎng</i> / k' i n g |
| k. * <i>dz'áng</i> / <i>dz'áng</i> / t s' a n g | b. * <i>g'ǎng</i> / <i>g'ǎng</i> / k i n g |
| l. * <i>sáng</i> / <i>sáng</i> / s a n g | c. * <i>iǎng</i> / <i>iǎng</i> / y i n g |
| 120 a. * <i>kǎng</i> / <i>kǎng</i> / k e n g | d. * <i>pǎng</i> / <i>pǎng</i> / p i n g |
| b. * <i>g'ǎng</i> / <i>g'ǎng</i> / h e n g | e. * <i>mǎng</i> / <i>mǎng</i> / m i n g |
| c. * <i>pǎng</i> / <i>pǎng</i> / p e n g | f. * <i>klǎng</i> / <i>klǎng</i> / k i n g |
| d. * <i>p'ǎng</i> / <i>p'ǎng</i> / p' e n g | 123 a. * <i>kwáng</i> / <i>kwáng</i> / k u a n g |
| e. * <i>b'ǎng</i> / <i>b'ǎng</i> / p' e n g | b. * <i>g'wáng</i> / <i>g'wáng</i> / h u a n g |
| f. * <i>mǎng</i> / <i>mǎng</i> / m e n g | c. * <i>pwáng</i> / <i>pwáng</i> / p a n g |
| 121 a. * <i>k'iang</i> / <i>k'iang</i> / k i a n g | d. * <i>p'wáng</i> / <i>p'wáng</i> / p' a n g |
| b. * <i>k'iang</i> / <i>k'iang</i> / k' i a n g | e. * <i>mwáng</i> / <i>mwáng</i> / m a n g |
| c. * <i>ngiang</i> / <i>ngiang</i> / y a n g | f. * <i>χmwáng</i> / <i>χmwáng</i> / h u a n g |
| d. * <i>χiang</i> / <i>χiang</i> / h i a n g | 124 a. * <i>kwǎng</i> / <i>kwǎng</i> / (k u a n g) |
| e. * <i>i'iang</i> / <i>i'iang</i> / y a n g | b. * <i>g'wǎng</i> / <i>g'wǎng</i> / h u n g |
| f. * <i>t'iang</i> / <i>t'iang</i> / c h a n g | 125 a. * <i>k'iwang</i> / <i>k'iwang</i> / k' u a n g |
| g. * <i>d'iang</i> / <i>d'iang</i> / c h' a n g | b. * <i>g'iwang</i> / <i>g'iwang</i> / k' u a n g |
| h. * <i>d'iang</i> / <i>iang</i> / y a n g | c. * <i>giwang</i> / <i>giwang</i> / w a n g |
| i. * <i>t'iang</i> / <i>ts'iang</i> / c h a n g | d. * <i>χiwang</i> / <i>χiwang</i> / h u a n g |
| j. * <i>t'iang</i> / <i>ts'iang</i> / c h' a n g | e. * <i>piwang</i> / <i>piwang</i> / f a n g |
| k. * <i>d'iang</i> / <i>z'iang</i> / s h a n g | f. * <i>b'iwang</i> / <i>b'iwang</i> / f a n g |
| l. * <i>dz'iang</i> / <i>dz'iang</i> / c h' u a n g | g. * <i>miwang</i> / <i>miwang</i> / w a n g |
| m. * <i>s'iang</i> / <i>s'iang</i> / s h a n g | 126 a. * <i>giwǎng</i> / <i>giwǎng</i> / y u n g |
| n. * <i>s'iang</i> / <i>s'iang</i> / s h u a n g | b. * <i>χiwǎng</i> / <i>χiwǎng</i> / h i u n g ¹⁾ |
| o. * <i>n'iang</i> / <i>n'iang</i> / j a n g | |

¹⁾ 119/5 Mand. t a n g; 120b3 Mand. h i n g; 121k4,5 Mand. c h' a n g; 122e2 Mand. m e n g.

Group XVII.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. I 127.	<i>ák</i> (part of Anc. 67)	I 132.	<i>wák</i> (Anc. 71)
II 128.	<i>nk</i> (Anc. 77)	II 133.	<i>wvk</i> (Anc. 87)
III 129.	<i>iak</i> (part of Anc. 69)	134.	<i>iwak</i> (Anc. 73)
130A.	<i>ivk</i> (Anc. 81)		
130B.	<i>iak</i> (part of Anc. 79)		
IV 131.	<i>iek</i> (part of Anc. 83)		

Type words:

127a 惡_l 𠵿_c 𠵿_d 赫_e 𠵿_f 度_g 作_h 錯_i 𠵿_j 諾_k 博_l 薄_m 莫_n
 閤_o 恪_p 貉_q 𠵿_r 駱_s 落_t [𠵿_u 𠵿_v 𠵿_w 𠵿_x 𠵿_y 𠵿_z]
 128a 赫_l 宅_c 澤_d 𠵿_e 伯_f 柏_g 𠵿_h 莫_i 貊_j 𠵿_k 格_l 客_m [𠵿_n 𠵿_o 𠵿_p 𠵿_q 𠵿_r 𠵿_s 𠵿_t 𠵿_u 𠵿_v 𠵿_w 𠵿_x 𠵿_y 𠵿_z]
 129a 踏_l 𠵿_c 𠵿_d 𠵿_e 𠵿_f 𠵿_g 𠵿_h 𠵿_i 𠵿_j 𠵿_k 𠵿_l 𠵿_m 𠵿_n 𠵿_o 𠵿_p 𠵿_q 𠵿_r 𠵿_s 𠵿_t 𠵿_u 𠵿_v 𠵿_w 𠵿_x 𠵿_y 𠵿_z
 130Aa 𠵿_l 𠵿_c 𠵿_d 𠵿_e 𠵿_f 𠵿_g 𠵿_h 𠵿_i 𠵿_j 𠵿_k 𠵿_l 𠵿_m 𠵿_n 𠵿_o 𠵿_p 𠵿_q 𠵿_r 𠵿_s 𠵿_t 𠵿_u 𠵿_v 𠵿_w 𠵿_x 𠵿_y 𠵿_z
 130Bg 𠵿_l 𠵿_c 𠵿_d 𠵿_e 𠵿_f 𠵿_g 𠵿_h 𠵿_i 𠵿_j 𠵿_k 𠵿_l 𠵿_m 𠵿_n 𠵿_o 𠵿_p 𠵿_q 𠵿_r 𠵿_s 𠵿_t 𠵿_u 𠵿_v 𠵿_w 𠵿_x 𠵿_y 𠵿_z
 131a [𠵿_l 𠵿_c 𠵿_d 𠵿_e 𠵿_f 𠵿_g 𠵿_h 𠵿_i 𠵿_j 𠵿_k 𠵿_l 𠵿_m 𠵿_n 𠵿_o 𠵿_p 𠵿_q 𠵿_r 𠵿_s 𠵿_t 𠵿_u 𠵿_v 𠵿_w 𠵿_x 𠵿_y 𠵿_z]
 132a 𠵿_l 𠵿_c 𠵿_d 𠵿_e 𠵿_f 𠵿_g 𠵿_h 𠵿_i 𠵿_j 𠵿_k 𠵿_l 𠵿_m 𠵿_n 𠵿_o 𠵿_p 𠵿_q 𠵿_r 𠵿_s 𠵿_t 𠵿_u 𠵿_v 𠵿_w 𠵿_x 𠵿_y 𠵿_z
 133a 𠵿_l 𠵿_c 𠵿_d 𠵿_e 𠵿_f 𠵿_g 𠵿_h 𠵿_i 𠵿_j 𠵿_k 𠵿_l 𠵿_m 𠵿_n 𠵿_o 𠵿_p 𠵿_q 𠵿_r 𠵿_s 𠵿_t 𠵿_u 𠵿_v 𠵿_w 𠵿_x 𠵿_y 𠵿_z
 134a [𠵿_l 𠵿_c 𠵿_d 𠵿_e 𠵿_f 𠵿_g 𠵿_h 𠵿_i 𠵿_j 𠵿_k 𠵿_l 𠵿_m 𠵿_n 𠵿_o 𠵿_p 𠵿_q 𠵿_r 𠵿_s 𠵿_t 𠵿_u 𠵿_v 𠵿_w 𠵿_x 𠵿_y 𠵿_z]

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the Shī rimes, e. g. *tsiak* : *ziäk* : *mk* : *ts'ák* : *ɣwvk* : *dz'ák* (rime in Ode 209); *mák* : *ɣwák* : *k'ivk* : *iak* (O. 2); etc. They likewise combine in the hie sheng, e. g. 130j Anc. *ziäk* Phon. in 127e *t'ák*; 130o2 *siäk* Phon. in 127h *ts'ák* and 129a *ts'iak*; same Phon. in 127r *t'ák* and 128b *ɔ'vk*; etc.

This group obviously forms the *-k* counterpart to the *-ng* group XVI above, though it is slightly richer in finals. 130A *ivk* and 130B *iak* are complementary, being descendants of one and the same Arch. final (**iak*), the former obtaining after guttural initials (type *kivk*), the latter after other initials (type *tsiak*). 128 and 130 (and 133) are the short-vowelled finals, as is shown by the parallelism with the »ang» group XVI. We thus obtain the Arch. values:

Div.	I	127.	<i>*āk</i>	132.	<i>wāk</i>
	II	128.	<i>āk</i>	133.	<i>wāk</i>
	III	129.	<i>iak</i>	134.	<i>iwak</i>
			130.	<i>ĩāk</i>	
	IV	131.	<i>iak</i>		

The evolution **āk* < *vk* is parallel to **āng* > *vng* in the preceding group, and the »i-umlaut» **ĩāk* > *ĩāk* and *iak* > *iek* is quite analogous to what we found in the »an» group and the »am» group above.

The Anc. *vk*, *ivk*, *wvk* all derive from Arch. **āk*, *ĩāk*, *wāk*, but for the rest the Anc. finals of our first table occur in other Arch. groups as well, and we have to determine from case to case which words belong here. The type words not placed within brackets are Shī rimes in this category. For the rest:

127r Anc. *t'āk* and 127s1 *sāk* in Ch'u: Chao hun rime w. 130j1, 127s1, also in Ch'u: Li sao w. 128i and in Tso: Chao 27 w. 133a; 127s2 *sāk* in Li: Li yün r. w. 130h; 128i *pvk* in Ch'u: Li sao r. w. the preceding and has Phon. 128e; 128j *p'vk* and 128k *b'vk* in Li: Li yün r. w. 130l2 and 130h and have Phon. 128e; 128l *t'vk* in Yi: Kua 40 r. w. 127g; 128m *vk* has the same Phon. as 127a; 129c *k'iak* has Phon. 129d *k'iak* and this has the same Phon. as 130b; 129e *g'iak* has a Phon. **g'iwag*, see Gr. XVIII below; 129f *t'şiak* has Phon. 130o2; 129g *liak* has the same Phon. as 127n; 130d *k'ivk* in Lü: Jen ti r. w. 128b2; 130e *g'ivk* has the same Phon. as 129e above; 130f *şivk* in Yi: Kua 51 rimes w. 128m; 130p *t'şiak* and 130q *şiak* in Ch'u: Kiu chang r. w. 128h; 130r *p'şiak* has Phon. 128e; 131a *miek* has Phon. 127m; 131b *liek* has the same Phon. as 127n—q; 133b *kwvk* is loan char. for 132a2 in the inscription on Shī Tui Kuei (Cheng sung t'ang tsi ku yi wen 6:19); 134a1 *k'iwak* in Yi: Kua 51 r. w. 127s2, and 134a2 has the former as Phon.; 134b *b'iwak* has Phon. 127k.

Résumé of the type words:

127 a.	<i>*āk</i> / <i>āk</i> / o	127 q.	<i>*glāk</i> / <i>lāk</i> / l o
b.	<i>*ngāk</i> / <i>ngāk</i> / o	r.	<i>*t'āk</i> / <i>t'āk</i> / t'o
c.	<i>*χāk</i> / <i>χāk</i> / h o	s.	<i>*sāk</i> / <i>sāk</i> / s o
d.	<i>*χāk</i> / <i>χāk</i> / h o	128 a.	<i>*χāk</i> / <i>χvk</i> / h i a
e.	<i>*t'āk</i> / <i>t'āk</i> / t'o	b.	<i>*d'āk</i> / <i>d'vk</i> / t s e
f.	<i>*d'āk</i> / <i>d'āk</i> / t o	c.	<i>*tsāk</i> / <i>tşvk</i> / t s e
g.	<i>*tsāk</i> / <i>tsāk</i> / t s o	d.	<i>*pāk</i> / <i>pvk</i> / p o
h.	<i>*ts'āk</i> / <i>ts'āk</i> / t s'o	e.	<i>*b'āk</i> / <i>b'vk</i> / p o
i.	<i>*dz'āk</i> / <i>dz'āk</i> / t s o	f.	<i>*māk</i> / <i>mvk</i> / m o
j.	<i>*nāk</i> / <i>nāk</i> / n o	g.	<i>*klāk</i> / <i>kvk</i> / k o
k.	<i>*pāk</i> / <i>pāk</i> / p o	h.	<i>*k'lāk</i> / <i>k'vk</i> / k'o
l.	<i>*p'āk</i> / <i>p'āk</i> / p'o	i.	<i>*pāk</i> / <i>pvk</i> / p o
m.	<i>*māk</i> / <i>māk</i> / m o	j.	<i>*p'āk</i> / <i>p'vk</i> / p'o
n.	<i>*klāk</i> / <i>kāk</i> / k o	k.	<i>*b'āk</i> / <i>b'vk</i> / p o
o.	<i>*k'lāk</i> / <i>k'āk</i> / k'o	l.	<i>*t'āk</i> / <i>t'vk</i> / t s'e
p.	<i>*g'lāk</i> / <i>gāk</i> / h o	129 a.	<i>*ts'iak</i> / <i>ts'iak</i> / t s'ü e

- 129 b. **ñiak* / *ñziak* / j o
 c. **k'iak* / *k'jak* / k ü e
 d. **k'jak* / *k'jak* / k'ü e
 e. **g'jak* / *g'jak* / k ü e
 f. **tšjak* / *tšjak* / c h o
 g. **gliak* / *liak* / l ü e
 130 a. **k'äak* / *k'pvk* / k i
 b. **k'äak* / *k'pvk* / k'i
 c. **ngäak* / *ngpvk* / y i
 d. **k'äak* / *k'pvk* / k'i
 e. **g'äak* / *g'pvk* / k i
 f. *χiäak* / *χpvk* / h i
 g. **däak* / *iäak* / y i
 h. **iäak* / *tšäak* / c h i
 i. **iäak* / *tš'äak* / c h' i
 j. **däak* / *ziäak* / s h i
 k. **šäak* / *šäak* / s h i

- 130 l. **dziäak* / *dziäak* / s i
 m. **dziäak* / *dziäak* / t s i
 n. **ziäak* / *iäak* / y i
 o. **siäak* / *siäak* / s i
 p. **iäak* / *tšäak* / c h i
 q. **šäak* / *šäak* / s h i
 r. **piäak* / *piäak* / p i
 131 a. **miak* / *miek* / m i
 b. **gliak* / *liek* / l i
 132 a. **k'wäak* / *k'wäak* / k' u o
 b. **g'wäak* / *γwäak* / h u o
 c. **χwäak* / *χwäak* / h u o
 133 a. **g'wäak* / (*γwek*) / h u o
 b. **kwäak* / *kwäak* / k u o
 134 a. **k'iwak* / *k'iwak* / k ü e
 b. **b'iwak* / *b'iwak* / f u¹

Group XVIII.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- | | |
|--|--|
| Div. I 135. <i>uo</i> (part of Anc. 131) | I 139. <i>uo</i> (part of Anc. 131) |
| II 136. <i>a</i> (part of Anc. 62) | II 140. <i>wa</i> (part of Anc. 65) |
| III 137. <i>iwo</i> (part of Anc. 132) | III 141. <i>iwo</i> (part of Anc. 132) |
| 138. <i>ia</i> (part of Anc. 63) | |

Type words:

- 135a 惡 b 選 c 耗 妬 數 d 轟 e 度 f 措 g 翹 h 薄 i 莫 j 輅 路
 136a 駱 b 赫 c 啞 d 乍 e 詐 f 霸 g 絡
 137a 庶 b 蜡
 138a 柘 炙 b 射 c 赦 d 借 e 藉 f 夜 g 寫
 139a 獲 護
 140a 獲
 141a 據 b 礫

This group forms the Arch. *-g* category corresponding to the Arch. *-k* category in Gr. XVII above. It may seem bold to reconstruct final *-g* in a group in which Anc. Chin. has nothing but finals ending in vowels, but we shall find presently that

¹) 127s2 **säk* was, exceptionally, Anc. *šäk*, Mand. *sh u o*; 133a Anc. *γwek* is irregular.

the existence of this final *-g* is amply proved by the script characters. We should, however, make the preliminary remark that in Group III above we had nothing but words ending in *-i* (Anc. *ái, ai, iái* etc.) and yet we there showed that this group had constant contacts, in rimes and *hie sheng*, with Group II, the »at» group, and that it formed the »ad» group parallel to the preceding »at» group. Here, with the guttural endings, we have the same phenomenon: to the group ending in *tenuis* (XVII, the »ak» group) corresponds our group ending in *media* (XVIII, the »ag» group).

In fact, we can establish the following Arch. scheme (for the column to the left, see the preceding group):

I 127. *ák (Anc. <i>ák</i>)	I 135. *ág (Anc. <i>uo</i>)
II 128. äk (Anc. <i>vk</i>)	II 136. äg (Anc. <i>a</i>)
III 129. iák (Anc. <i>iák</i>)	III 137. iag (Anc. <i>iwo</i>)
130. iäk (Anc. <i>ivk, iäk</i>)	138. iäg (Anc. <i>ia</i>)
I 132. wák (Anc. <i>wák</i>)	I 139. wág (Anc. <i>uo</i>)
II 133. wäk (Anc. <i>wvk</i>)	II 140. wäg (Anc. <i>wa</i>)
III 134. iwak (Anc. <i>iwak</i>)	III 141. iwag (Anc. <i>iwo</i>)

The construction of the column to the right may appear too bold, but the type words will amply confirm it. Some of them are quite particularly important and conclusive: such are the numerous cases in which one character has two different readings, e. g. 惡 Anc. *ák* (Arch. Final 127 *ák) »bad» and Anc. *uo* (Arch. Final 135 *ág) »to find bad, to hate»; the Anc. alternation *ák: uo* appears quite unreasonable, but with our Arch. reconstruction: *ák: ág matters become quite clear. The tell-tale contacts of our type words with words of the »ak» group are as follows:

Double readings:

- 135 a. *ák* (*ák) and *uo* (*ág)
 b. *ngák* (*ngák) and *nguo* (*ngág)
 e. *d'ák* (*d'ák) and *d'uo* (*d'ág)
 i. *mák* (*mák) and *muo* (*mág)
 j. *γvk* (*g'lák) and *luo* (*glág)
 c3. *iäk* (*d'iäk) and *d'uo* (*d'ág)
 136 a. *kvk* (*klák) and *k'a* (*k'lág)
 b. *χvk* (*χák) and *χα* (*χág)
 c. *vk* (*ák) and *a* (*ág)
 f. *p'vk* (*p'ák) and *pa* (*pág)
 g. *mvk* (*mák) and *ma* (*mág)
 138 a2. *tsiäk* (*t'iäk) and *tsia* (*t'iäg)
 b. *dz'äk* (*d'z'äk) and *dz'ia* (*d'z'iäg)
 d. *tsiäk* (*tsiäk) and *tsia* (*tsiäg)
 e. *dz'äk* (*dz'z'äk) and *dz'ia* (*dz'z'iäg)

- 139 a1. *ɣwák* (*g'wák) and *ɣuo* (*g'wág)
 a2. *ɣwák* (*g'wák) and *ɣuo* (*g'wág)
 140 a. *·wɔk* (*·wák) and *ɣwa* (*g'wág)
 141 b. *g'íak* (*g'íak) and *g'íwo* (*g'íwag).

H i e s h e n g Phonetics:

135 c1. *tuo* (*tág) has the same Phon. as 託 *t'ák; 135c2 *tuo* (*tág) has Phon. *dǎk; 135d *tuo* (*tág) has Phon. *t'ák; 135f *ts'uo* (*ts'ág) has Phon. *sǎk*; 135g *suo* (*ság) has Phon. *sák; 135h *p'uo* (*p'ág) has Phon. *pák*; 135j2 *luo* (*glág) has Phon. *klák; 136d *dz'a* (*dz'ág) is Phon. in 128c *tsǎk; 136e *tša* (*tsǎg) has the said *tsǎk as Phon.; 137a *šiuo* (*šiag) is Phon. in 130p *tǐǎk; 137b *ts'iuo* (*ts'íag) has Phon. *sǎk; 138a1 *tšia* (*tǐǎg) has Phon. *dǎk; 138c *šia* (*šiǎg) has Phon. *tǐǎk; 138f *ia* (*ziǎg) has the same Phon. as 130l *dziǎk and is closely cognate to this word; 138g *sia* (*siǎg) has Phon. *sǎk; 139a3 *ɣuo* (*g'wág) has same Phon. as 132b *g'wák; 141a *kíwo* (*kíwag) is the same word stem as 134a2 *kíwak (see gr. XVII).

The development from Arch. to Anc. is easily surveyed. We shall see later that Arch. *-o (type 古 *ko) has been broken into Anc. -uo (*kuo*), and that phenomenon has obtained in our present group as well. Whereas Arch. short *ǎ* has maintained its «a» quality (*ǎg > *a*, *tsǎg > *tsia*), the longer *a* in *ǎg*, *íag*, *wág*, *íwag* has, when the final -g dropped at an early stage (see below), been darkened into *o*: just as we saw that 去 *k'íab (see p. 313 above) became *k'íō* > Anc. *k'íwo*, so here 135a *ǎg became *·ō* > Anc. *·uo*, and 137a *šiag became > *šio* > Anc. *šiuo*.¹⁾ This development must have started at a very early date, in some part of the Arch. language, a fact that is revealed by the rimes. There are some rimes which like the h i e s h e n g clearly indicate the «ag» nature in this group, e. g. 135a *·uo* (*ǎg) riming with a *dǎk (Ode 278); 135i *muo* (*mág) riming with a *tsǎk (O. 167); 138f *ia* (*ziǎg) riming with *dziǎk and *ák (O. 194); 139a2 *ɣuo* (*g'wág) riming with a *d'ák (O. 177); 135d *tuo* (*tág) in Sün : K'uan hüe riming with a *tsǎk; 135c2 *tuo* (*tág) in Ch'u : Li sao riming with a *sák. But in the majority of the rime cases, the words of this Arch. group in the Shī rime (besides, of course, with each other) with words of the Arch. «o» group (see Group XXXIII below), e. g. 惡 *uo* (*ǎg) riming with 故 *ko (Ode 81); 138g *sia* (*siǎg) riming with 語 *ngíwo* (*ngíō*) (O. 173). Such riming contacts with -o words occur for 135a, e, g, i, j2; 137a; 138a1, b, f, g. The explanation of this phenomenon cannot be that the -o words of Group XXXIII (type 故) likewise had some Arch. final -g, for as a rule they never rime with -k words (*ák, ok, ók) which the words of the present group occasionally do (riming with «ak» words, as was shown above). We must therefore conclude that in some part of the Arch. language the latter still had their character of *ǎg, íag, ǎg etc.

¹⁾ In *Grammata Serica* I made the mistake of construing 137a as *šíwag, and a number of *-íag in words which really had *-íǎg. I take this opportunity of correcting this mistake.

(as proved by the *hie sheng*, see above, and the occasional rimes just mentioned) but that in some other important part of the same Arch. language they had already started on their evolution sketched above. Probably the first stage was the replacement of the final *-g* by a glottal stop: **āg* > *o* > *o* > *uo*; **iag* > *io* > *io* > *īwo*; and *īāg* > *īō*¹⁾. This accounts for Shī rimes like 惡: 故 (**āg* >) **o* riming with **ko* etc. Both phases: the original **āg* and the modified *o* must have coexisted in the «Central Kingdoms», since they are both reflected in the Shī, which was a product of the Royal Chou.²⁾

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 135 a. <i>*āg</i> / <i>uo</i> / w u | 136 f. <i>*pāg</i> / <i>pa</i> / p a |
| b. <i>*ngāg</i> / <i>nguo</i> / w u | g. <i>*māg</i> / <i>ma</i> / m a |
| c. <i>*tāg</i> / <i>tuo</i> / t u | 137 a. <i>*šiag</i> / <i>šiuo</i> / s h u |
| d. <i>*tāg</i> / <i>tuo</i> / t u | b. <i>*ts'ia</i> / <i>ts'iuo</i> / t s'ü |
| e. <i>*d'āg</i> / <i>d'uo</i> / t u | 138 a. <i>*iāg</i> / <i>tšia</i> / c h e |
| f. <i>*ts'āg</i> / <i>ts'uo</i> / t s'u | b. <i>*d'ia</i> / <i>d'ia</i> / s h e |
| g. <i>*sāg</i> / <i>suo</i> / s u | c. <i>*šiāg</i> / <i>šia</i> / s h e |
| h. <i>*p'āg</i> / <i>p'uo</i> / p'u | d. <i>*tsiāg</i> / <i>tšia</i> / t s i e |
| i. <i>*māg</i> / <i>muo</i> / m u | e. <i>*dz'ia</i> / <i>dz'ia</i> / t s i e |
| j. <i>*glāg</i> / <i>luo</i> / l u | f. <i>*ziāg</i> / <i>ia</i> / y e |
| 136 a. <i>*k'lāg</i> / <i>k'a</i> / k'ia | g. <i>*siāg</i> / <i>sia</i> / s i e |
| b. <i>*χāg</i> / <i>χa</i> / h i a | 139 a. <i>*g'wāg</i> / <i>γuo</i> / h u |
| c. <i>*āg</i> / <i>a</i> / y a | 140 a. <i>*g'wāg</i> / <i>γwa</i> / h u a |
| d. <i>*dz'āg</i> / <i>dz'a</i> / c h a | 141 a. <i>*kiwag</i> / <i>kīwo</i> / k ü |
| e. <i>*tsāg</i> / <i>tša</i> / c h a | b. <i>*g'iwag</i> / <i>g'īwo</i> / k ü |

Group XIX.

In the preceding discussion we have in each section started with words ending in Arch. nasals and from there proceeded to such ending in tenues and then to such ending in mediae: *an* — *at* — *ad*; *ən* — *et* — *ed*, etc. In the following groups we shall start with the categories ending in tenues, because these are more varied and more fully represented in the Arch. vocabulary.

The present group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Div. I 142. <i>ək</i> (Anc. 108) | I 145. <i>wək</i> (Anc. 112) |
| II 143. <i>ek</i> (part of Anc. 75) | II 146. <i>wək</i> (part of Anc. 85) |
| III 144. <i>īək</i> (Anc. 110) | III 147. <i>īwək</i> (Anc. 113) |
| | 148. <i>īuk</i> (part of Anc. 119) |
| | IV 149. <i>īwek</i> (part of Anc. 90) |

¹⁾ It should be observed that here, with a short *ā*, this Arch. phenomenon has left no trace in Anc. Chin.: the short-vowelled finals have preserved their «a» vocalism: **āg* > Anc. *a*; **iāg* > Anc. *ia*.

²⁾ In a similar way modern Pekinese has both *ch ü e* and *ch i a o* in words of type 角.

Type words:

142a 克 b 得德 c 忒 d 特騰 e 則 f 賊 g 鞞勒 h 北 i 畝 j 墨 k 慝 l 黑 [m 刻
n 縵]

143a 革 [b 鞞核 c 𪔐]

144a 棘棘五 b 極 c 翼 d 𪔐 e 億 f 疑 g 救飭 h 直 i 弋 j 織 k 食 l 識式
飾 m 側 n 色穡 o 暉 p 稜 q 息 r 力 [s 殖 t 晨 u 偏幅幅 v 𪔐]

145a 國 [b 惑]

146a 首或 b 麥 [c 𪔐]

147a 域絨域 [b 洩減儉]

148a 囹 b 或 [c 福輻 蓄幅福 d 伏服 e 郁 f 𪔐 g 謬 h 畝]

149a [殂]

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the rimes of the Shī, e. g. *tək* : *b'ik* : *tsiək* (Ode 1); *kək* : *jiwək* : *dz'ik* (O. 18); *mwek* : *tək* : *kwək* : *d'ik* (O. 113); etc. This is confirmed by contacts between them in the *hie sheng*, e. g. 144m *tsiək* with Phon. 142e *tsək*; 142i *b'ək* and 144u *piək* with the same Phon. as 148c *piuk*; 142c *t'ək* with Phon. 144i *ik*; 146a *wek* with Phon. 145b *pwək*; etc.

The Arch. values of these finals are easily determined. The short-vowelled finals *ək* and *ek* predominate strongly. The group cannot be an Arch. **ak* group, since we have found such a category in Gr. XVII; nor was it an **ek* or an **ok* or an **uk* group, for they all appear, well documented, later on in our treatise (Groups XXIII, XXV, XXVII, XXX). The natural conclusion is that in this group the language was conservative and that Anc. Chin. preserved the state of Arch. Chin.: we have here the Arch. **ək* group.

On one point only need there be any discussion: the final 148 *-ik*. As we shall see later there is another category (Group XXX) which comprises Arch. Finals **uk* and **ik*, and our Anc. *ik* here must have a somewhat different origin. The solution of the problem is furnished by a number of words with double readings. Thus 142i was Anc. *b'ək* and *b'ik*; 144u, 1, 2, 3 all *piək* and *piuk*. When we already know that in Arch. Chin. there was in some categories an important distinction between long-vowelled and short-vowelled finals: **an* and **ǎn*, **ian* and **iǎn*, etc., it is but natural to draw a parallel: there was a distinction between Arch. **iūk* and **iuk*. Whereas the long final *iuk* appears in the Arch. group XXX below, the short final *iūk* rimes in the Shī, as well as in many other Arch. documents, not in the **uk* class but in our present **ək* class. Evidently the articulation of the slack, short *ū* was — under the influence of the preceding palatal *i* — advanced so far (some-

thing like Engl. *u* in *value*) as to make *ĩũk* acoustically acceptable as a rime to **ək, ɨək*.¹⁾

If we assume that our Anc. *ĩuk* in our present group (Final 148) derives from an Arch. **ĩũk*, the double readings above will be comprehensible: 142i **b'ək* and **b'ĩũk*; 144u (three words) **pɨək* and **pĩũk*. It is likewise natural that 148g **sĩũk* could have the Phon. **tsɨək* (144p).

In our table of type words all those not placed within brackets rime in this category in the Shī. As a rule no words with the Anc. finals *ək, ɨək, wək, ɨwək* rime outside our Arch. group here, and so general equations are allowable: Anc. *ək* = Arch. **ək* etc.²⁾ But various words with the Anc. finals *ək (wək), ɨuk* and *iwek* occur in other Arch. groups, and therefore those belonging here must be determined individually:

143b1 *ɣək* has Phon. 143a; 143b2 *ɣək* has the same Phon. (**g'əg*, see next group) as 142m; 143c *pək* has a second reading *p'ɨək* and the same Phon. as 148c; 146c *kwek* has Phon. 145a; 148e *ĩuk* has the same Phon. as 148a; 148f *nĩũk* has a second reading **nĩəg* and Phon. **nĩəg* (see next group); 148g *tsɨuk* has Phon. *tsɨək*; 148h *b'ĩuk* has a second reading *b'ək* (142i); 149a *ɣiwek* has the same Phon. as 147b1.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 142 a. <i>*k'ək / k'ək / k'o</i> | 143 c. <i>*pək / pək / p o</i> |
| b. <i>*tək / tək / t e</i> | 144 a. <i>*kɨək / kɨək / k i</i> |
| c. <i>*t'ək / t'ək / t'e</i> | b. <i>*g'ɨək / g'ɨək / k i</i> |
| d. <i>*d'ək / d'ək / t'e</i> | c. <i>*gɨək / ɨək / y i</i> |
| e. <i>*tsək / tsək / t s e</i> | d. <i>*ɣɨək / ɣɨək / h i</i> |
| f. <i>*dz'ək / dz'ək / t s e</i> | e. <i>*ɨək / ɨək / y i</i> |
| g. <i>*lək / lək / l e</i> | f. <i>*ngɨək / ngɨək / y i</i> |
| h. <i>*pək / pək / p e i</i> | g. <i>*t'ɨək / t'ɨək / c h' i</i> |
| i. <i>*b'ək / b'ək / p o</i> | h. <i>*d'ɨək / d'ɨək / c h' i</i> |
| 142 j. <i>*mək / mək / m o</i> | i. <i>*dɨək / ɨək / y i</i> |
| k. <i>*t'nək / t'ək / t'e</i> | j. <i>*tɨək / tsɨək / c h' i</i> |
| l. <i>*ɣmək / ɣək / h e i</i> | k. <i>*d'ɨək / dz'ɨək / c h' i</i> |
| m. <i>*k'ək / k'ək / k'o</i> | l. <i>*sɨək / sɨək / s h' i</i> |
| n. <i>*mək / mək / m o</i> | m. <i>*tsɨək / tsɨək / c h' i</i> |
| 143 a. <i>*kək / kək / k o</i> | n. <i>*sɨək / sɨək / s e</i> |
| b. <i>*g'ək / ɣək / h o</i> | o. <i>*nɨək / nɨək / n i</i> |

¹⁾ We shall see below that there existed also an Arch. final **ũk* with a short *ũ*; but here, where the vowel was not preceded by *ĩ*, the *timbre* was evidently more velar, and **ũk* rimes with **uk* and **ĩuk*, not with our present *ək* class.

²⁾ We have added a few more examples of these rimes: 142m *k'ək* in Chou shu: Chou chu rimes with 142b1; 142n *mək* in Yi: Kua 29 rimes w. 144a1 and 142b1; 144s *ɣɨək* in Kyū: Tsin rimes w. 144p; 144t *tsɨək* in Yi: Kua 55 r. w. 144k and q; 144u *pɨək* and v *p'ɨək* have the same Phon. as 148c, and 144u has a second reading *pĩũk*; 145b1 *ɣwək* in Ta Tai: Ch'eng wang r. w. 148d2 and 142b2; 145b2 *ɣwək* in Li:Yüe ling (Meng ch'un) r. w. 144g2 and 144h and in Ch'u: T'ien wen w. 148d2; 147b1 *ɣɨwək* is id. w. 147b2, Phon. 145b, and 147b3 has b1 abbrev. for Phon.

144 p. *tsiək / tsiək / tsi

q. *siək / siək / si

r. *liək / liək / li

s. *d̥iək / d̥iək / chī

t. *tsiək / tsiək / chī

u. *piək / piək / pi

v. *p'iək / p'iək / p'i

145 a. *kwək / kwək / k u o

b. *g'wək / g'wək / h u o

146 a. *kwek / kwek / k u o

b. *mwek / mwek / m o

146 c. *kwek / kwek / k u o

147 a. *giwək / giwək / y ü

b. *xiwək / xiwək / h ü

148 a. *giük / giük / y ü

b. *iük / iük / y ü

c. *piük / piük / f u

d. *b'iük / b'iük / f u

e. *iük / iük / y ü

f. *niük / niük / j u

g. *siük / siük / s h u

149 a. *xiwək / xiwək / h ü

Group XX.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. I 150A. *äi* (part of Anc. 46)

150B. *zu* (part of Anc. 134)

II 151. *äi* (part of Anc. 48)

III 152. *i* (Anc. 125)

I 153. *uäi* (part of Anc. 54)

II 154. *wäi* (part of Anc. 56)

III 155. *wi* (part of Anc. 128)

156. *iäi* (part of Anc. 135)

Type words:

150A a. 怠 歹 台 臺 𠂔 載 哉 宰 c 采 𠂔 在 e 來 萊 f 海 [g 改 h 醢 i 戴 j 貸 k 態 l 待 m 蓄 再 n 乃 耐 o 贅]

150B p 母 𠂔 [q 剖 r 𠂔]

151a 戒 𠂔 𠂔 [c 骸 d 埋 e 𠂔]

152a 基 箕 其 紀 姬 𠂔 杞 𠂔 起 芑 𠂔 期 𠂔 祺 淇 d 忌 e 異 f 疑 g 喜 h 意 i 恥 j 治 k 貽 飴 l 止 𠂔 趾 𠂔 m 祉 齒 蚩 𠂔 𠂔 n 時 𠂔 𠂔 o 始 試 詩 p 士 仕 𠂔 𠂔 事 q 子 𠂔 梓 茲 𠂔 r 字 s 似 祀 𠂔 𠂔 食 寺 t 思 絲 u 以 已 矣 v 耳 x 里 𠂔 理 裏 李 y 𠂔 𠂔 𠂔 z 備 a' 史 使 [b' 旗 c' 疑 d' 置 e' 市 f' 𠂔 g' 而 h' 廁 i' 詞 𠂔 𠂔 j' 司 k' 釐 𠂔 l' 𠂔]

153a 背 𠂔 倍 佩 c 梅 𠂔 媒 d 悔 𠂔 𠂔 [e 𠂔 f 𠂔 g 杯]

154a [𠂔 𠂔]

155a 龜 𠂔 𠂔 [c 𠂔]

156a 久 玖 𠂔 丘 c 舊 d 又 有 𠂔 友 右 尤 𠂔 郵 e 牛 f 富 否 (不) g 負 婦 h 謀 𠂔 [i 佑 𠂔]

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the Shī rimes, e. g. *tsi* : *tši* : *m̄u* : *l̄i* : *dz'ài* (rime in Ode 197); *ts'ài* : *jì* : *dz'i* : *j̄īu* : *tši* (O. 129); *kǎi* : *dz'i* : *zì* : *m̄u* (O. 212); *j̄īu* : *d'ài* : *tsi* (O. 303); *p'ji* : *m̄u* : *k'ji* : *b'j̄u* : *zì* (O. 245); *tsi* : *tši* : *m̄īu* : *χūi* (O. 256); *mūi* : *i* : *m̄īu* : *k̄ji* : *zì* (O. 237).

The contacts between them in the *hie sheng* are likewise frequent, e. g. *150a1 d'ài* same Phon. as *152j d'i*; *150p1 m̄u* Phon. in a *mūi* (which is Phon. in *153c*); *150d1 dz'ài* Phon. in *151e dz'ài*; *152x1 l̄i* Phon. in *151d mǎi*; *156f2 p̄īu* Phon. in *152y1 p'ji* and in *153g pūi*; *153b1 b'ūi* same Phon. as *150q p'z̄u*; *150n2 n̄i* with Phon. *152g' n̄i*; *155b j̄u* with Phon. *156d2 j̄īu*; *153c4 mūi* with the same Phon. as *156h m̄īu*; etc.

In spite of the fact that all our Anc. finals in this group ended in a vowel, we can easily recognize that the whole category had an Arch. guttural final consonant, not identical with the *-k* of the preceding group but cognate. Just as Group XVIII was the Arch. »ag» group corresponding to Group XVII as the »ak» group, so we have here the Arch. »g» group corresponding to the preceding »ak» group, and on this analogy we have to construe the Arch. values thus:

I	150.	*ag	153.	wag
II	151.	eg	154.	weg
III	152.	iag	155.	iweg
			156.	iüg

The existence of the Arch. final guttural is proved by occasional rimes and by *hie sheng* contacts with the preceding *-k* group:

150e1 Anc. *l̄ai* (*l̄ag) rimes w. *k̄īak in Ode 168; *150b1 ts̄ai* (*ts̄ag) r. w. *s̄īak in O. 196; *151a kǎi* (*k̄eg) r. w. *kw̄ak in O. 263; *152h i* (*īag) r. w. *p̄īük in O. 192; *152e i* (*ḡīag) r. w. *d'̄ak in O. 188; *152l2 t̄ai* (*t̄īag) r. w. *s̄īak in O. 255; *152p1 dz'i* (*dz'īag) r. w. *t̄ak in O. 240; *152p5 dz'i* (*dz'īag) r. w. *s̄īak in O. 259; *152q1 tsi* (*ts̄īag) r. w. t̄ak in O. 249; *152r dz'i* (*dz'īag) r. w. *ḡīak in O. 245; *152s2 zì* (*dz̄īag) r. w. *ts̄īak in O. 209; *152x2 l̄i* (*l̄īag) r. w. *p̄īük in O. 281; *152z b'ji* (*b'īag) r. w. *p̄īük in O. 239; *153a pūi* (*pw̄ag) r. w. *ḡīak in O. 246; *153d3 χūi* (*χmw̄ag) r. w. *s̄īak in O. 255; *155b1 j̄u* (*ḡīw̄ag) r. w. *p̄īük in O. 281; *156d1 j̄īu* (*ḡīǖg) r. w. *k'̄ak in O. 196; *156d3 j̄īu* (*ḡīǖg) r. w. *k̄īak in O. 209; etc. A great many similar *-k* : *-g* contacts in rimes of other early texts (Shu, Yi, Chuang, Ch'u, Sün etc.) are recorded in BMFEA 4, p. 121.

That the final guttural in our group was really a *-g* (and not a *-k*, as in the preceding group) is confirmed by a certain number of cases where it contacts words with Arch. final *-ng*: *150e1 l̄ai* (*l̄ag) rimes w. *dz'̄ang in Ode 82; *150n1 n̄i* (*n̄ag) is Phon. in a *n̄īang (Radical 9); *152c1 nḡi* (*nḡīag) is Phon. in *nḡīang (Rad. 15); *152s6 zì* (*dz̄īag) is Phon. in a *t̄ang (Rad. 118); etc.

Our reconstruction of Arch. final *-g* obtains a particularly strong confirmation through words with double readings:

塞 *sək* (**sək*) and *səi* (**səg*)
 勑 *ɣək* (**g'ək*) and *ɣəi* (**g'əg*)
 亟 *kɿək* (**kɿək*) and *k'ji* (**k'jəg*)
 152f *ngɿək* (**ngɿək*) and *ngji* (**ngjəg*)
 𪔐 *tɕɿək* (**tɕɿək*) and *tɕi* (**tɕjəg*)
 植 *ʒɿək* (**dɿək*) and *d'i* (**d'jəg*)
 152l5 *ʂɿək* (**ʂɿək*) and *tɕi* (**tɕjəg*)
 殖 *ʒɿək* (**dɿək*) and *d'i* (**d'jəg*)
 152s5 *dʒɿək* (**d'ɿək*) and *zi* (**dzjəg*)

The *hie sheng* amply corroborate the *-k* : *-g* contacts: 150j *t'əi* (**t'əg*) has Phon. *d'əi* (**d'əg*) which has Phon. **dɿək*; 151c *ɣəi* (**g'əg*) has the same Phon. as 𪔐 **k'ək*; 152e *i* (**giəg*) is Phon. in a **giək* (Rad. 124); 152h *·i* (**jəg*) is Phon. in a **ɿək* (Rad. 9); 152m5 *tɕ'i* (**tɕjəg*) has Phon. *tɕɿək*; 152o2 *ʂi* (**ʂjəg*) has Phon. **ʂɿək*; 152d' *li* (**ljəg*) has Phon. **d'ɿək*; 152h' *tɕi* (**tɕjəg*) has Phon. **tsək*; 153a *puəi* (**puəg*) contains **pək* (cognate words); 156d2 *jɿɕu* (**gɿɕg*) is Phon. in a **gɿɕk* (Rad. 31).

The examples adduced here of contacts between *-k* and *-g* words in rimes, in double readings and in *hie sheng* clearly indicate that in the numerous words of the type Anc. *-i* (in fact all the words of rime 之 in Ts'ie yün) e. g. 152a *kji*, 152o *ʂi*, 152x *lji* it is not sufficient merely to reestablish the final *-g*: *kjig*, *ʂig*, *ljig*; it is imperative also to reconstruct the principal vowel as the *ə* characteristic of this group: **kjəg*, *ʂjəg*, *ljəg*.

The evolution from Arch. to Anc. Chin. is described in *Grammata Serica*. It will suffice to give here a summary; observe that the difference in treatment between 150A and 150B is due to the labial initials in the latter, and that the transition from *ə* to *ə̆* and from *ɛ* to *ä* is exactly parallel to developments in Group XIV: **əm* > *əm̆*, **em* > *äm̆*, and Group VI: **əd* > *ə̆i*, **ed* > *äi*):

- | | |
|--|---|
| I 150A. * <i>kəg</i> > <i>kəi</i> > <i>kə̆i</i> | I 153. * <i>kwəg</i> > <i>kwəi</i> > <i>kwə̆i</i> |
| 150B. * <i>məg</i> > <i>mü̃g</i> > <i>mu</i> > <i>mə̃u</i> | 153. * <i>mwəg</i> > <i>mwəi</i> > <i>mwə̆i</i> |
| II 151. * <i>kɛg</i> > <i>kɛi</i> > <i>käi</i> | II 154. * <i>kwɛg</i> > <i>kwɛi</i> > <i>kwäi</i> |
| III 152. * <i>kɿəg</i> > <i>kɿəi</i> > <i>kji</i> | III 155. * <i>kɿwəg</i> > <i>kɿwəi</i> > <i>kjw̆i</i> |
| | 156. * <i>kɿü̃g</i> > <i>kɿü̃u</i> > <i>kɿɕu</i> |

All the Anc. rimes (except 之) in this group comprise also words that belong to other Arch. groups, and those belonging here must therefore be determined individually. All the words not placed within brackets are Shī rime words in this category. For the rest observe:

150g *kə̆i* in Lao rimes w. 150a2 and *p1*; 150h *ɣə̆i* in Li: K'üli r. w. 152m2; 150i *tə̆i* in Ta Tai: Kao chí r. w. 152p5; 150j *t'ə̆i* in Kuan: Sī ch'eng r. w. **tsɿək*; 150k *t'ə̆i* in Sün: Ch'eng siang r. w. **t'ək*; 150l *d'ə̆i* in Ch'u: Li sao r. w. 152c1; 150m1 *tsə̆i* in Kuan: Nei ye r. w. 152h; 150m2 *tsə̆i* in Ch'u: Si wang jī r. w. 152h; 150n1 *nə̆i* is Phon. in several **njəng*; 150n2 *nə̆i* has Phon. **njəg* (152g') and is closely cognate to **nəng* «can»; 150o *lə̆i* in Lun: Yao yüe r. w. 156f1; 150q *p'ɕu* and *r b'ɕu* have the same Phon. as 153b; 151c *ɣə̆i*

has the same Phon. as 151; 151*d* *măi* in Tso: Ai 5 rimes w. 152*l* and 156*h* and has Phon. 152*x*1; 151*e* *dʒ'ăi* has Phon. 150*d*1; 152*b*' *g'ji* in Tso: Hi 5 r. w. 152*a*5; 152*c*' *ngji* in Shu: Hung fan r. w. **giək*; 152*d*' *îi* in Sün: Yün fu r. w. 152*c*5; 152*e*' *zi* in Li: Yü ling r. w. 152*p*5; 152*f*' *ñzi* has second reading **ñük*; 152*g*' *ñzi* is Phon. in the preceding and cognate to 150*n*1 *năi* (**nag*); 152*h*' *tʃi* has Phon. **tsək*; 152*i*'₁ *zi* in Ch'u: Li sao r. w. 152*q*4; 152*i*'₂ *zi* in Tso: Siang 30 r. w. 153*d*2 and w. **điək*; 152*i*'₃ *zi* in Ch'u: Kiu ko r. w. 152*b*'; 152*j*' *si* in Ta Tai: Ai Kung wen yi r. w. **tiək*; 152*k*'₁ *lji* in Ta Tai: Li ch'a r. w. 152*o*1; 152*k*'₂ *lji* in Li: King kie r. w. 152*o*1; 152*l*' *pji* in Tso: Chao 12 r. w. 152*b*1; 153*e* *k'uăi* in Lü: Kün shou r. w. 150*e*1; 153*f* *xuăi* in Chuang: Keng Sang ch'u r. w. 152*l* and 150*e*1; 154*a* *kwăi* in Ch'u: Yüan yu r. w. 150*e*1; 154*b* *b'wăi* has Phon. 152*z*; 155*c* *ɣji* has altern. reading **ɣiwək*; 156*i* *jɛu* has Phon. 156*d*5 and *d*6.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 150 a. * <i>d'æg</i> / <i>d'ăi</i> / <i>tai</i> | 152 k. * <i>diæg</i> / <i>i</i> / <i>yi</i> |
| b. * <i>tsæg</i> / <i>tsăi</i> / <i>tsai</i> | l. * <i>tiæg</i> / <i>tʃi</i> / <i>ch'i</i> |
| c. * <i>ts'æg</i> / <i>ts'ăi</i> / <i>ts'ai</i> | m. * <i>t'iæg</i> / <i>t'si</i> / <i>ch'i</i> |
| d. * <i>dz'æg</i> / <i>dz'ăi</i> / <i>ts'ai</i> | n. * <i>điæg</i> / <i>zi</i> / <i>sh'i</i> |
| e. * <i>læg</i> / <i>lăi</i> / <i>lai</i> | o. * <i>s'iæg</i> / <i>si</i> / <i>sh'i</i> |
| f. * <i>ɣmæg</i> / <i>ɣăi</i> / <i>hai</i> | p. * <i>dʒ'iæg</i> / <i>dʒ'i</i> / <i>sh'i</i> |
| g. * <i>kæg</i> / <i>kăi</i> / <i>kai</i> | q. * <i>tsiæg</i> / <i>tʃi</i> / <i>ts'i</i> |
| h. * <i>ɣæg</i> / <i>ɣăi</i> / <i>hai</i> | r. * <i>dz'iæg</i> / <i>dz'i</i> / <i>ts'i</i> |
| i. * <i>tæg</i> / <i>tăi</i> / <i>tai</i> | s. * <i>ziæg</i> / <i>zi</i> / <i>s'i</i> |
| j. * <i>t'æg</i> / <i>t'ăi</i> / <i>t'ai</i> | t. * <i>siæg</i> / <i>si</i> / <i>s'i</i> |
| k. * <i>t'næg</i> / <i>t'ăi</i> / <i>t'ai</i> | u. * <i>ziæg</i> / <i>zi</i> / <i>s'i</i> |
| l. * <i>d'æg</i> / <i>d'ăi</i> / <i>tai</i> | v. * <i>ñiæg</i> / <i>ñzi</i> / <i>er</i> |
| m. * <i>tsæg</i> / <i>tsăi</i> / <i>tsai</i> | x. * <i>liæg</i> / <i>lji</i> / <i>li</i> |
| n. * <i>næg</i> / <i>năi</i> / <i>nai</i> | y. * <i>p'iæg</i> / <i>p'ji</i> / <i>p'ei</i> |
| o. * <i>læg</i> / <i>lăi</i> / <i>lai</i> | z. * <i>b'iæg</i> / <i>b'ji</i> / <i>pei</i> |
| p. * <i>mæg</i> / <i>məu</i> / <i>mu</i> | a'. * <i>slæg</i> / <i>si</i> / <i>sh'i</i> |
| q. * <i>p'æg</i> / <i>p'əu</i> / <i>p'ou</i> | b'. * <i>g'iæg</i> / <i>g'ji</i> / <i>k'i</i> |
| r. * <i>b'æg</i> / <i>b'əu</i> / <i>p'ou</i> | c'. * <i>ngiæg</i> / <i>ngji</i> / <i>yi</i> |
| 151 a. * <i>keg</i> / <i>kăi</i> / <i>kie</i> | d'. * <i>tiæg</i> / <i>tʃi</i> / <i>ch'i</i> |
| b. * <i>mleg</i> / <i>măi</i> / <i>mai</i> | e'. * <i>điæg</i> / <i>zi</i> / <i>sh'i</i> |
| c. * <i>g'eg</i> / <i>ɣăi</i> / <i>hie</i> | f'. * <i>ñiæg</i> / <i>ñzi</i> / <i>er</i> |
| d. * <i>mleg</i> / <i>măi</i> / <i>mai</i> | g'. * <i>ñiæg</i> / <i>ñzi</i> / <i>er</i> |
| e. * <i>dz'eg</i> / <i>dʒ'ăi</i> / <i>ch'ai</i> | h'. * <i>tsiæg</i> / <i>tʃi</i> / <i>ts'i</i> |
| 152 a. * <i>k'iæg</i> / <i>k'ji</i> / <i>k'i</i> | i'. * <i>dz'iæg</i> / <i>zi</i> / <i>s'i</i> |
| b. * <i>k'iæg</i> / <i>k'ji</i> / <i>k'i</i> | j'. * <i>siæg</i> / <i>si</i> / <i>s'i</i> |
| c. * <i>g'iæg</i> / <i>g'ji</i> / <i>k'i</i> | k'. * <i>liæg</i> / <i>lji</i> / <i>li</i> |
| d. * <i>g'iæg</i> / <i>g'ji</i> / <i>k'i</i> | l'. * <i>piæg</i> / <i>pji</i> / <i>pi</i> |
| e. * <i>giæg</i> / <i>i</i> / <i>yi</i> | 153 a. * <i>pwæg</i> / <i>puăi</i> / <i>pei</i> |
| f. * <i>ngiæg</i> / <i>ngji</i> / <i>yi</i> | b. * <i>b'wæg</i> / <i>b'uăi</i> / <i>pei</i> |
| g. * <i>ɣiæg</i> / <i>ɣji</i> / <i>hi</i> | c. * <i>mwæg</i> / <i>muăi</i> / <i>mei</i> |
| h. * <i>iæg</i> / <i>i</i> / <i>yi</i> | d. * <i>ɣmwæg</i> / <i>xuăi</i> / <i>huei</i> |
| i. * <i>t'iæg</i> / <i>t'i</i> / <i>ch'i</i> | e. * <i>k'wæg</i> / <i>k'uăi</i> / <i>k'uei</i> |
| j. * <i>d'iæg</i> / <i>d'i</i> / <i>ch'i</i> | f. * <i>ɣwæg</i> / <i>xuăi</i> / <i>huei</i> |

- 153 g. *pwæg / puäi / pei
 154 a. *kwæg / kwäi / kuai
 b. *b'wæg / b'wäi / pai
 155 a. *k'wæg / k'wi / kuei
 b. *g'wæg / j'wi / wei
 c. *x'wæg / x'wi / huei
 156 a. *k'üüg / k'izu / kiu
 b. *k'üüg / k'izu / k'iu

- 156 c. *g'üüg / g'izu / kiu
 d. *g'üüg / j'izu / yu
 e. *ng'üüg / ng'izu / niu
 f. *p'üüg / p'izu / fu
 g. *b'üüg / b'izu / fu
 h. *m'üüg / m'izu / mou
 i. *g'üüg / j'izu / yu¹⁾

Group XXI.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Div. I 157. əng (Anc. 107) | I 160. wəng (Anc. 111) |
| II 158. ɛng (part of Anc. 74) | II 161. wɛng (part of Anc. 84) |
| III 159. iəng (Anc. 109) | III — |
| | 162. iung (part of Anc. 118) |

Type words:

- 157a 恆 卜 登 登 c 騰 騰 d 增 憎 e 崩 f 朋
 158a [橙 卜 繃 c 朝]
 159a 兢 卜 興 c 膺 d 懲 e 乘 繩 f 蒸 g 承 h 勝 升 i 陟 j 陵 k 冰 棚 l 馮
 160a 肱 卜 薨 [c 弘 d 瞢]
 161a [宏 卜 薨]
 162a 弓 卜 雄 c 夢 [d 穹 c 瞢]

These Anc. finals interchange in the Shī rimes as well as in the hie sheng, e. g.: iəng : kiung : d'əng : xiəng (rime in Ode 128); xwəng : dz' iəng (O. 5); 157/ b'əng Phon. in 158b peng and in 159k2 piəng; 160a kwəng Phon. in 162b j iung; etc.

Observe that the common word 能 Anc. nəng (Mand. n e n g) does not rime in this class but quite regularly in the preceding and thus probably has been Arch. *nəg, not *nəng.²⁾

Like Group XIX above (the «ək» group) this group has preserved the finals from Arch. down to Anc. Chin., except Final 162 *iüŋ (riming in the «əng» class here because of its short, slack and open ü) which has passed over into the Anc. iung final.

No words with Anc. Finals əng, iəng, wəng place themselves (through rimes or hie sheng) in any other Arch. category than this one. But Anc. ɛng, wɛng and iung words occur in other Arch. groups as well, and those belonging here must be

¹⁾ 150a3 Mand. t'ai; 150d2 M. tsai; 152p 3, 4 M. si; 156/2 M. fou.

²⁾ The transition *nəg > nəng is irregular, the rôle of the word as an auxiliary verb having entailed a special treatment. But in another sense: «bear» the character 能 was correctly *nəg / n'äi / nai.

determined from case to case. Of our type words those not placed within brackets are Shī rimes in this class. For the rest observe:

158a Anc. *d'eng* has Phon. **təng*; 158b *pəng* has Phon. **pəng* and 58c *b'eng* has Phon. **b'əng*; 160c *ɣwəng* has the same Phon. (abbreviated) as 160a; 160d *mwəng* has the same Phon. as 162c; 161a *ɣwəng* has the same Phon. 160a; 161b *mwəng* has the same Phon. as 162c; 162d *k'ɿung* has Phon. 162a; 162e *mɿung* (altern. reading) has the same Phon. as 162c.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 157 a. <i>*g'əng</i> / <i>ɣəng</i> / <i>həng</i> | 159 g. <i>*d'ɿəng</i> / <i>z'ɿəng</i> / <i>ch'əng</i> |
| b. <i>*təng</i> / <i>təng</i> / <i>təng</i> | h. <i>*s'ɿəng</i> / <i>s'ɿəng</i> / <i>shəng</i> |
| c. <i>*d'əng</i> / <i>d'əng</i> / <i>t'əng</i> | i. <i>*n'ɿəng</i> / <i>n'z'ɿəng</i> / <i>jəng</i> |
| d. <i>*tsəng</i> / <i>tsəng</i> / <i>tsəng</i> | j. <i>*l'ɿəng</i> / <i>l'ɿəng</i> / <i>lɿng</i> |
| e. <i>*pəng</i> / <i>pəng</i> / <i>pəng</i> | k. <i>*p'ɿəng</i> / <i>p'ɿəng</i> / <i>p'ing</i> |
| f. <i>*b'əng</i> / <i>b'əng</i> / <i>p'əng</i> | l. <i>*b'ɿəng</i> / <i>b'ɿəng</i> / <i>p'ing</i> |
| 158 a. <i>*d'əng</i> / <i>d'əng</i> / <i>chəng</i> | 160 a. <i>*kwəng</i> / <i>kwəng</i> / <i>kung</i> |
| b. <i>*pəng</i> / <i>pəng</i> / <i>pəng</i> | b. <i>*ɣmwəng</i> / <i>ɣwəng</i> / <i>hung</i> |
| c. <i>*b'əng</i> / <i>b'əng</i> / <i>p'əng</i> | c. <i>*g'wəng</i> / <i>ɣwəng</i> / <i>hung</i> |
| 159 a. <i>*k'ɿəng</i> / <i>k'ɿəng</i> / <i>king</i> | d. <i>*mwəng</i> / <i>mwəng</i> / <i>məng</i> |
| b. <i>*ɣ'ɿəng</i> / <i>ɣ'ɿəng</i> / <i>hing</i> | 161 a. <i>*g'wəng</i> / <i>ɣwəng</i> / <i>hung</i> |
| c. <i>*i'əng</i> / <i>i'əng</i> / <i>ying</i> | b. <i>*mwəng</i> / <i>mwəng</i> / <i>məng</i> |
| d. <i>*d'ɿəng</i> / <i>d'ɿəng</i> / <i>ch'əng</i> | 162 a. <i>*k'ɿüŋ</i> / <i>k'ɿüŋ</i> / <i>kung</i> |
| e. <i>*d'ɿəng</i> / <i>d'z'ɿəng</i> / <i>shəng</i> | b. <i>*g'ɿüŋ</i> / <i>j'ɿüŋ</i> / <i>hiung</i> |
| f. <i>*t'ɿəng</i> / <i>ts'ɿəng</i> / <i>chəng</i> | c. <i>*m'ɿüŋ</i> / <i>m'ɿüŋ</i> / <i>məng</i> |

Group XXII.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| Div. II 163. <i>əng</i> (part of Anc. 74) | II 166. <i>wəng</i> (part of Anc. 84) |
| III 164. <i>ɿəng</i> (Anc. 78) | III 167. <i>ɿwəng</i> (Anc. 88) |
| IV 165. <i>iəng</i> (Anc. 82) | IV 168. <i>iwəng</i> (Anc. 90) |

Type words:

- 163a 嚶 𠂔 丁 c 爭 d 生 甥 笙 [e 耿 耕 f 硯 g 幸 h 靖 i 迸]
- 164a 敬 驚 𠂔 楨 楨 c 騁 d 醒 程 e 盈 楹 贏 f 正 征 政 g 成 城 h 聲 i 旌
菁 j 清 k 姓 l 領 m 聘 n 平 o 鳴 名
- 165a 經 涇 𠂔 刑 c 瑩 d 馨 e 定 f 聽 庭 g 定 霆 h 寧 i 青 j 清 k 星 l 令 靈
m 荳 屏 n 冥
- 166a [嶸]
- 167a 傾 𠂔 震 c 驚 d 榮
- 168a 頰 [𠂔 局]

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the Shī rimes e. g. *đ'ǎng : kieng : t'ien* : *təng : ǎng* (rime in Ode 195); *b'ǎng : đ'ien* : *təng : nieng* (O. 262); etc. Similar contacts are frequent in the *hie sheng*, e. g. *165a kieng* Phon. in *163f k'eng*; *165j ts'ien* Phon. in *164j ts'ǎng*; *164j1 tsǎng* Phon. in *165e đ'ien*.

It is easily realized that in this group we have an Arch. »eng» category. It cannot have had an Arch. »ang» nor an »əng» vocalism, since it never rimes with the words in the Arch. »ang» group (Gr. XVI) nor with those in the »əng» group (Gr. XXI) discussed above. The gradation in the palatal quality of the principal vowel in Anc. *eng : ǎng : ieng* is evidently due to the absence or presence (and relative strength) of the »medial i» and we can therefore reconstruct the Arch. scheme thus:¹⁾

II 163. *ěng	II 166. wěng
III 164. ǐěng	III 167. ǐwěng
IV 165. ieng	IV 168. iweng

If we reconstruct short *ě* in *ǐěng* but long *e* in *ieng*, it is because of the striking parallelism with Group IX above in which we found the Anc. finals *ien : ǐen : ien* forming one Arch. group.

As a rule no words with Anc. finals *ǎng, ieng, ǐwǎng, iweng* belong (through rimes or *hie sheng*) to other Arch. groups, and this fact allows of equations like: Anc. *ǎng* always = Arch. *ǐěng*, etc. But the Anc. *eng* and *weng* finals contain words belonging to other Arch. groups as well, and we have to determine those pertaining here from case to case:

Of the type words, those not within brackets are placed here through Shī rimes. For the rest, observe:

163e1 Anc. *keng* is Phon. in a **k'iweng*; *163e2 keng* in Ch'u: Pu kū rimes with *164o2*; *163f k'eng* has Phon. **kieng*; *163g yeng* in Kuan: Cheng p'ien r. w. a **kieng* and is Phon. in several **g'ien*; *163h təng* has Phon. **ts'ien*; *163i peng* has Phon. **pǐěng*; *166a yweng* has Phon. **gǐwěng*; *168b kiweng* in Tso: Siang 5 rimes w. **đ'ien*.

Résumé of the type words:

163 a. *ěng / ǐeng / ying	163 i. *pěng / peng / peng
b. *těng / tǐeng / cheng	164 a. *kǐěng / (kǐvng) / king
c. *tsěng / tsǐeng / cheng	b. *tǐěng / tǐǎng / cheng
d. *sěng / (svng) / sheng	c. *t'ǐěng / t'ǐǎng / ch'eng
e. *kěng / keng / keng	d. *đ'ǐěng / đ'ǐǎng / ch'eng
f. *k'ěng / k'eng / k'eng	e. *đǐěng / ǐǎng / ying
g. *g'ěng / yeng / hing	f. *tǐěng / tsǐǎng / cheng
h. *tsěng / tsǐeng / cheng	g. *đǐěng / ǐǎng / ch'eng

¹⁾ The words *163d*, *164a* and *164n* in fact appear as Anc. *svng*, *kǐvng* and *b'ǐvng* in Ts'ie yün, and yet they belong to our group here, as shown by frequent rimes. Why they have become *vng* and not *eng* and *ǐǎng* is unknown.

- 164 h. *śiēng / śiäng / sheng
 i. *tsiēng / tsiäng / tsing
 j. *ts' iēng / ts' iäng / ts' ing
 k. *siēng / siäng / sing
 l. *liēng / liäng / ling
 m. *p' iēng / p' iäng / p' ing
 n. *b' iēng / b' iäng / p' ing
 o. *miēng / miäng / ming
 165 a. *kieng / kieng / king
 b. *g' ieng / yieng / hing
 c. *ieng / ieng / ying
 d. *xieng / xieng / hing
 e. *tieng / tieng / ting
 f. *t' ieng / t' ieng / t' ing

- 165 g. *d' ieng / d' ieng / ting
 h. *nieng / nieng / ning
 i. *tsieng / tsieng / tsing
 j. *ts' ieng / ts' ieng / ts' ing
 k. *sieng / sieng / sing
 l. *lieng / lieng / ling
 m. *b' ieng / b' ieng / p' ing
 n. *mieng / mieng / ming
 166 a. g'wəng / ywəng / hung
 167 a. *k' iwəng / k' iwäng / k' ing
 b. *g' iwəng / g' iwäng / k' iung
 c. *g' iwəng / i' wäng / ying
 d. *i' wəng / i' wäng / ying
 168 a. *kiweng / kiweng / kiung¹⁾

Group XXIII.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Div. II 169. <i>ek</i> (part of Anc. 75) | II 172. <i>wek</i> (part of Anc. 85) |
| III 170. <i>iak</i> (part of Anc. 79) | |
| IV 171. <i>iek</i> (part of Anc. 83) | IV 173. <i>iwek</i> (Anc. 90a) |

Type words:

- 169a 厄_l適_l適_lc 簣_l[d 撻_le 責_lf 策_l冊_l笑_lg 擘_l揮_lh 隔_l]
 170a 益_l蠲_lc 適_ld 脊_l躋_le 刺_lf 辟_l壁_lg 辟_lh 辟_l[易_l役_lj 績_l]
 171a 剔_l惕_l狄_lb 績_lc 錫_ld 簣_le 幪_l 隔_lh 擊_lh 鷁_li 關_lj 嫡_lk 哲_l歷_lm 樺_ln 吳_l]
 172a [畫_l 規_l]
 173a 鷁_l

These Anc. finals interchange both in Shī rimes and in hie sheng characters:

śiäk : iäk : d' ek (rime in Ode 40); tsek : siek : piäk (O. 55); 169e tsek Phon. in 170j tsiäk and in 171b tsiäk; 170a iäk Phon. in 169d ek; 170i1 iäk Phon. in 171a t' iek; etc.

It is obvious that we have here an Arch. »ek» group corresponding to the preceding »eng» group, and the gradation of the palatal quality in the Anc. vowels is due to

¹⁾ 165g2 Mand. t' ing.

the absence or presence (and relative strength) of the »medial i«, exactly as in the preceding group:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| II 169. * <i>ĕk</i> > <i>ek</i> | 172. * <i>wĕk</i> > <i>wek</i> |
| 170. <i>ĭĕk</i> > <i>ĭäk</i> | — |
| 171. <i>iek</i> > <i>iek</i> | 173. <i>iwek</i> > <i>iwek</i> |

For the short vowel in *ĭĕk* as against the longer vowel in *iek* see the preceding group (*iĕng* : *ieng*).

All the Anc. finals in this group (except 173) comprise words belonging to other groups as well, and those belonging here must therefore be determined individually. Those of our type words not within brackets are carried to our Arch. group here through Shī rimes. For the rest observe:

169d Anc. *'ek* has Phon. 170a; 169e *tšek* is Phon. in 169c; 169f *tš'ek* (169f2 and f3 are etym. the same word as 169f1) in Ch'u: Kiu pien rimes w. 170a and c; 169g1 *pek* has Phon. 170g; 169g2 *pek* has Phon. **piĕg* (see next group); 169h *kek* has same Phon. as 171f; 170i2 *ĭäk* in Ch'u: Ta Chao rimes w. 171a2, and 170i1 serves as loan char. for it in Shu and Meng; 170j *tsĭäk* has the same Phon. as 169c; 171g *kiek* in Yi: Kua 42 r. w. 170a; 171h *ngiek* has Phon. 170a; 171i *ġiek* has Phon. **ŋĭĕg* (see next group); 171j *tiĕk* has the same Phon. as 170c; 171k *siek* in Tso: Siang 17 r. w. 170i2 and in Ode 47 with an **-ieg*; 171l *liek* in Ch'u: Ta chao r. w. 171a2; 171m *b'iek* has Phon. **piĕg*, see next group; 171n *miek* has second reading **mieng*; 172a *γwek* in Ch'u: T'ien wen r. w. 171l which was **liek* (because of 171l); 172b *mwĕk* has second reading **miek*.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 169 a. * <i>ĕk</i> / <i>'ek</i> / o | 171 a. * <i>t'iek</i> / <i>t'iek</i> / t'i |
| b. * <i>d'ĕk</i> / <i>d'ek</i> / t s e | b. * <i>tsiek</i> / <i>tsiek</i> / t s i |
| c. * <i>tsĕk</i> / <i>tšek</i> / t s e | c. * <i>siek</i> / <i>siek</i> / s i |
| d. * <i>ĕk</i> / <i>'ek</i> / o | d. * <i>b'iek</i> / <i>b'iek</i> / p i |
| e. * <i>tsĕk</i> / <i>tšek</i> / t s e | e. * <i>miek</i> / <i>miek</i> / m i |
| f. * <i>ts'ĕk</i> / <i>ts'ek</i> / t s'e | f. * <i>ngliek</i> / <i>ngiek</i> / y i |
| g. * <i>pĕk</i> / <i>pek</i> / p o | g. * <i>kiek</i> / <i>kiek</i> / k i |
| h. * <i>klĕk</i> / <i>kek</i> / k o | h. * <i>ngiek</i> / <i>ngiek</i> / y i |
| 170 a. * <i>ĭĕk</i> / <i>ĭäk</i> / y i | i. * <i>ġiek</i> / <i>ġiek</i> / h i |
| b. * <i>dĭĕk</i> / <i>ĭäk</i> / y i | j. * <i>tiĕk</i> / <i>tiĕk</i> / t i |
| c. * <i>śĭĕk</i> / <i>śĭäk</i> / s h i | k. * <i>siek</i> / <i>siek</i> / s i |
| d. * <i>tsĭĕk</i> / <i>tsĭäk</i> / t s i | l. * <i>liek</i> / <i>liek</i> / l i |
| e. * <i>ts'ĭĕk</i> / <i>ts'ĭäk</i> / t s'i | m. * <i>b'iek</i> / <i>b'iek</i> / p i |
| f. * <i>piĕk</i> / <i>piäk</i> / p i | n. * <i>miek</i> / <i>miek</i> / m i |
| g. * <i>p'ĭĕk</i> / <i>p'ĭäk</i> / p'i | 172 a. * <i>g'wĕk</i> / <i>γwek</i> / h u a |
| h. * <i>b'ĭĕk</i> / <i>b'ĭäk</i> / p i | b. * <i>mwĕk</i> / <i>mwĕk</i> / m o |
| i. * <i>dĭĕk</i> / <i>ĭäk</i> / y i | 173 a. * <i>kiwek</i> / <i>kiwek</i> / k ü |
| j. * <i>tsĭĕk</i> / <i>tsĭäk</i> / t s i | |

Group XXIV.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. II 174. <i>ai</i> (Anc. 47)	II 177. <i>wai</i> (Anc. 55)
III 175. <i>iɛ</i> (part of Anc. 126)	III 178. <i>jwiɛ</i> (part of Anc. 129)
IV 176. <i>iei</i> (part of Anc. 52).	IV 179. <i>iwei</i> (part of Anc. 60)

Type words:

- 174a 解 𠂔 𠂔 [c 佳 𠂔 d 崖 e 隄 f 責 g 𠂔]
- 175 a 祗 底 𠂔 𠂔 c 麓 d 易 e 支 枝 f 提 g 刺 h 斯 i 卑 j 居 報 縊 l 𠂔 m
是 n 兒 o 積 p 賜 q 庫]
- 176a 帝 𠂔 摘 楊 c 提 鬚 [d 繫 e 睨 f 剔 g 堤 h 麗 i 嬖 j 𠂔]
- 177a [卦 𠂔 𠂔]
- 178 a 𠂔 [b 規 c 跬]
- 179 a 圭 𠂔 𠂔 [c 𠂔]

These Anc. finals interchange in the Shī rimes and in the *hie sheng*: *yai*: *iɛ* (rime in Ode 261); *d'iɛ*: *kiwei* (O. 254); *tiei*: *iɛ* (O. 235); *yai*: *tiei* (O. 300); 174b Anc. *b'ai* with Phon. 175i *pjiɛ*; 174c *kai* with Phon. 179a *kiwei*; 175m *ziɛ* Phon. in 176c1 *d'iei*; etc.

Though none of these Anc. finals had any end consonant, it is easy to recognize that we have here the Arch. -*g* category corresponding to the -*k* category in Group XXIII above, according to the following scheme:

II 169. <i>ɛk</i> (* <i>ɛk</i>)	II 174. <i>ai</i> (* <i>ɛg</i>)
III 170. <i>iäk</i> (* <i>iɛk</i>)	III 175. <i>iɛ</i> (* <i>iɛg</i>)
IV 171. <i>iek</i> (* <i>iek</i>)	IV 176. <i>iei</i> (* <i>ieg</i>)
II 172. <i>wɛk</i> (* <i>wɛk</i>)	II 177. <i>wai</i> (* <i>wɛg</i>)
III —	III 178. <i>jwiɛ</i> (<i>iwɛg</i>)
IV 173. <i>iwek</i> (* <i>iwek</i>)	IV 179. <i>iwei</i> (<i>iweg</i>)

For the values in the column to the left see Group XXIII above. The interpretation in the column to the right may seem very bold, but it is unambiguously confirmed in several ways.

In the first place, the Arch. final guttural -*g* is proved both by rime and *hie sheng* contacts with words ending in *-*k*, e. g.:

174a *yai* (**g'ɛg*): 175d *iɛ* (**d'iɛg*): 170h *piäk* (**piɛk*) (rime in Ode 261); 176a *tiei* (**tiɛg*): 171k *siek* (**siek*) (O. 47); 175d *iɛ* (**d'iɛg*): 170a *iäk* (**iɛk*) (O. 254); 174a *yai* (**g'ɛg*): d'ɛk (**d'ɛk*) (O. 305); 175k *iɛ* (**iɛg*) with Phon. **iɛk*; 176i *piei*

(**pieg*) with Phon. **piĕk*; 176*d* *γiei* (**g'ieg*) with Phon. **kiek*; 175*n* *ńziĕ* (**ńiĕg*) Phon. in a **ngiek* (Rad. 196); 176*a* *tiei* (**tieg*) Phon. in 171*j* **tiĕk*.

In the second place, and even more important, there are a number of characters with double readings which not only reveal the final -*g* but also show which Anc. finals in our column to the right (*-*g*) correspond to those in the column to the left (*-*k*):

- II: 174 *e*. *·εk* (**ĕk*) and *·ai* (**ĕg*)
 f. *tṣek* (**tsĕk*) and *tṣai* (**tsĕg*)
 g. *pək* (**pĕk*) and *pai* (**pĕg*)
 177 *b.* *γwek* (**g'wĕk*) and *γwai* (**g'wĕg*)
 III: 175 *d.* *iäk* (**dĭĕk*) and *iĕ* (**dĭĕg*)
 o. *tsiäk* (**tsĭĕk*) and *tsiĕ* (**tsĭĕg*)
 g. *ts' iäk* (**ts' iĕk*) and *ts' iĕ* (**ts' iĕg*)
 IV: 176 *f.* *t'iek* (**t'iek*) and *t'iei* (**t'ieg*)
 j. *b'iek* (**b'iek*) and *b'iei* (**b'ieg*)
 b2. *siek* (**siek*) and *t'iei* (**t'ieg*).

That the lost guttural in our present group was a -*g* and not a -*k* is suggested by some other double readings: 175*q* with Radical 142: *b'ai* (**b'ĕg*) and *b'eng* (**b'ĕng*); 175*i* with Rad. 177 *pjiĕ* (**piĕg*) and *pieng* (**pieng*). An interchange -*g*: -*ng* is plausible, but not -*k*: -*ng*.

The evolution of our Arch. finals into those of Anc. Chin. is described in Gram-mata Serica. Suffice it to say here that when the final -*g* was vocalized into -*i*, resulting in forms like *kĕi*, *kiei*, those in which the *e* was not protected by the preceding *i* got their *ĕi* changed into *ai* through dissimilation (cf. Germ. *Geist* pron. *gaist*, Engl. *height* pron. *hait*). That **k'iwĕg* became *k'jwiĕ*, with metathesis, was due to analogous influence from Group XXXV below (**k'wia* > *k'jwiĕ*).

The words of Anc. Finals *ai*, *wai* all belong to our Arch. group here, so that we may establish the equations: Anc. *ai* = Arch. > **ĕg*; Anc. *wai* = Arch. **wĕg*.¹⁾ But the other Anc. finals contain words from several other Arch. groups. Those type words not standing within brackets are placed here through Shi rimes. For the rest observe:

175*k* *iĕ* has Phon. **iĕk*; 175*l* *tĕiĕ* is loan char. for 175*e2* in Erya: Shī ti; 175*m* *ziĕ* in Lü: K'üan hün rimes w. 175*q* and is Phon. in 176*c*; 175*n* *ńziĕ* in Chuang: Jen kien shī r. w. 174*d*; 175*o* *tsiĕ* has second reading *tsiäk* (**tsĭĕk*); 175*p* *siĕ* has Phon. *iĕ* (**dĭĕg*); 175*q* *b'jiĕ* has Phon. 175*i*; 176*d* *γiei* has Phon. **kĭĕk*; 176*e* *ngiei* in Tso: Ai 13 r. w. 176*d*; 176*f* *t'iei* has second reading *t'iek*; 176*g* *d'iei* has Phon. 175*m*; 176*h* *liei*, by Mao Heng defined as = 𠂔 **liek*, a phonetic gloss showing that the **lieg* was still living in early Han time; 176*i* *piei* has Phon. 175*j*; 176*j* *b'iei* has Phon. 175*i*; 177*a* *kwai* has Phon. 179*a*; 177*b* *γwai* has second reading **g'uĕk*; 178*b* *kjwiĕ* in Ch'u: Ta chao r. w. 174*c*; 178*c* *k'jwiĕ* has Phon. 179*a*; 179*c* *γiwei* has Phon. 179*a*.

¹⁾ We have added a few examples besides the Shī rime words: 174*c* Anc. *kai* has Phon. 179*a*; 174*c2* same char. as 174*a*; 174*d* has Phon. 179*a*; 174*e* *·ai* has a second reading **ĕk* (see the preceding group); 174*f* *tṣai* has a second reading **tsĕk*; 174*g* *pai* has a second reading **pĕk*; 177*a* *kwai* has Phon. 179*a*; 177*b* *γwai* has a second reading **g'uĕk*.

Résumé of the type words:

- 74 a. *g'ěg / ɣai / hie
 b. *b'ěg / b'ai / pai
 c. *kěg / kai / kia, kie
 d. *ngěg / ngai / yai
 e. *ěg / 'ai / yai
 f. *tsěg / tsai / chai
 g. *pěg / pai / pai
 175 a. *g'ięg / g'jie / k'i
 b. *tjęg / tie / ch'i
 c. *d'ięg / d'ie / ch'i
 d. *djęg / ie / yi
 e. *tjęg / tsie / ch'i
 f. *djęg / zie / ch'i
 g. *ts'ięg / ts'ie / ts'i
 h. *sjęg / sie / si
 i. *pjęg / pie / pi
 j. *b'jęg / b'jie / pi
 k. *ięg / 'ie / yi
 l. *tjęg / tsie / ch'i
 m. *djęg / zie / sh'i
 n. *njęg / nzie / er
 175 o. *tsięg / tsie / ts'i
 p. *sjęg / sie / si
 q. *b'ięg / b'jie / pi
 176 a. *tieg / tiei / ti
 b. *t'ieg / t'iei / t'i
 c. *d'ieg / d'iei / t'i
 d. *g'ieg / ɣiei / hi
 e. *ngieg / ngiei / yi
 f. *t'ieg / t'iei / t'i
 g. *d'ieg / d'iei / t'i
 h. *lieg / liei / li
 i. *pieg / piei / pi
 j. *b'ieg / b'iei / pi
 177 a. *kwęg / kwai / kua
 b. *g'węg / ɣwai / hua
 178 a. *ɣiwęg / ɣjwie / (hi)
 b. *k'iwęg / k'jwie / k'uei
 c. *k'iwęg / k'jwie / k'uei
 179 a. *kiweg / kiwei / k'uei
 b, c. *g'iweg / ɣiwei / (hi)

Group XXV.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. I 180. uok (part of Anc. 117)
 181. ak (part of Anc. 67)
 Div. II 182. dk (part of Anc. 123)
 Div. III 183. iak (part of Anc. 69)
 Div. IV 184. iek (part of Anc. 83)

Type words:

- 180a 沃 b 爆 [c 塗 d 崔 e 煇 f 濼]
 181a 樂 b 鑿 c 爆 [d 煇 e 眊]
 182a 較 較 b 鵠 c 濯 d 駁 e 藐 [f 確 g 樂 h 卓 i 薊 j 樵 k 眊]
 183a 蹻 b 虐 c 謔 d 藥 e 灼 f 綽 g 籥 h 聶 i 削 [j 約 k 酌 l 弱 m 爇
 n 燄 o 鏢
 184a 櫟 b 的 c 溺 d 翟 [e 激]

These Anc. finals interchange in the Shī rimes and in the *hie sheng*, e. g.:
uok : *lák* (rime in Ode 116); *kák* : *xiak* (O. 255); *liek* : *pák* (O. 132); *iak* : *d'iek*
(O. 38); etc. 180*d* Anc. *yuok* Phon. in 182*b2* *xiák*; 183*l* *ñziak* Phon. in 184*c* *niek*;
181*a* and 182*g* (same char.) read *lák* and *ngák*, Phon. in 180*f* *luok* and in 183*o*
xiak and in 184*a* *liek* etc.

The Arch. nature of this category is in a general way fairly easily determined. In spite of the *ák*, *iak* it cannot have been an »ak» group, for we had the indubitable »ak» category in Group XVII above, and the words of our present group do not rime with those of Gr. XVII. Likewise, in spite of the *iek* it cannot have been an »ek» group, since we have already found the Arch. »ek» category in Gr. XXIII above, and our words here never rime with those of that group. Again, we shall find later (Gr. XXX) a typical Arch. »uk» category, with which the words of our group here do not rime. These facts considered and in view of the *uok* and *ák* in our present group, we can safely conclude that we have here roughly speaking an Arch. »ok» group. So far all is plain sailing. But the details are more intricate.

The first steps are simple: it is easy to conceive that an Arch. 183 **iok* has become Anc. *iak*, the *i* delabializing the following *o* into *a*; and similarly that Arch. **iok* > *iak* > *iek*, the last step through »i-umlaut» due to the strong *i*. But if we have thus determined the Arch. Div. III: *iok* (183) and Div. IV **iok* (184), where is the corresponding Arch. final without »medial *i*», the Arch. **ok*? Do we find it under 180 *uok*, 181 *ák* or 182 *ák*?

At first sight it might be tempting to say that Anc. *uok* was really an Arch. **uok* (h o k' o u) as opposed to the other finals as Arch. **ok* (k' a i k' o u). But that will not do, for various reasons. 180*e* Anc. *xiuok* has a second reading (181*d*) *xiák* and has Phon. 高 Anc. *káu*; it obviously was a k' a i k' o u word, not h o k' o u. In the same way, 180*b* Anc. *puok* had a second reading *pák* and had k' a i k' o u. Even more conclusive is 180*f* Anc. *luok* which has Phon. *lák*, this latter being Phon. also in 183*d* *iak* and 184*a* *liek*. Thus 180*f* Anc. *luok* cannot possibly have been Arch. **luok*: the word had primarily k' a i k' o u. We must conclude that Anc. *uok* in our present group is the result of a breaking, like Ital. *novum* > *nuovo*, and that an Arch. **ok* has become Anc. *uok*.

If we thus find in Final 180 Anc. *uok* the Arch. **ok* corresponding to the **iok* of Final 183 and **iok* of Final 184, what about Finals 181 Anc. *ák* and 182 Anc. *ák*?

Let us first examine the latter. The final -*ák* of Anc. Chin. is a typical »IIInd Division final». In a long series of tables in Anc. Chin. (A—H, L, M above) we have found supradental initials (affricates and fricatives) exclusively before the finals of Div. II (*tʃa*, *tʃ'a*, *dʒ'a*, *ʃa*, etc.); and now here, with Anc. final *ák*, we find *tʃák*, *tʃ'ák*, *dʒ'ák*, *ʃák*. And it is precisely in Div. II that we have found a series of Arch. finals with short principal vowel and no »medial *i*», e. g. Arch. Final 3 **ǎn*, Arch. Fin. 95 **ǎm*, Arch. Fin. 120 **ǎng*, Arch. Fin. 37 **ɛn*, Arch. Fin. 158 **ɛng*, Arch. Fin. 163 **ɛng*. It is then but natural to conclude that the Anc. *ák* of

Div. II in a similar way represents the Arch. short-vowelled final: 182 **ök*, corresponding to the more long-vowelled final of Div. I: 180 **ok*.

What, then, of Final 181, Anc. *ák*, likewise belonging to Div. I? Evidently the words in this category must have had a more open sound than the **ok* of Final 180, since they obtained an *ák* in Anc. Chin., in spite of the fact that they had not (like **ïok* > *ïak*, Fin. 183) a »medial i» which could explain the Anc. *á* vowel; but, on the other hand, they could not have had Arch. **ák*, since they never rime in Gr. XVII (Arch. »ak» group) above. They must have had an Arch. vowel intermediate between *á* and *o*, i. e. *â*. The following scheme results from our deductions:

- I 180. **ok* (Anc. *uok*)
- 181. **ák* (Anc. *ák*)
- II 182. **ök* (Anc. *âk*)
- III 183. **ïok* (Anc. *ïak*)
- IV 184. **iok* (Anc. *iek*)

All the Anc. finals in our group comprise also words that belong to other Arch. groups; hence those belonging here must be determined from case to case. Those type words not within brackets are placed in our Arch. group here through Shī rimes. For the rest:

180c Anc. *uok* has Phon. 180a; 180d *yuok* is Phon. in 182b2; 180e *χuok* (also: 181d *χák*) has Phon. 高 *kâu* (**kog*, see next group) which in its turn in Ch'u: Kiu pien rimes w. 181a and b; 180f *luok* has Phon. 181a; 181e *mák* and (182k) *mâk* has Phon. 毛 which is Phon. (with Rad. 140) in a *mâu* (**mog*) riming in Shī with 181a; 182f *k'ák* has the same Phon. as 182b2; 182g *ngâk* is the same char. as 181a; 182h1 *îák* has the same Phon. as 183f, and 182h2 is etym. the same word; 182i1 *tšák* has Phon. 183h; 182i2 *tšák* has a second reading (183m) *tsiak* which is etym. the same word as 183n; this latter *tsiak* and *dz'iak* has Phon. 183h; 182j *şák* has Phon. 183i; 183j *ïak* and 183k *tsiak* have the same Phon. as 184b; 183l *ñz'iak* is Phon. in 184c; 183o *şiak* has Phon. 181a; 184e *kiek* has the same Phon. as 齧 *kieu*, variant of 咬 *kieu* (**kiog*, see next group).

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 180 a. * <i>ok</i> / <i>uok</i> / w u | 182 b. * <i>χök</i> / <i>χák</i> / h o |
| b. * <i>pok</i> / <i>puok</i> / p u | c. * <i>d'ök</i> / <i>d'ák</i> / c h o |
| c. * <i>ok</i> / <i>uok</i> / w u | d. * <i>pök</i> / <i>pák</i> / p o |
| d. * <i>g'ok</i> / <i>yuok</i> / h u | e. * <i>mök</i> / <i>mâk</i> / m o |
| e. * <i>χok</i> / <i>χuok</i> / h u | f. * <i>k'ök</i> / <i>k'ák</i> / k'ü e |
| f. * <i>glok</i> / <i>luok</i> / l u | g. * <i>nglök</i> / <i>ngâk</i> / y ü e |
| 181 a. * <i>glâk</i> / <i>lâk</i> / l o | h. * <i>tök</i> / <i>îák</i> / c h o |
| b. * <i>tsâk</i> / <i>tsâk</i> / t s o | i. * <i>tsök</i> / <i>tšák</i> / c h o |
| c. * <i>pâk</i> / <i>pâk</i> / p o | j. * <i>sök</i> / <i>şák</i> / s h u o |
| d. * <i>χâk</i> / <i>χák</i> / h a o | k. * <i>mök</i> / <i>mâk</i> / m o |
| e. * <i>mâk</i> / <i>mâk</i> / m o | 183 a. * <i>g'ïok</i> / <i>g'ïak</i> / k ü e |
| 182 a. * <i>kök</i> / <i>kâk</i> / k ü e | b. * <i>ngïok</i> / <i>ngïak</i> / n ü e |

- 183 l. **niok / nziak / jo*
 m. **tsiok / tziak / tsüe*
 n. **dz'ioik / dz'ziak / tsüe*
 o. **sljok / szjak / shuo*
 184 a. **gliok / liek / li*
 b. **tiok / tiek / ti*
 c. **niok / niek / ni*
 d. **d'ioik / d'iek / ti*
 e. **kiok / kiek / ki*

Even though none of the Anc. finals of this group end in consonant, it is still easy to prove that we have here the »og» group corresponding to the preceding »ok» group. There is a slight discrepancy in the parallelism, in that we have here no counterpart to Arch. **ǣk*, and, on the other hand, a short-vowelled **ǣög* in Div. III which has no counterpart in the »ok» group. The scheme will be as follows (cf. the preceding group, here placed in the column to the left):

Div. I 180. <i>uok</i> (* <i>ok</i>)	I 185. <i>áu</i> (* <i>og</i>)
Div. II 182. <i>ǣk</i> (* <i>ök</i>)	II 186. <i>au</i> (* <i>ög</i>)
Div. III 183. <i>iak</i> (* <i>iok</i>)	III 187. <i>ǣu</i> (* <i>iog</i>), 188. <i>ǣu</i> (* <i>ǣög</i>)
Div. IV 184. <i>iek</i> (* <i>iok</i>)	IV 189. <i>ieu</i> (* <i>iog</i>)

(Observe that 186 Anc. *au* is placed in the IIInd Div. of the Sung sound tables just as 182 Anc. *ǣk*, and that, like the latter, it comprises words with supradental initials: 186*d* *dž'au* etc.).

The final guttural is amply proved by contacts in Shī rimes and *hie sheng* with the »ok» group, and the correspondences suggested above are happily confirmed, particularly by words with double readings:

1 暴 2 爆 3 高 4 煖 5 慶 6 沃 7 眊 8 悼 9 卓 10 較
 11 濯 12 掣 13 單 14 卓 15 貌 16 邈 17 搞 18 約 19 蹻 20 焦
 21 削 22 醕 23 節 24 喬 25 僑 26 藐 27 樵 28 藿 29 翟 30 噉
 31 激 32 撒 33 弔 34 鈞 35 勺 36 孛 37 弱 38 樂 39 沒 40 躍
 41 毫 42 謔 43 教 44 虐 45 茆 46 鑿 47 驚 48 耀 49 效 50 灼

- I: 1. *páu* (**pog*) Phon in 2. *puok* (**pok*)
- 3. *káu* (**kog*) Phon. in 4. *χuok* (**χok*)
- 5. *áu* (**og*) with Phon. 6. *uok* (**ok*)
- 7. *máu* (**mog*) and *mǎk* (**mök*)
- 8. *d'áu* (**d'og*) with Phon. 9. *ǣk* (**tök*)
- II: 10. *kau* (**kög*) and *kǎk* (**kök*)
- 11. *d'au* (**d'ög*) and *d'ǎk* (**d'ök*)
- 12. *sau* (**sög*) and *şǎk* (**sök*)
- 13. *ǣu* (**tög*) with Phon. 14. *ǣk* (**tök*)
- 15. *mau* (**mög*) Phon. in 16. *mǎk* (**mök*)
- 17. *χau* (**χög*) and *χǎk* (**χök*)
- III: 18. *ǣu* (**iog*) and *ǣk* (**iök*)
- 19. *kǣu* (**kilog*) and *kǣk* (**kīök*)
- 20. *tsǣu* (**tsilog*) and *tsǣk* (**tsīök*)
- 21. *sǣu* (**silog*) and *sǣk* (**sīök*)

- III: 22. *tsiäü* (*tsiog*) with Phon. 23. *tsiak* (**tsiok*)
 24. *kïäü*, *g'ïäü* (**kiog*, *g'ïog*) Phon. in 25. *kïak* (**kïok*)
 26. *mïäü* (**mïog*) and *măk* (**mők*)
 27. *tsiäü* (**tsiog*) and *tsăk* (**tsők*)
 IV: 28. *d'ieu* (**d'ïog*) with Phon. 29. *d'iek* (**d'ïok*)
 30. *kieu* (**kiog*) and *kiek* (**kiok*)
 31. *kieu* (**kiog*) and *kiek* (**kiok*)
 32. *k'ieu* (**k'ïog*) and *k'iek* (*k'ïok*)
 33. *tieu* (**tiog*) and *tiek* (*tiok*)
 34. *tieu* (**tiog*) with Phon. 35. *ziak* (**d'ïok*)
 36. *nieu* (**niog*) with Phon. 37. *niak* (**nïok*).

For the final guttural *-g* cf. the following rimes:

13. *ïau* (**tög*): 38. **glăk* (rime in Ode 171); 39. 𪛗 *tsiäü* (*tïog*): 38. **glăk* (O. 192);
 39. *tsiäü* (**tïog*): 40. **dïok* (O. 242); 41. *mâu* (**mog*): 42. **xiok* (O. 254); 43. *kau*
 (**kög*): 44. **ngiok* (O. 256); 45. *mâu* (**mog*): 38. **glăk* (O. 1); 43. *kau* (**kög*): 46.
tsăk*: 18. *ïak* (ïok*) (Ch'u: Kiu pien); 47. *ngâu* (**ngog*): 48. **dïok* (Ch'u: Yüan
 yu); 1. *pâu* (**pog*): 50. **tïok* (Mo: Ts'in shī); 3. *kâu* (**kog*): 38. **glăk* (Ch'u: Kiu
 pien).

The words with the Anc. final *ïäü* as a rule never rime outside this Arch. group,
 so that we can establish the general equation Anc. *ïäü* = Arch. **ïog*. But for the
 rest the Anc. finals in this group comprise also words belonging to other Arch.
 groups, and those belonging here must be determined from case to case. All those
 type words above not put within brackets are placed here through Shī rimes. For
 the rest observe:

185l Anc. *tâu* is Phon. in 182h2 **tök*; 185m *mâu* in Ode 1 rimes w. a **glăk*;
 186e *ïau* has Phon. **tök*.

The evolution of these Arch. finals into those of Anc. Chin. is described in Gram-
 mata. Suffice it to say that we witness here a vocalization of final *-g* into *-u*: **kog* >
kou, **kög* > *kōu*, and a dissimilation of *o : u*, which were felt to be too similar: *kou* >
kâu, *kōu* > *kau* etc., just as we found in Gr. XXIV above that **kěg* > *kěi* > *kăi* (cf.
 Germ. »bei», now *bai*, Engl. »height» now *hait*). For the Chin. dissimilation **kou* >
kâu cf. Engl. »how» pron. *hau* etc. Whereas the long-vowelled **kog* has given *kâu*
 (â grave), the short-vowelled **kög* has given *kau* (a aigu), the typical vowel in the
 short-vowelled finals of the IInd Div.: *kăn*, *kăm*, *kăi*, etc.

Résumé of the type words:

185 a. **kog* / *kâu* / k a o
 b. **g'og* / *γâu* / h a o
 c. **ngog* / *ngâu* / a o
 d. **xog* / *χâu* / h a o

185 e. **tog* / *tâu* / t a o
 f. **d'og* / *d'âu* / t'a o
 g. **tsog* / *tsâu* / t s a o
 h. **ts'og* / *ts'âu* / t s'a o

- 185 i. *log / lau / lao
j. *pog / pau / pao
k. *mog / mau / mao
l. *tog / tau / tao
m. *mog / mau / mao
- 186 a. *kōg / kau / kiao
b. *g'ōg / γau / hiao
c. *χōg / χau / hiao
d. *dz'ōg / dz'au / ch'ao
e. *tōg / tau / chao
- 187 a. *kiog / kiäu / kiao
b. *k'iog / k'äu / k'iao
c. *g'iog / g'äu / k'iao
d. *χiog / χiäu / hiao
e. *iog / iäu / yao
f. *liog / tsäu / chao
g. *diog / zäu / shao
h. *siog / siäu / shao
i. *niog / nziäu / jao
- 187 j. *tiog / t'äu / chao
k. *d'iog / d'äu / ch'ao
l. *diog / iäu / yao
m. *tsiog / tsäu / tsiao
n. *ts'iog / ts'äu / ts'iao
o. *dz'iog / dz'äu / ts'iao
p. *ziog / ziäu / siao
q. *liog / liäu / liao
r. *piog / piäu / piao
s. *p'iog / p'äu / p'iao
t. *b'iog / b'äu / piao
u. *mïog / mïäu / miao
- 188 a. *kiōg / kiēu / kiu
189 a. *kiog / kieu / kiao
b. *χiog / χieu / hiao
c. *tiog / tieu / tiao
d. *f'iog / t'ieu / tiao
e. *d'iog / d'ieu / tiao
f. *liog / lieu / liao¹⁾

Group XXVII.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. I 190. *uok* (part of Anc. 117)
 II 191. *āk* (part of Anc. 123)
 III 192. *iuk* (part of Anc. 119)
 IV 193. *iek* (part of Anc. 83).

Type words:

190a 告 b 鵠 c 鴛 d 毒 [e 粦 竺]

191 a [覺 l 學 c 鞞 d 賈]

199. a 鞠鞠 b 畜畜 c 奥奥 d 倏倏 e 祝祝 f 菽菽 g 蓼蓼 h 軸軸 i 育育 j 陸陸 k 蹙蹙

肅夙宿m腹n覆o復p穆q粥r倏孰s肉t逐u驚v怛x蹊y目z翫
193a迪軸條b戚[c莩d擎e寂]

¹⁾ 185/2 Mand. t a o; 186b2 y a o; 187k2, 3 c h a o; 189e2 t'i a o.

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the Shī rimes and the hie sheng characters:

liuk : *d'iek* : *siuk* : *kuok* (rime in Ode 56); *d'iek* : *b'ïuk* : *d'uok* (O. 257); *kuok* : *kïuk* (O. 101); same Phon. in 190e1 *tuok* and in 192d *tš'ïuk* and in 193e *dz'iek*; 190c *tuok* with Phon. *ïïuk*; 192h *d'ïuk* same Phon. as 193a2 *d'iek*; 192k *tsïuk* with Phon. 193b *ts'iek*; 192t *ïïuk* Phon. in 193c *d'iek*, etc.

The reconstruction of the Arch. values in this group is at first sight very problematic. We observe that but for one striking divergence, the Anc. finals are quite the same as in the «ok» group XXV above: the Anc. finals *uok*, *ðk*, *iek* occur in both groups, and the only distinction is that in Div. III Gr. XXV regularly had *ïak* (**ïok*), whereas our present Gr. XXVII just as regularly has *ïuk*.

That there is a clear distinction in the Arch. rimes of the Shī (and other early poetry) between the words registered under Arch. finals 180 Anc. *uok*, 182 Anc. *ðk* and 184 Anc. *iek* on the one hand, and those registered here under Finals 190 Anc. *uok*, 191 Anc. *ðk*, 193 Anc. *iek* on the other has been proved beyond doubt by Wang Nien-sun. Likewise, that the Fin. 183 Anc. *ïak* words go together only with the former series, whereas the Fin. 192 Anc. *ïuk* words go together only with the latter. It is true that there exist a few cases of the two groups intermingling, but on the whole they are kept strictly apart. The former was, as we have seen, an Arch. «ok» group. The latter, our present group, was not an Arch. «uk» group — there existed an evident «uk» group to be treated under Gr. XXX below — but something kindred to the said XXV «ok» group. The two groups must have been very much akin, since both have resulted in Anc. finals *uok*, *ðk*, *iek*. But they must, on the other hand, have been noticeably different, since they are consistently distinguished in the rimes and mostly also in the hie sheng, and since in Div. III the former has resulted in Anc. *ïak*, whereas the latter has resulted in Anc. *ïuk*. This last fact suggests the solution. Our present group, XXVII, had a «darker» vowel, a more narrow, more closed *ô*, nearer to *u*, than the «brighter», more open *o* of Gr. XXV; the difference in quality may have been something like French *tôt* as against *tonne*, Germ. *so* as against *Sonne*. In the «a» groups we have denoted an «*á* grave» by *á* as against «*a* aigu» written *a* (*ká* : *ka*), and we now employ the same diacritical mark here, indicating the «closed» *ô* by *ô*, leaving the «open» *o* in Group XXV to be denoted by *o*. When we have to indicate a short *ô*, we cannot for typographical reasons add a «brevity bow» above, but prefer to indicate the brevity by a subscribed dot: *ộ*.

The reconstruction scheme now becomes simple and consistent:

	Group XXV	Group XXVII
Div. I	180. <i>uok</i> (* <i>ok</i>)	I 190. <i>uok</i> (* <i>ôk</i>)
II	182. <i>ðk</i> (* <i>ôk</i>)	191. <i>ðk</i> (* <i>ôk</i>)
III	183. <i>ïak</i> (* <i>ïok</i>)	192. <i>ïuk</i> (* <i>ïôk</i>)
IV	184. <i>iek</i> (* <i>ïok</i>)	193. <i>iek</i> (<i>ïôk</i>)

We can then easily realize that **ók* has followed **ok* in the evolution (becoming a broken *uok* in Anc. Chin.), that the short **ók* has followed the short **ǝk* (both becoming a more open *ák*), and that the **iók* just like **iok* has been delabialized (> *iek*) under the influence of the strong *i*; finally, that **iók* has resulted in a more open sound (> *iak*) than the »darker» *iók* (> *íuk*).

All the Anc. finals in our group also comprise words which belong to other Arch. groups, so that those belonging here must be determined from case to case. Those type words not within brackets are placed in our »*ók*» class here through Shī rimes. For the rest, observe:

190e1 Anc. *tuok* has the same Phon. as 192d; 190e2 *tuok* in Ch'u: T'ien wen rimes w. 192c3; 191a *kák* in Tso: Ai 21 r. w. 憂 (**ióg*, see next group) and the same 191a has a second reading Anc. *kau* which rimes in the next (»*óg*») group; 191b *γák* has the same Phon. as the preceding; 191c *p'ák* and 191d *b'ák* have Phon. **póg*, see next group; 192q *tšíuk* is id. w. 192u »gruel», see below; 192r1 *zíuk* has a Phon. belonging to the »*óg*» category, see next group; 192r2 *zíuk* in Li: Li yün rimes w. 192o; 192s *ńíuk* in Yi: Kua 21 r. w. 190d; 192t *d'íuk* in Yi: Kua 38 r. w. 192o; 192u read *íuk* »to nourish» is etym. id. w. 192i; 192v *ńíuk* has a Phon. belonging to the Arch. »*óg*» class, see next group; 192x *tsíuk* is etym. s. w. a. 192k; 192y *míuk* in Tso: Süan 2 r. w. 192m and in Tso: Ch'eng 16 w. 192k; 192z *líuk* has the same Phon. as 𪛗 which in Ch'u: Ta chao r. w. 192k; 193c *d'iek* has Phon. 192t; 193d *ts'iek* has a Phon. of the Arch. »*óg*» category, see next group; 193e *dz'iek* has the same Phon. as 192d.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 190 a. * <i>kók</i> / <i>kuok</i> / k u | 192 l. * <i>síók</i> / <i>síuk</i> / s u |
| b. * <i>g'ók</i> / <i>γuok</i> / h u | m. * <i>píók</i> / <i>píuk</i> / f u |
| c. * <i>tók</i> / <i>tuok</i> / t u | n. * <i>p'íók</i> / <i>p'íuk</i> / f u |
| d. * <i>d'ók</i> / <i>d'uok</i> / t u | o. * <i>b'íók</i> / <i>b'íuk</i> / f u |
| e. * <i>tók</i> / <i>tuok</i> / t u | p. * <i>míók</i> / <i>míuk</i> / m u |
| 191 a. * <i>kók</i> / <i>kák</i> / k ü e | q. * <i>tíók</i> / <i>tšíuk</i> / c h o u |
| b. * <i>g'ók</i> / <i>γák</i> / h ü e | r. * <i>díok</i> / <i>zíuk</i> / s h u |
| c. * <i>p'ók</i> / <i>p'ák</i> / p' o | s. * <i>ńíók</i> / <i>ńíuk</i> / j o u |
| d. * <i>b'ók</i> / <i>b'ák</i> / p a o | t. * <i>d'íók</i> / <i>d'íuk</i> / c h u |
| 192 a. * <i>kíók</i> / <i>kíuk</i> / k ü | u. * <i>díók</i> / <i>íuk</i> / y ü |
| b. * <i>χíók</i> / <i>χíuk</i> / h ü | v. * <i>ńíók</i> / <i>ńíuk</i> / n i u |
| c. * <i>íók</i> / <i>íuk</i> / y ü | x. * <i>tsíók</i> / <i>tsíuk</i> / t s u |
| d. * <i>tíók</i> / <i>tšíuk</i> / c h u | y. * <i>míók</i> / <i>míuk</i> / m u |
| e. * <i>t'íók</i> / <i>tš'íuk</i> / c h' u | z. * <i>glíók</i> / <i>líuk</i> / l u |
| f. * <i>síók</i> / <i>síuk</i> / s h u | 193 a. * <i>d'íók</i> / <i>d'iek</i> / t i |
| g. * <i>t'íók</i> / <i>t'íuk</i> / c h' u | b. * <i>ts'íók</i> / <i>ts'iek</i> / t s' i |
| h. * <i>d'íók</i> / <i>d'íuk</i> / c h u | c. * <i>d'íók</i> / <i>d'iek</i> / t i |
| i. * <i>díók</i> / <i>íuk</i> / y ü | d. * <i>ts'íók</i> / <i>ts'iek</i> / t s' i |
| j. * <i>líók</i> / <i>líuk</i> / l u | e. * <i>dz'íók</i> / <i>dz'iek</i> / t s i ¹⁾ |
| k. * <i>tsíók</i> / <i>tsíuk</i> / t s u | |

¹⁾ 192j2 Mand. li u.

Group XXVIII.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. I 194. *áu* (part of Anc. 41)
 II 195. *au* (part of Anc. 42)
 III 196. *ǐu* (part of Anc. 135)
 IV 197. *ieu* (part of Anc. 44)

Type words:

194a 皓馨 卜考考 c 昊 d 好 e 擣禱 f 滔滔 g 陶綯盜稻翻道 h 蚤
 棗 i 草 j 曹漕卓造 k 騷埽 l 牢老 m 寶保搗報 n 袍 o 冒牡 [p 奧 q 嫂]
 195a 覺 b 奴 c 飽苞包 d 匏炮 e 茅 f 膠 g 卯昂茆 [h 答 i 巧 j 數 k 然]
 196a 非 究救鳩 卜仇求逑球球球 觥鉅咎舅 c 休朽 d 憂優優 e 舟洲周
 祝 f 魄 g 離離 魏 壽受售壽 h 手狩首收 i 柔蹂 j 叟搜 k 斡 l 抽
 妯 m 綢 n 游游悠悠 o 脩繡秀 p 猶誘莠 q 酒 r 酋逆就 r' 衰 s
 粗 t 流旒留劉 u 缶 v 浮孚阜 x 牟茂矛 y 瘳
 197a 烏 卜條 c 蕭獻 d 聊 e 蓼 [f 彫 g 謏]

These Anc. rimes interchange freely in the Shī rimes and the hie sheng characters:

b'áu: *mau* : *g'ǐu* (rime in Ode 133); *dz'áu* : *ǐu* (O. 39); *sieu* : *ts'ǐu* (O. 153); *sieu* : *kau* : *t'ǐu* (O. 90); *sǐu* : *láu* (O. 31); *b'ǐu* : *dz'áu* : *ǐu* : *kau* (O. 70); etc. 196b9 *g'ǐu* Phon. in 194a2 *káu*; 196g6 *ǐu* Phon. in 194e *táu*; the same Phon. in 195f *kau* and 196y *t'ǐu*; the same Phon. in 194a1 *káu* and 195h *kau*; 196j *sǐu* Phon. in 194q *sáu*; the same Phon. in 197b *d'ieu* and 196n3 *ǐu*; 195g *mau* Phon. in 197d *lieu*, etc.

Although none of these Anc. finals have any final consonant, it is easily determined that they form the -*g* group corresponding to the preceding -*k* group. The latter, Gr. XXVII, was an «*ók*» group (with narrow *ó*) in contrast to Group XXV which was an «*ok*» group (with open *o*). The two had coincided in Anc. finals (*uok*, *ák*, *iek*) but for the IIIrd Div., in which the «*ók*» group gave Anc. *ǐuk* but the «*ok*» group gave *ǐak*. Now we find exactly the same phenomenon here in regard to the -*g* groups. In Gr. XXVI we had, as we have seen, the Arch. «*og*» group (with open *o*), giving Anc. finals *áu*, *au*, *ǐäu*, *ieu*. Here, in Gr. XXVIII we have the Arch. «*óg*» group, with precisely the same Anc. finals, except Div. III: *ǐu* here in contrast to *ǐäu* there. Let us sum up these facts in a table:

Gr. XXV	XXVI	XXVII	XXVIII
I 180. <i>uok</i> (* <i>ok</i>)	185. <i>áu</i> (* <i>og</i>)	190. <i>uok</i> (* <i>ók</i>)	194. <i>áu</i> (* <i>óg</i>)
II 182. <i>ák</i> (* <i>ók</i>)	186. <i>au</i> (* <i>ög</i>)	191. <i>ák</i> (* <i>ók</i>)	195. <i>au</i> (* <i>óg</i>)
III 183. <i>iak</i> (* <i>iok</i>)	187. <i>iäu</i> (* <i>iog</i>)	192. <i>iuk</i> (* <i>iók</i>)	196. <i>iäu</i> (* <i>ióg</i>)
IV 184. <i>iek</i> (* <i>iok</i>)	189. <i>ieu</i> (* <i>iog</i>)	193. <i>iek</i> (* <i>iók</i>)	197. <i>ieu</i> (* <i>ióg</i>)

The »darker» quality of the principal vowel *ó* in Gr. XXVIII, as against the open *o* in Gr. XXVI, is, again, revealed only in Div. III: *iäu* as against *iäu*. It should be emphasized that the words with Anc. *áu*, *au*, *ieu* registered in our Gr. XXVIII are, as a rule, carefully distinguished in the Shī rimes and mostly in the *hie sheng* from the words with Anc. *áu*, *au*, *ieu* registered in our Gr. XXVI. Moreover, whereas words with Anc. *iäu* go together in rimes and *hie sheng* with the *áu*, *au*, *ieu* of Gr. XXVIII but not with the *áu*, *au*, *ieu* of Gr. XXVI, the words with Anc. *iäu* go together with the latter but not with the former. Some irregular examples of contact do exist, but they are surprisingly few considering the great phonetic affinity between the *og* group and the *óg* group.

The existence of final *-g* in our Group XXVIII here, as well as the correspondence with the finals of the *-k* group: (XXVII), registered in the two columns to the right in the table just given: XXVII 190. *uok* (**ók*) — XXVIII 194. *áu* (**óg*), etc. is happily illustrated by occasional contacts between *-k* and *-g* words both in rimes and in *hie sheng*, characters with double readings being particularly valuable:

1 獻 2 淑 3 維 4 備 5 陶 6 軸 7 悠 8 寂 9 雷 10 畜
 11 告 12 郤 13 轟 14 奧 15 覺 16 學 17 敦 18 鞞 19 畜 20 祝
 21 宿 22 肉 23 復 24 覆 25 勑 26 柚 27 軸 28 由 29 黛 30 攸
 31 忸 32 狙 33 踈 34 就 35 笛 36 滌 37 條 38 寥

1. Anc. *sieu* (**sióg*): 2. *ziuk* (**d'iók*) (rime in Ode 69); 3. *ziäu* (**d'ióg*): 4. *xiuk* (**xiók*) (O. 35); 5. *d'áu* (**d'óg*): 6. *d'xiuk* (**d'xiók*) (O. 79); 7. *iäu* (**d'ióg*): 8. *dz'iek* (**dz'iók*) (Ch'u: Ta chao); 9. *liäu* (**lióg*): 10. *xiuk* (**xiók*) (ibid.)

- I: 11. *kuok* (**kók*) and *káu* (**kóg*)
- 12. *kuok* (**kók*) and *káu* (**kóg*)
- 13. *d'uok* (**d'ók*) and *d'áu* (**d'óg*)
- 14. *xiuk* (**xiók*) and *xiäu* (**xióg*)
- II: 15. *kâk* (**kók*) and *kau* (**kóg*)
- 16, 17. *γâk* (**g'ók*) and *γau* (**g'óg*)
- 18. *p'âk* (**p'ók*) and *p'au* (**p'óg*)
- III: 19. *xiuk* (**xiók*) and *xiäu* (**xióg*)
- 19. *î'xiuk* (**î'xiók*) and *î'xiäu* (**î'xióg*)
- 20. *ts'xiuk* (**ts'xiók*) and *ts'xiäu* (**ts'xióg*)

- III: 21. *sɿuk* (*sɿók) and *sɿu* (*sɿóg)
 22. *ńɿuk* (*ńɿók) and *ńɿu* (*ńɿóg)
 23. *b'ɿuk* (*b'ɿók) and *b'ɿu* (*b'ɿóg)
 24. *p'ɿuk* (*p'ɿók) and *p'ɿu* (*p'ɿóg)
 25. *lɿuk* (*glɿók) and *lɿu* (*glɿóg)
 26. *d'ɿuk* (*d'ɿók) and *ɿu* (*dɿóg)
 27. *d'ɿuk* (*d'ɿók) with Phon. 28. *ɿu* (*dɿóg)
 29. *zɿuk* (*dɿók) with Phon. 30. *ɿu* (*dɿóg)
 31. *ńɿuk* (*ńɿók) with Phon. 32. *ńɿu* (*ńɿóg)
 33. *tsɿuk* (*tsɿók) with Phon. 34. *dz'ɿu* (*dz'ɿóg)
 35. *d'iek* (*d'ɿók) with Phon. 28. *ɿu* (*dɿóg)
 36. *d'iek* (*d'ɿók) with Phon. 37. *d'ieu* (*d'ɿóg)
 38. *liek* (*gliók) and *lieu* (*glióg)

For the evolution from Arch. to Anc. Chin. see *Grammata Serica* and what has been said under the preceding groups.

The type words not within brackets are placed in the present group through Shī rimes. For the rest observe:

194*p* 'áu has the second reading *ɿók; 194*q* sâu has Phon. 196*j*; 195*h* kau has Phon. *kóg; 195*i* k'au has the same Phon. as 194*b* and 196*c*2; 195*k* xau has Phon. 196*c*1; 197*f* tieu has Phon. 196*e*3; 197*g* sieu has Phon. 196*j*.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 194 <i>a.</i> *kóg / kâu / k a o | 195 <i>d.</i> *b'óg / b'au / p'a o |
| <i>b.</i> *k'óg / k'âu / k'a o | <i>e.</i> *móg / mau / m a o |
| <i>c.</i> *g'óg / γâu / h a o | <i>f.</i> *klóg / kau / k i a o |
| <i>d.</i> *χóg / χâu / h a o | <i>g.</i> *mlóg / mau / m a o |
| <i>e.</i> *tóg / tâu / t a o | <i>h.</i> *kóg / kau / k i a o |
| <i>f.</i> *t'óg / t'âu / t'a o | <i>i.</i> *k'óg / k'au / k' i a o |
| <i>g.</i> *d'óg / d'âu / t'a o | <i>j.</i> *g'óg / γau / h i a o |
| <i>h.</i> *tsóg / tsâu / t s a o | <i>k.</i> *χóg / xau / h i a o |
| <i>i.</i> *ts'óg / ts'âu / t s'a o | 196 <i>a.</i> kɿóg / kɿu / k i u |
| <i>j.</i> *dz'óg / dz'âu / t s'a o | <i>b.</i> *g'óg / g'ɿu / k' i u |
| <i>k.</i> *sóg / sâu / s a o | <i>c.</i> χɿóg / χɿu / h i u |
| <i>l.</i> *lóg / lâu / l a o | <i>d.</i> *ɿóg / 'ɿu / y u |
| <i>m.</i> *póg / pâu / p a o | <i>e.</i> *t'óg / t'ɿu / c h o u |
| <i>n.</i> *b'óg / b'âu / p'a o | <i>f.</i> *t'óg / t'ɿu / c h'o u |
| <i>o.</i> *móg / mâu / m a o | <i>g.</i> *d'óg / d'ɿu / c h'o u |
| <i>p.</i> *óg / 'âu / a o | <i>h.</i> *s'óg / s'ɿu / s h o u |
| <i>q.</i> *sóg / sâu / s a o | <i>i.</i> *ńɿóg / ńɿu / j o u |
| 195 <i>a.</i> *kóg / kau / k i a o | <i>j.</i> *s'óg / s'ɿu / s h o u |
| <i>b.</i> *nóg / nau / n a o | <i>k.</i> *t'óg / t'ɿu / c h o u |
| <i>c.</i> *póg / pau / p a o | <i>l.</i> *t'óg / t'ɿu / c h'o u |

196m. *d'ióg / d'íu / ch'ou
 n. *d'ióg / íu / yu
 o. *s'ióg / s'íu / siu
 p. *z'ióg / íu / yu
 q. *ts'ióg / ts'íu / tsiu
 r. *dz'ióg / dz'íu / tsiu
 r'. *dz'ióg / z'íu / tsiu
 s. *n'ióg / n'íu / niu
 t. *l'ióg / l'íu / liu
 u. *p'ióg / p'íu / fou, fu

196 v. *b'ióg / b'íu / fou, fu
 x. *m'ióg / m'íu / mou
 y. *t'íóg / t'íu / ch'ou
 197 a. *tióg / tieu / (niao)
 b. *d'ióg / d'ieu / t'iao
 c. *sióg / sieu / siao
 d. *lióg / lieu / lia o
 e. *glióg / lieu / lia o
 f. *tióg / tieu / tia o
 g. *sióg / sieu / sia o¹⁾

Group XXIX.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. I 198. uong (Anc. 116)
 II 199. ðng (part of Anc. 122)
 III 200. ìung (part of Anc. 118).

Type words:

198a 冬₁宗₂ c 深₃ d 宋₄ [e 泽₅ f 蠹₆ 蝨₇ 蝨₈ 彤₉]

199a 降₁ 降₂

200a 躬₁ 宮₂ 窮₃ c 終₄ 姦₅ 中₆ d 中₇ e 姦₈ 仲₉ f 融₁₀ g 崇₁₁ h 戎₁₂ i 豐₁₃ j 忠₁₄ k 彤₁₅ l 眾₁₆ 蠹₁₇ m 隆₁₈

These Anc. finals interchange in the Shī rimes and in the hie sheng, e.g.:
 tuong : g'íung (rime in Ode 35); tsuong : yǎng : dz'íung (O. 248); d'íung : suong (O. 31); t'íung : yǎng (O. 14); etc. 198b tsuong Phon. in 200g dz'íung; the same Phon. in 199a kǎng and 198e yuong and 200m lìung; 200l tsiung Phon. in 198c dz'uong, etc.

In this group we have the Arch. -ng counterpart to the preceding -k and -g groups. However, whereas in those categories we found two distinct series, one with an open o, the Arch. »ok« group (XXV, and correspondingly the Arch. »og« group XXXVI) and one with narrow ó, the Arch. »ók« group (XXVII, and correspondingly the Arch. »óg« group XXVIII), we here observe the surprising fact that with the final -ng there was no such distinction. There may have been originally, for all we know, one »ong« group and one »óng« group, but if so they had already coalesced before the time of the Shī, for we find there only one -ng category corresponding to »ok« (»og«) and »ók« (»óg«). Then there arises the question: was our Group XXIX here an Arch. »ong« group or an »óng« group?

¹⁾ 194g3-6 Mand. tao; j3,4 tsao; o2 mou; 196b9,10 kiu; g4-6 shou; r3 tsiu; x3 mao.

The answer is obvious, if we compare it with the two *-k* groups:

	XXV	XXVII	XXIX
Div. I 180.	<i>uok</i> (* <i>ok</i>)	190. <i>uok</i> (* <i>ók</i>)	198. <i>uong</i> (* <i>óng</i>)
II 182.	<i>ák</i> (* <i>ók</i>)	191. <i>ák</i> (* <i>ók</i>)	199. <i>âng</i> (* <i>ông</i>)
III 183.	<i>iak</i> (* <i>iok</i>)	192. <i>iuk</i> (* <i>iók</i>)	200. <i>iung</i> (* <i>ióng</i>).

The revealing and conclusive fact here is that in the large Div. III we find Fin. 200 Anc. *iung* corresponding strictly to 192 Anc. *iuk* but deviating notably from 183 Anc. *iak*: to the Anc. *uok*, *ák*, *iuk* of the Arch. «*ók*» class corresponds here exactly Anc. *uong*, *âng*, *iung* of Gr. XXIX, which was consequently an «*óng*» class.

This is confirmed by the fact that both in the Shī and in other early riming texts there are a fair number of exceptional rimes in which words of our group here occasionally rime with words of the Arch. «*ung*» class to be treated below. These hedge rimes are sufficiently numerous to have caused certain prominent Chinese philologists (e. g. Tuan Yü-ts'ai, Wang Nien-sun) to combine these two classes into one, but that is certainly going too far. They are, on the whole, well distinguished, as is convincingly brought out by Kiang Yu-kao and others. But these occasional contacts are, after all, very revealing: a hedge rime *ung* : *óng* (with narrow *ó*) is understandable, a hedge rime *ung* : *ong* (with open *o*) is not.

In our «*óng*» class, just as in the «*ók*» category, Arch. **óng* has been broken into Anc. *uong*, the short *ông* has had its vowel opened into *â*: *âng*, and in *ióng* the *ó* has been further labialized into *iung*.

All the type words not placed within brackets are carried to our group here through Shī rimes. For the rest observe:

198e Anc. *yuong* has Phon. 199a; 198f *d'uong* has Phon. 200e1; the same is true of 198f2 *d'uong*, and 198f3 is etym. the same word as 198f2; 200j *iung* has Phon. 200c3; 200k *iung* has the same Phon. as 198f3; 200l1 *t'jung* in Ch'u: Chao hun rimes w. 200b; 200l2 *t'jung* has the preced. as Phon. and is etym. id. w. 200c2; 200m has Phon. 199a and in Lü: K'i hien rimes w. 200j.

Résumé of the type words:

198 a.	* <i>tông</i> / <i>tuong</i> / t u n g	200 d.	* <i>t'ióng</i> / <i>t'jung</i> / c h' u n g
b.	* <i>tsông</i> / <i>tsuong</i> / t s u n g	e.	* <i>d'ióng</i> / <i>d'jung</i> / c h' u n g
c.	* <i>dz'óng</i> / <i>dz'uong</i> / t s' u n g	f.	* <i>d'ióng</i> / <i>jung</i> / y u n g
d.	* <i>sông</i> / <i>suong</i> / s u n g	g.	* <i>dz'ióng</i> / <i>dz'jung</i> / c h' u n g
e.	* <i>g'óng</i> / <i>yuong</i> / h u n g	h.	* <i>n'ióng</i> / <i>n'jung</i> / j u n g
f.	* <i>d'óng</i> / <i>d'uong</i> / t' u n g	i.	* <i>p'ióng</i> / <i>p'jung</i> / f e n g
199 a.	* <i>k'óng</i> / <i>k'ang</i> / k i a n g	j.	* <i>t'ióng</i> / <i>t'jung</i> / c h u n g
b.	* <i>g'óng</i> / <i>g'ang</i> / h i a n g	k.	* <i>d'ióng</i> / <i>jung</i> / y u n g
200 a.	* <i>k'ióng</i> / <i>k'jung</i> / k u n g	l.	* <i>t'ióng</i> / <i>t'jung</i> / c h u n g
b.	* <i>g'ióng</i> / <i>g'jung</i> / k' i u n g	m.	* <i>gl'ióng</i> / <i>gl'jung</i> / l u n g ¹)
c.	* <i>t'ióng</i> / <i>t'jung</i> / c h u n g		

¹) 200e2 Mand. c h u n g.

Group XXX.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. I 201. *uk* (Anc. 115)
 II 202. *āk* (part of Anc. 123)
 III 203. *iwok* (Anc. 121)

Type words:

201a 谷穀穀穀 屋 獨讀 族 櫟 祿 鹿 卜 僕 沐 粟
 202a 角 渥 渥 渥 [櫟 嶽 岳 捉 朴 樸]
 203a 曲 局 [玉 獄 屬 束 辱 綠 足 續 蕡 粟 [欲]

These Anc. finals interchange in the Shī rimes and in the *hie sheng* characters, e. g.:

kāk: *uk*: *ngiwok*: *tsiwok* (rime in Ode 17); *luk*: *siwok* (O. 23); *siwok*: *d'uk*: *ńziwok* (O. 46); *kuk*: *luk*: *tsiwok* (O. 166); *muk*: *āk*: *tsiwok*: *kuk* (O. 210); *īāk*: *kuk* (O. 204); etc. 201b *uk* Phon. in 202b *āk*; the same Phon. in 201f *luk* and 203g *liwok*; 203h *tsiwok* Phon. in 202f *tšāk*; 203c2 *ngiwok* Phon. in 202e *ngāk*; the same Phon. in 201c1 *d'uk* and 203d *ziwok*, etc.

It is a remarkable fact that, whereas in Group XXVII above (the Arch. «*ók*» group) the Anc. finals *uok*: *iwok* interchange frequently and regularly both in rimes and *hie sheng*, we find here the Anc. finals *uk*: *iwok* just as frequently and regularly interchanging both in rimes and in *hie sheng*; yet very rarely do we find an interchange of Anc. *uok*: *iwok* or of Anc. *uk*: *iwok*. We demonstrated above that if Anc. *iwok* interchanged with Anc. *uok* it was because the former was Arch. **ók* and the latter Arch. **ók*. Here, in the present group, we conclude, on the contrary, that if Anc. *iwok* interchanged with Anc. *uk* it was because the former was Arch. **iwok* and the latter was Arch. **uk*; in other words, that our present group was the Arch. «*uk*» group.

It may seem audacious to draw this conclusion when we have to deal with a group containing both Anc. *āk*, *iwok* and *uk* words. Why cannot this group claim to be an Arch. «*ók*» or «*ók*» group, just as well as Groups XXV and XXVII above? Why cannot Anc. *uk* derive from an Arch. **ók* or **ók*?

There are several reasons for this. Group XXV has many contacts in rimes and *hie sheng* with the Anc. finals *āk*, *īak*, *áu*, *au*, *īäu*, *ieu*, as fully described above, and was thus clearly a *k'a i k'o u* group (**ók*); Group XXVII has likewise many contacts in rimes and in *hie sheng* with the Anc. finals *áu*, *au*, *ieu*, as registered above, and it was just as indubitably a *k'a i k'o u* category (**ók*). Our present Gr. XXX, which contains the Anc. finals *uk*, *āk*, *iwok*, has as a rule no such contacts

in rimes or in *hie sheng* with Anc. *k'ai k'ou* words of the said kinds, and it was certainly a *ho k'ou* category. This fact is confirmed by a number of hedge rimes in the *Shi* and elsewhere in which a word of our group here rimes with words ending in Arch. **-u* (see Group XXXIV below): 驢 **k'iu* : 203i *ziwok* (rime in Ode 128); 201i *muk*: 附 **b'iu*: 203d *ziwok* (O. 228); 201a1 *kuk*: 201a3 *kuk*: 垢 **ku* (O. 257); 203d *ziwok* : 具 **g'iu* (Ch'u: Li sao); etc. We must necessarily reconstruct an *u* as principal vowel in order to understand how these faulty rimes were at all possible. A rime **b'iu*: **d'iu* (203 d) might do as a makeshift but certainly not a **b'iu*: **d'io*k (or **d'io*k).

When we construe:

<i>*o</i> k > <i>u</i> ok	<i>*uk</i> > <i>uk</i>
<i>io</i> k > <i>iu</i> k	<i>*iu</i> k > <i>iw</i> ok

the second line may appear unreasonable: why should **io*k become Anc. *iu*k whereas original Arch. **iu*k goes the opposite way, Anc. *iw*ok? There is, however, really no obstacle to this reconstruction, for the two developments are of entirely different nature. The *io*k > *iu*k was a gradual closing of the labialization, resulting in a *iu*k at a comparatively late date. In the meantime original **iu*k had been exposed to a phenomenon which is common in the history of Chinese, a breaking. Just as Arch. **kang* > *kāng* > Anc. *kang*, and as **ko* > *k'o* > Anc. *kuo* (see Gr. XXXIII below), so here **k'iu*k > *k'iu'o*k > Anc. *k'iw*ok.

There remains the Anc. final 202 *dk*. We have seen that this Anc. final (occurring with the supradental initials typical of the Anc. Div. II, here for instance 202f *tṣdk*) appeared not only in the present group but also in Gr. XXV, where it derived from Arch. short **ōk*, and in Gr. XXVII, where it derived from Arch. short *ōk*. It is thus a typical final of the IIInd Division with a short principal vowel and no »medial *i*«, just like Final 15 **āt*, Final 102 **āp*, Final 46 **et*, Final 169 **ēk*, Final 128 **āk* (all in Div. II of the Sound Tables for Anc. Chin.), and we can clearly perceive that the *dk* in our present group derives from Arch. **ūk*. This reconstruction throws an explanatory light on some *hie sheng* phenomena otherwise difficult to understand: 201b **uk* (**uk*) Phon. in 202b **dk* (**ūk*); 201c1 *d'uk* (**d'uk*) same Phon. as 202c2 *īdk* (**tūk*), etc.

If our surmise of Arch. **ūk* > Anc. *dk* is right, then we might expect an Arch. final with short *ū* and »medial *i*« as well: *īūk*. Why does that not occur in our rime group XXX? For an interesting reason. The Arch. type **īūk* did really exist, but under the influence of the preceding palatal *ī* its *ū* had already very early obtained a lighter, more »ö«-like timbre, and that is the reason why **īūk* (but not *ūk*) rimes in the *ək-īək* class above: Group XIX, where we have found the following scheme:

Div. I 142. <i>ək</i> (<i>*ək</i>)	145. <i>wək</i> (<i>*wək</i>)
II 143. <i>ek</i> (<i>*ek</i>)	146. <i>wek</i> (<i>*wek</i>)
III 144. <i>īək</i> (<i>*īək</i>)	147. <i>īwək</i> (<i>*īwək</i>)
	148. <i>īuk</i> (<i>*īūk</i>)

In our Group XXX the words with Anc. finals *uk* and *iwok* as a rule never rime outside this Arch. category, and hence we may establish the general equations: Anc. *uk* = Arch. **uk*; Anc. *iwok* = Arch. **iuk*. But Anc. *dk* words occur also in two preceding Arch. groups and those belonging here must be determined individually. All the type words not within brackets are placed here through Shī rimes. For the rest observe:

202*d* Anc. *k'dk* has the same Phon. as 201*a2*—4; 202*e* *ngdk* has the Phon. 203*c2*; 202*f* *tšdk* has the Phon. 203*h*; 202*g* *p'dk*, first variant, has the Phon. 201*g*, second variant the same Phon. as 201*h*; 203*k* *iwok* has the Phon. 201*a1* and in Ch'u: T'ien wen rimes w. 201*f1*.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 201 <i>a.</i> <i>*kuk</i> / <i>kuk</i> / <i>k u</i> | 202 <i>f.</i> <i>*tsük</i> / <i>tšdk</i> / <i>c h o</i> |
| <i>b.</i> <i>*'uk</i> / <i>'uk</i> / <i>w u</i> | <i>g.</i> <i>*p'ük</i> / <i>p'äk</i> / <i>p'o</i> |
| <i>c.</i> <i>*d'uk</i> / <i>d'uk</i> / <i>t u</i> | 203 <i>a.</i> <i>*k'iuk</i> / <i>k'iwok</i> / <i>k'ü</i> |
| <i>d.</i> <i>*dz'uk</i> / <i>dz'uk</i> / <i>t s u</i> | <i>b.</i> <i>*g'iuk</i> / <i>g'iwok</i> / <i>k ü</i> |
| <i>e.</i> <i>*suk</i> / <i>suk</i> / <i>s u</i> | <i>c.</i> <i>*ngiuk</i> / <i>ngiwok</i> / <i>y ü</i> |
| <i>f.</i> <i>*luk</i> / <i>luk</i> / <i>l u</i> | <i>d.</i> <i>*d'iuk</i> / <i>d'iwok</i> / <i>s h u</i> |
| <i>g.</i> <i>*puk</i> / <i>puk</i> / <i>p u</i> | <i>e.</i> <i>*š'uk</i> / <i>š'iwok</i> / <i>s h u</i> |
| <i>h.</i> <i>*b'uk</i> / <i>b'uk</i> / <i>p u</i> | <i>f.</i> <i>*n'iuk</i> / <i>n'iwok</i> / <i>j u</i> |
| <i>i.</i> <i>*muk</i> / <i>muk</i> / <i>m u</i> | <i>g.</i> <i>*l'uk</i> / <i>l'iwok</i> / <i>l ü</i> |
| 202 <i>a.</i> <i>*kük</i> / <i>käk</i> / <i>k ü e</i> | <i>h.</i> <i>*tsiuk</i> / <i>tsiwok</i> / <i>t s u</i> |
| <i>b.</i> <i>*'ük</i> / <i>'äk</i> / <i>w o</i> | <i>i.</i> <i>*dziuk</i> / <i>ziwok</i> / <i>s ü</i> |
| <i>c.</i> <i>*tük</i> / <i>täk</i> / <i>c h o</i> | <i>j.</i> <i>*siuk</i> / <i>siwok</i> / <i>s u</i> |
| <i>d.</i> <i>*k'ük</i> / <i>k'äk</i> / <i>k'ü e</i> | <i>k.</i> <i>*giuk</i> / <i>iwok</i> / <i>y ü</i> |
| <i>e.</i> <i>*ngük</i> / <i>ngäk</i> / <i>y ü e</i> | |

Group XXXI.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

- Div. I 204. *zu* (part of Anc. 134)
 II 205. *zu* (part of Anc. 134)
 III 206. *iu* (part of Anc. 133)

Type words:

- 204*a* 資 *b* 奏 *c* 族 *d* 藪 *e* 嗽 *f* 齣 *g* 哀 *h* 戊
 205*a* 穀 *b* 燭 *c* 瞽
 206*a* 裕 *b* 馬 *c* 仆 *d* 赴 *e* 孚 *f* 務

This is the **ug* class corresponding to the preceding **uk* class:

- I 204. **ug*
- II 205. *ũg*
- III 206. *ïug*

This group is represented by a very small number of words and the rimes therefore give an insufficient guidance. The Arch. final *-g*, however, is confirmed by a number of occasional hedge-rimes with words of the **uk* class and the **óg* class; this concern 204*b*, 206*b* (riming with **uk*); 204*f* and 206*c3* (riming with **óg*); (206*d* once even rimes with **ïóng*).

In any case the final *-g* must already have been considerably weakened in Arch. times, since these words not seldom crop up as rime words to words ending in Arch. **-u*, **-ïu*.

The final *-g* is, however, amply attested through the *hie sheng* and through double readings:

- 204*a* *d'uk* (**d'uk*) and *d'zu* (**d'ug*);
- 204*c1* *ts'uk* (**ts'uk*) and *ts'zu* (**ts'ug*);
- Phon. *dz'uk* (**dz'uk*) in 204*c2* *ts'zu* (**ts'ug*);
- Phon. *ts'iwok* (**ts'ïuk*) in 204*d1* *szu* (**sug*);
- Phon. *šiwok* (**šïuk*) in 204*d2* *szu* (**sug*);
- Phon. *ńiwok* (**ńïuk*) in 204*e* *nzu* (**nug*);
- Phon. *k'ák* (**k'ũk*) in 205*a* *kzu* (**kũg*);
- 205*b1* *îák* (**tũk*) and *tzu* (**tũg*);
- Phon. *îák* (**tũk*) in 205*b2* *tzu* (**tũg*);
- 205*c* *mák* (**mũk*) and *mzu* (**mũg*);
- Phon. *kuk* (**kuk*) in 206*a* *ïu* (**gïug*);
- Phon. *puk* (**puk*) in 206*c1* *p'ïu* (**p'ïug*);
- Several *muk* (**muk*, Rad. 75, 196) have Phon. 206*d* *mïu* (**mïug*).

When the final *-g* dropped, the remaining *-u*, *-ïu* developed exactly like the original Arch. **-u*, *-ïu*, see Group XXXIV below.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 204 <i>a</i> . <i>*d'ug</i> / <i>d'zu</i> / t o u | 205 <i>a</i> . <i>*kũg</i> / <i>kzu</i> / k o u |
| b. <i>*tsug</i> / <i>tszu</i> / t s o u | b. <i>*tũg</i> / <i>tzu</i> / t o u |
| c. <i>*ts'ug</i> / <i>ts'zu</i> / t s' o u | c. <i>*mũg</i> / <i>mzu</i> / m o u |
| d. <i>*sug</i> / <i>szu</i> / s o u | 206 <i>a</i> . <i>*gïug</i> / <i>ïu</i> / y ü |
| e. <i>*nug</i> / <i>nzu</i> / n o u | b. <i>*îïug</i> / <i>tšïu</i> / c h u |
| f. <i>*p'ug</i> / <i>p'zu</i> / p' o u | c. <i>*p'ïug</i> / <i>p'ïu</i> / f u |
| g. <i>*mug</i> / <i>mzu</i> / m o u | d. <i>*mïug</i> / <i>mïu</i> / w u |

Group XXXII.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. I 207. *ung* (part of Anc. 114)

II 208. *ang* (part of Anc. 122)

III 209. *iwong* (Anc. 120)

Type words:

207a 工攻功公 ㄅ 空控 c 証 d 東 e 恫 f 同 董動 g 總縱 h 聰 送 j 濃
k 龐 l ㄌ 奉 m 逢蓬 n 蒙 𡵚 蒙

208a 巷 ㄅ 雙 c 邦 d 厖 [e 江虹 f 空 g 閑 h 項 i 巷 j 撞 k 愈 l 蚌

209a 共恭 ㄅ 邛 c 顛 d 凶 訕 e 離 離 獲 f 鍾 樅 g 衡 量 h 茸 i 傭 j 連 k 庸 墉
鏞 勇 用 容 l 縱 m 從 n 松 訟 誦 o 竦 p 龍 q 丰 葑 r 縫 s 龍 (-龍)

These Anc. finals interchange freely in Shī rimes and in *hie sheng*: *yung*: *kiwong*: *pang* (rime in Ode 265); *d'ung*: *pang* (O. 213); *p'iwong*: *tung*: *dz'iwong* (O. 125); *ang*: *iwong* (O. 101); *p'iwong*: *yang*: *sung* (O. 88); etc. 207a *kung* Phon. in 208e *kang*; 209q1 *p'iwong* Phon. in 208c *pang*; 209j *d'iwong* Phon. in 207f3 *d'ung*; 209m *dz'iwong* Phon. in 207g2 *tsung*, etc.

Obviously we have here the Arch. **ung* class corresponding to the **uk* class in Group XXX above:

Div. I 201. *uk* (**uk*)

II 202. *ak* (**ūk*)

III 203. *iwok* (**iuk*)

I 207. *ung* (**ung*)

II 208. *ang* (**ūng*)

III 209. *iwong* (**iung*)

Let us compare this with Gr. XXIX above:

XXIX

Div. I 198. *uong* (**ōng*)

II 199. *ang* (**ōng*)

III 200. *iung* (**iōng*)

XXXII

I 207. *ung* (**ung*)

II 208. *ang* (**ūng*)

III 209. *iwong* (**iung*)

Observe that Anc. *uong* with *iung* on the one hand, and Anc. *ung* with *iwong* on the other are kept well apart in the Shī rimes and generally also in the *hie sheng*. There are a number of contacts, it is true, but they are not so numerous as to disprove the fact that the two classes can be well distinguished.

In Div. II some Anc. *âng* derive from Arch. **ông* and some others — those in our present group — derive from Arch. **ũng*. For a strict parallel see the «uk» class XXX above (**ăk* < **ũk*). The **ũng* nature of our Arch. final 208 is corroborated by the *hie sheng*: 208e *kâng* (**kũng*) has Phon. 207a **kung*; 208f *k'âng* (**k'ũng*) has Phon. 207b **k'ung*; 208j *d'âng* (**d'ũng*) has Phon. 207f2 **d'ung*; 208c *pâng* (**pũng*) has Phon. 209q1 *p'iwong* (**p'iwong*); etc.

The evolution from Arch. to Anc. Chin. is entirely parallel with that described in the «uk» group (XXX) above.

Most Anc. *ung* and all Anc. *iwong* belong to this Arch. group; but since *âng* has several origins, those belonging here must be determined individually.

Of the type words, those not put within brackets are placed in our present group through Shī rimes. Further:

208e1 *kâng* in Ch'u: Kiu chang rimes w. 207d and has Phon. 207a; the same Phon. in 208e2 which has the readings *kâng* and *yung*; 208f *k'âng* (second reading *k'ung*) has Phon. 207b; 208g *yâng* (second reading *yung*) has Phon. 209a1; 208h has Phon. 207a1; 208i *i'âng* has a second reading *i'iwong* (**i'iwong*); 208j *d'âng* has Phon. 207f2; 208k *tş'âng* is Phon. in 207h; 208l *b'âng* has Phon. 209q.

Résumé of the type words:

207 a. <i>*kung</i> / <i>kung</i> / <i>kung</i>	208 j. <i>*d'ũng</i> / <i>d'âng</i> / <i>ch u a n g</i>
b. <i>*k'ung</i> / <i>k'ung</i> / <i>k'ung</i>	k. <i>*ts'ũng</i> / <i>ts'âng</i> / <i>ch u a n g</i>
c. <i>*g'ung</i> / <i>yung</i> / <i>hung</i>	l. <i>*b'ũng</i> / <i>b'âng</i> / <i>p a n g</i>
d. <i>*tung</i> / <i>tung</i> / <i>tung</i>	209 a. <i>*k'iwong</i> / <i>k'iwong</i> / <i>kung</i>
e. <i>*t'ung</i> / <i>t'ung</i> / <i>t'ung</i>	b. <i>*g'iwong</i> / <i>g'iwong</i> / <i>k'iwong</i>
f. <i>*d'ũng</i> / <i>d'ung</i> / <i>t'ung</i>	c. <i>*ng'iwong</i> / <i>ng'iwong</i> / <i>yung</i>
g. <i>*tsung</i> / <i>tsung</i> / <i>tsung</i>	d. <i>*xiung</i> / <i>xiung</i> / <i>hiung</i>
h. <i>*ts'ung</i> / <i>ts'ung</i> / <i>ts'ung</i>	e. <i>*iung</i> / <i>iung</i> / <i>yung</i>
i. <i>*sung</i> / <i>sung</i> / <i>sung</i>	f. <i>*i'iwong</i> / <i>i'iwong</i> / <i>chung</i>
j. <i>*nung</i> / <i>nung</i> / <i>nung</i>	g. <i>*i'iwong</i> / <i>i'iwong</i> / <i>ch'ung</i>
k. <i>*lung</i> / <i>lung</i> / <i>lung</i>	h. <i>*níung</i> / <i>níung</i> / <i>jung</i>
l. <i>*pung</i> / <i>pung</i> / <i>peng</i>	i. <i>*t'iwong</i> / <i>t'iwong</i> / <i>ch'ung</i>
m. <i>*b'ung</i> / <i>b'ung</i> / <i>p'eng</i>	j. <i>*d'iwong</i> / <i>d'iwong</i> / <i>chung</i>
n. <i>*mung</i> / <i>mung</i> / <i>meng</i>	k. <i>*d'iwong</i> / <i>iung</i> / <i>yung</i>
208 a. <i>*g'ũng</i> / <i>yâng</i> / <i>hiang</i>	l. <i>*ts'iwong</i> / <i>ts'iwong</i> / <i>ts'ung</i>
b. <i>*sũng</i> / <i>sâng</i> / <i>shuang</i>	m. <i>*dz'iwong</i> / <i>dz'iwong</i> / <i>ts'ung</i>
c. <i>*pũng</i> / <i>pâng</i> / <i>pang</i>	n. <i>*dz'iwong</i> / <i>ziung</i> / <i>sung</i>
d. <i>*mũng</i> / <i>mâng</i> / <i>mang</i>	o. <i>*s'iwong</i> / <i>s'iwong</i> / <i>sung</i>
e. <i>*kũng</i> / <i>kâng</i> / <i>k'iang</i>	p. <i>*liung</i> / <i>liung</i> / <i>lung</i>
f. <i>*k'ũng</i> / <i>k'âng</i> / <i>k'iang</i>	p. <i>*p'iwong</i> / <i>p'iwong</i> / <i>feng</i>
g. <i>*g'ũng</i> / <i>yâng</i> / <i>hiang</i>	r. <i>*b'iwong</i> / <i>b'iwong</i> / <i>feng</i>
h. <i>*g'ũng</i> / <i>yâng</i> / <i>hiang</i>	s. <i>*t'liung</i> / <i>i'iwong</i> / <i>ch'ung</i> ¹⁾
i. <i>*t'ũng</i> / <i>i'âng</i> / <i>ch u a n g</i>	

¹⁾ 207/3 Mand. *tung*.

Group XXXIII.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. I	210. <i>uo</i> (part of Anc. 131)	I	214. <i>uo</i> (part of Anc. 131)
II	211. <i>a</i> (part of Anc. 62)	II	215. <i>wa</i> (part of Anc. 65)
III	212. <i>ivo</i> (part of Anc. 132)	III	216. <i>iu</i> (part of Anc. 133)
	213. <i>ia</i> (part of Anc. 63).		

Type words:

210 a 鼓顧股穀故畧固監b苦c戶扈乎岠怙壺胡酤祐d五午e虎
許濟f烏g都閣堵h土吐徐i瘡荼塗圖徒屠杜j怒帑k組租
祖l徂m蘇素n虞魯[賈]

211a 家 稼 葭 蝦 𪚩 𪚪 b 下 夏 c 暇 駁 瑕 d 牙 御 e 狍 f 馬 [g 假 賈 h 衙
i 拒 j 拏]

212 a居琚据据車舉 b虛 c渠虞拒 d魚御禦圍 e許 f渚 g處 h鼠
黍書暑紆舒 i女茹 j阻苴 k楚 l助 m所 n櫓 o除著紆紆 p予
餘豫奮 q女 r且 s苴沮阻 t沮 u邪莧鰓緒 v與譽輿旗 x胥清
y盧蘆 z筭 a'旅

213a 菩 b 舍 c 野 d 置 e 邪 [f 社]

214 a 呱 b 狐 c 補圓 d 痛銷浦 e 蒲 f 撫

215a 瓜窠卜華[c 姪]

216 a 踽踽 b 羽雨宇芋 c 俛虞娛虞虞 d 吁訐吁昂棚 e 夫甫脯
脯 f 父釜輔 g 武舞 h 膚 [賦 躍]

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the Shī rimes and in the hie sheng characters:

ia : t̥iwo : kuo : kiwo : ka (rime in Ode 188); *γuo : piu : ya* (O. 160); *γwa : piu* (O. 163); *ts' iwo : ma* (O. 9); *ia : ma : miu* (O. 77); *kuo : ya : jiu* (O. 136); *ma : tsuo : miu* (O. 78); *ya : γiu* (O. 162); *b' iu : ma : γuo : ya : niwo : jiu* (O. 237).

Same Phon. in 210a5 *kuo* and 212a1 *kiwo*; 216e2 *piu* Phon. in 214c *puo*; 216c *ngiu* with Phon. *nguo*; 210d1 *nguo* Phon. in 211h *nga*; 212r read *ts'ia* and *tsiwo*, Phon. in 210k *tsuo*; 211d2 read *ngiwo* and *nga*; 213a *tsia* Phon. in 210g1 *tuo* and 212f *tsiwo*; 212p1 *iwo* Phon. in 213c *ia*; 215a1 *kwa* Phon. in 214a *kuo*.

As our table above shows, all the Anc. finals in this group end in vowel. This by no means precludes the possibility that the group may have had an Arch. final

consonant — we have witnessed this phenomenon in several groups. In fact, we might be tempted to suggest an Arch. final *-g* in our group because of a number of rimes both in Shī and in other early poetry with words of the Arch. **dg* group (Gr. XVIII) as described under that group. But there is a decisive obstacle to such a surmise. If we had here an Arch. *-g* group, its words would inevitably occur as occasional rimes with words ending in Arch. *-k* (the modern **j u s h e n g** words); yet this is practically never the case. Therefore a Shī rime like 惡 Arch. **dg*: 故 Anc. *kuo* (Ode 81) is not due to an Arch. *-g* in the second member but to the fact that the Arch. *-g* in the first member was reduced and replaced by a glottoal stop: **dg > o* at a very early date in some part of the Arch. language, as described under Group XVIII above.

Our present group consequently presents a row of Arch. finals with vowel ending. It is easy to realize that we have here the Arch. **o* group. It is quite clear that the Anc. *a* in some of them is not primary, since it can rime not only with Anc. *iuo* but even with Anc. *iu*, all the more since it does not rime with the words of the **a* group discussed below (Group XXXV). The Arch. vowel must have belonged to the **o* category. Yet it was obviously the most **open* in the group, since it could give Anc. *a*, and hence it was an Arch. **d*. We have already described how a **kă* through breaking via *kăă > kăa* became Anc. *ka* with *a* *aigu*.

We have likewise argued that the *uo* in Final 210 was the result of breaking: Arch. **ko > Anc. kuo*. That this is so is confirmed by words like 210*o* read Anc. *kuo* and *ka*; or 211*h nga* with Phon. 210*d1 nguo*; or 211*j ūa* with Phon. *nuo*; or 210*k tsuo* with Phon. *ts'ia*; or 210*g tuo* with Phon. *ts'ia*; and so on. It is quite evident that the *uo* words originally had *k' a i k' o u* (**ko* etc.), not *h o k' o u* (**kuo* etc.).

Similarly 212 Anc. *iuo* must likewise have had an Arch. *k' a i k' o u* and been exposed to breaking: **io > iuo*. This is proved by cases like 212*d2 ngiwo* with a second reading *nga* (211*d2*); 212*r* read *tsiwo* and *ts'ia*; 212*u* read *ziwo* and *zia* (213*e*); 212*p1 iwo* Phon. in 213*c ia*, etc. Quite evidently all these words had Arch. *k' a i k' o u*: **io*.

It should be observed, however, that the Anc. *uo* deriving from Arch. *k' a i k' o u* **-o* (**ko* etc., Fin. 210) must be carefully distinguished from another set of words with Anc. *uo* which really do derive from an Arch. *h o k' o u* **-uo* (in Anc. Chin. coalescing with the *-uo < -o*): that is the Arch. Final 214. Here we find a 214*a* Anc. *kuo* with Phon. 215*a* Anc. *kwa*, and a 214*z* Anc. *k'uo* with the same Phon. as 215*c k'wa*; the Arch. *h o k' o u* is unmistakable. We have thus arrived, so far, at the following Arch. finals:

K' a i k' o u			H o k' o u		
Div.	I	210. <i>*o</i> (Anc. <i>uo</i>)	I	214. <i>uo</i> (Anc. <i>uo</i>)	
	II	211. <i>d</i> (Anc. <i>a</i>)	II	215. <i>uă</i> (Anc. <i>wa</i>)	
	III	212. <i>io</i> (Anc. <i>iuo</i>)	III	216. <i>?</i> (Anc. <i>iu</i>)	
		213. <i>iă</i> (Anc. <i>ia</i>)			

We must expect in the h o k'o u column an Arch. *ɿwo* in Div. III, corresponding to the Arch. **ɿo* of the k'a i k'o u column. Where do we find it? Obviously in Arch. Final 216, Anc. *ɿu*. That these Anc. *ɿu* words had not an »u« vocalism in Arch. Chin. is plainly seen from the fact that they rime with Anc. *a* (**d*) and *ɿwo* (**ɿo*); they must have had an »o« vocalism. However, Arch. **ɿwo* (h o k'o u) has developed into Anc. *ɿu*. We are then authorized to fill in the last line of our table above thus:

III 216. **ɿwo* (Anc. *ɿu*).

This satisfies the Shī rimes and the h i e s h e n g beautifully (cf. the list above):

**g'wo* : *pɿwo* : *g'd* (rime in Ode 160); *g'wǎ* : *plɿwo* (O. 163); *tɕ'ɿo* : *mǎ* (O. 9); *dǎd* : *mǎ* : *mɿwo* (O. 77); *ko* : *g'd* : *gɿwo* (O. 136); *mǎ* : *tso* : *mɿwo* (O. 78); *g'd* : *χɿwo* (O. 162); *b'ɿwo* : *mǎ* : *χo* : *g'd* : *nɿo* : *gɿwo* (O. 237).

210a5 **ko* same Phon. as 212a1 *kɿo*; 216e2 *pɿwo*; 214c *pwo*; 216c *ngɿwo*: Phon. *ngo*; 210d1 *ngo*; 211h *ngǎ*; 212r *ts'ǎ* and *tsɿo*; 210k *tso*; 211d2 *ngɿo* and *ngǎ*; 213a *ǐǎ*: 210g1 *to*; 212f *ǐ'ɿo*; 212p1 *dɿo*; 213c *dǎ*; 215a1 *kwǎ*; 214a *kwo*.

None of these Anc. finals are limited to our group here, they all also contain words belonging to other groups. Those belonging here must therefore be determined from case to case. Those type words not put within brackets are placed in our category here through Shī rimes. For the rest:

210o Anc. *kuo* and *ka* in Yi Chou shu: Ta ming wu rimes w. 212g; 211g1 *ka* in Ch'u: Chao hun r. w. 210a5; 211h *nga* in Ch'u: Kiu pien r. w. 216j and has Phon. 210d1; 211i *tɕa* has Phon. 212r; 211j *na* has the same Phon. as 210j; 213f *zɿa* has the element 210h1 *t'uo* and is cognate to that word; 215c *k'wa* in Ch'u: Ta chao r. w. 210g1; 216i *pɿu* in Ch'u: Ta chao r. w. 210a5; 216j *g'ɿu* has Phon. 216a2.

Résumé of the type words:

- 210 a. **ko* / *kuo* / k u
- b. **k'o* / *k'uo* / k'u
- c. **g'o* / *γuo* / h u
- d. **ngo* / *nguo* / w u
- e. **χo* / *χuo* / h u
- f. **o* / *'uo* / w u
- g. **to* / *tuo* / t u
- h. **t'o* / *t'uo* / t'u
- i. **d'o* / *d'uo* / t'u
- j. **no* / *nno* / n u
- k. **tso* / *tsuo* / t s u
- l. **dz'o* / *dz'uo* / t s'u
- m. **so* / *suo* / s u
- n. **lo* / *luo* / l u
- o. **ko* / *kuo* / k u
- 211 a. **kǎ* / *ka* / k i a
- b, c. **g'ǎ* / *γa* / h i a

- 211 d. **ngǎ* / *nga* / y a
- e. **pǎ* / *pa* / p a
- f. **mǎ* / *ma* / m a
- g. *kǎ* / *ka* / k i a
- h. **ngǎ* / *nga* / y a
- i. **tsǎ* / *tɕa* / c h a
- j. **nǎ* / *na* / n a
- 212 a. **kɿo* / *kɿwo* / k ü
- b. **k'ɿo* / *k'ɿwo* / k'ü
- c. **g'ɿo* / *g'ɿwo* / k'ü
- d. **ngɿo* / *ngɿwo* / y ü
- e. **χɿo* / *χɿwo* / h ü
- f. **ǐɿo* / *tɕɿwo* / c h u
- g. **ǐ'ɿo* / *tɕ'ɿwo* / c h'u
- h. **sɿo* / *sɿwo* / s h u
- i. **nɿo* / *nɿwo* / j u
- j. **tɕɿo* / *tɕɿwo* / t s u

- 212 k. *ts'io / ts'wo / ch'u
 l. *dz'io / dz'wo / chu
 m. *sio / siwo / (s o)
 n. *t'io / t'wo / ch'u
 o. *d'io / d'wo / ch'u
 p. *dio / iwo / y ü
 q. *nio / niwo / n ü
 r. *tsio / tswo / ts ü
 s. *ts'io / ts'wo / ts'ü
 t. *dz'io / dz'wo / ts'ü
 u. *dzio / ziwo / s ü
 v. *zio / iwo / y ü
 x. *sio / siwo / s ü
 y. *lio / liwo / l ü
 z. *kljo / kjiwo / k ü
 a. *gljo / ljiwo / l ü
 213 a. *iä / t'ia / che
 b. *s'ia / s'ia / she
 c. *d'ia / ia / ye
 d. *ts'ia / ts'ia / tsie
 e. *dz'ia / zia / sie

- 213 f. *d'ia / zia / she
 214 a. *kwo / kuo / k u
 b. *g'wo / guo / h u
 c. *pwo / puo / p u
 d. *p'wo / p'uo / p'u
 e. *b'wo / b'uo / p'u
 f. *χmwo / χuo / h u
 215 a. *kwä / kwa / k u a
 b. *g'wä / gwa / h u a
 c. *k'wä / k'wa / k' u a
 216 a. *k'wo / k'iu / k ü
 b. *g'wo / j'iu / y ü
 c. *ng'wo / ng'iu / y ü
 d. *χ'wo / χ'iu / h ü
 e. *p'wo / p'iu / f u
 f. *b'wo / b'iu / f u
 g. *m'wo / m'iu / w u
 h. *pl'wo / pl'iu / f u
 i. *p'wo / p'iu / f u
 j. *g'wo / g'iu / k'ü.¹⁾

Group XXXIV.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. I 217. *zu* (part of Anc. 134)

III 218. *iu* (part of Anc. 133)

Type words:

- 217a 句 苟 考 覲 媾 𠂔 口 c 侯 餗 餗 後 后 逅 厚 d 偶 e 樞 斗 味 g 豆
 h 走 i 漏 [j 寇]
 218a 枸 駒 𠂔 驅 c 具 d 隅 愚 e 餗 𠂔 f 株 g 蹠 h 愈 愉 榆 渝 楸
 i 主 j 姝 k 艾 樹 l 𠂔 m 孺 濡 𠂔 n 諏 o 取 趨 p 附 q 侮 r 婁 婁
 s 數 [t 須 u 乳]

These Anc. finals interchange freely in the Shī rimes and the *hie sheng*:

n'ziu: *γzu*: *iu* (rime in Ode 80); *iu*: *γzu*: *k'zu*: *iu*: *m'iu* (O. 192); *d'zu*: *g'iu*: *n'ziu* (O. 164): etc.; 217a read *kzu* and *k'iu*; 217d *ngzu* with the same Phon. as 218d *ng'iu*; 217f2 *tzu* with the same Phon. as 218f *t'iu*; 218a *k'iu* with Phon. 217a1 *kzu*, etc.

¹⁾ 210i7 Mand. t u; 212c2,3 k ü.

The words of this group do not as a rule rime with any of the preceding groups (those which had Arch. final consonants),¹⁾ and it is perfectly clear that they terminated in vowel in Arch. Chin. as well. Their Arch. values are easily determined. Whereas the preceding group was an Arch. »o» group, we have here the Arch. »u» group. We have the *u* both with and without medial *i*. In the latter case, the Arch. final *iu* has survived down to Anc. Chin. In the former case, a parasitic *ə* has crept in before the *u* (as in German *hūs* > *h^aus*):

Div. I 217. **u* (Anc. *ɤu*)

Div. III 218. **iu* (Anc. *iu*)

That this is correct is confirmed by the very system of finals in Anc. Chin. There we find (Table X, pp. 234, 266—268):

Div. I *uo* —

Div. III *iuo* *iu*

Anc. Chin. possessed *-iu*, but no corresponding *-u*. We should expect it to have existed in Arch. Chin. and in that case, naturally, become hidden behind the Anc. final *-ɤu* which regularly interchanges with *-iu* in rimes and *h i e s h e n g*.

The Anc. finals *ɤu* and *iu* comprise also words belonging to other Arch. groups than the present one, and those belonging here must therefore be determined individually. Those type-words not within brackets are placed here through Shī rimes. Further:

217j *k'ɤu* in Lü: Kuei kung rimes w. 217g; 218t *s'iu* is etym. *id* w. the word which is Phon. in 218m; 218u *ń'iu* in Li: Yüe ling rimes w. a word (rad. 172) with Phon. 217a.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 217 a. * <i>ku</i> / <i>kɤu</i> / <i>k o u</i> | 218 g. * <i>d'iu</i> / <i>d'iu</i> / <i>c h'u</i> |
| b. * <i>k'u</i> / <i>k'ɤu</i> / <i>k'o u</i> | h. * <i>d'iu</i> / <i>iu</i> / <i>y ü</i> |
| c. * <i>g'u</i> / <i>ɣɤu</i> / <i>h o u</i> | i. * <i>t'iu</i> / <i>t'siu</i> / <i>c h u</i> |
| d. * <i>ngu</i> / <i>ngɤu</i> / <i>o u</i> | j. * <i>t'iu</i> / <i>t's'iu</i> / <i>c h'u</i> |
| e. * <i>u</i> / <i>ɤu</i> / <i>o u</i> | k. * <i>d'iu</i> / <i>z'iu</i> / <i>s h u</i> |
| f. * <i>tu</i> / <i>tɤu</i> / <i>t o u</i> | l. * <i>tɕ'iu</i> / <i>tɕ'iu</i> / <i>c h'u</i> |
| g. * <i>d'u</i> / <i>d'ɤu</i> / <i>t o u</i> | m. * <i>ńiu</i> / <i>ń'iu</i> / <i>j u</i> |
| h. * <i>tsu</i> / <i>tsɤu</i> / <i>t s o u</i> | n. * <i>tsiu</i> / <i>tsiu</i> / <i>t s ü</i> |
| i. * <i>lu</i> / <i>lɤu</i> / <i>l o u</i> | o. * <i>ts'iu</i> / <i>ts'iu</i> / <i>t s'ü</i> |
| j. * <i>k'u</i> / <i>k'ɤu</i> / <i>k'o u</i> | p. * <i>b'iu</i> / <i>b'iu</i> / <i>f u</i> |
| 218 a. * <i>k'iu</i> / <i>k'iu</i> / <i>k ü</i> | q. * <i>m'iu</i> / <i>m'iu</i> / <i>w u</i> |
| b. * <i>k'iu</i> / <i>k'iu</i> / <i>k'ü</i> | r. * <i>gl'iu</i> / <i>l'iu</i> / <i>l ü</i> |
| c. * <i>g'iu</i> / <i>g'iu</i> / <i>k ü</i> | s. * <i>sl'iu</i> / <i>s'iu</i> / <i>s h u</i> |
| d. * <i>ngiu</i> / <i>ngiu</i> / <i>y ü</i> | t. * <i>s'iu</i> / <i>s'iu</i> / <i>s ü</i> |
| e. * <i>iu</i> / <i>iu</i> / <i>y ü</i> | u. * <i>ńiu</i> / <i>ń'iu</i> / <i>j u</i> |
| f. * <i>t'iu</i> / <i>t'iu</i> / <i>c h u</i> | |

¹⁾ A contact with words of type **.uk* appears in a very few hedge rimes discussed in Group XXX above.

Group XXXV.

This Arch. group comprises words with the following Anc. finals:

Div. I 219.	<i>á</i> (part of Anc. 61)	223.	<i>uá</i> (part of Anc. 64)
Div. II 220.	<i>a</i> (part of Anc. 62)	224.	<i>ua</i> (part of Anc. 65)
Div. III 221.	<i>ia</i> (part of Anc. 63)		—
	222. <i>ié</i> (part of Anc. 126)	225.	<i>wié</i> (part of Anc. 129).

Type words:

219a 歌b可c何河荷賀d我俄叢叢e阿f多g它他佗h絕沓
 佗i左佐j僕磋瑤k瘥l娑m羅蘿
 220a 加珈嘉駕b差c沙黠d麻[e多]
 221a 蛇b嗟[c也]
 222a 椅b錡c宜儀議d犧e椅猗f池馳地地g蛇h施i離
 縉羅j隈罷k皮l靡[m義n戲o倚]
 223a 過b邁c禍和d叱訛e波f啞g磨[h貨i隨j挫k胘
 224a 瓦[b化c壑]
 225a 為b吹[c虧d危e垂f隨g羸]

These Anc. finals interchange in the Shī rimes and the hie sheng:

dié : *ma* : *ká* (rime in Ode 139); *tsá* : *ngjié* (O. 214); *ngjié* : *ka* : *chá* (O. 156); *ts'wíé* : *γwá* (O. 85); *ngwa* : *ngjié* (O. 189); etc. 219d *ngá* Phon. in 222m *ngjié*; 221c *ia* Phon. in 219g2 *t'á* and in 222f1 *d'ie*; 222k *b'jié* Phon. in 223e *puá*; 220d *ma* Phon. in 222l *mjié*, etc.

The words of this group as a rule never rime with words that have a final consonant, and it is easily seen that we have here the Arch. »a» group:

Div. I 219.	* <i>á</i> (Anc. <i>á</i>)	223.	<i>uá</i> (Anc. <i>uá</i>)
Div. II 220.	<i>a</i> (Anc. <i>a</i>)	224.	<i>ua</i> (Anc. <i>ua</i>)
Div. III 221.	<i>ia</i> (Anc. <i>ia</i>)		—
	222. <i>ia</i> (Anc. <i>ié</i>)	225.	<i>wia</i> (Anc. <i>wié</i>)

Whereas the weak *i* in Div. III has not produced an »i-umlaut» in Anc. Chin. (**ia* > *ia*), the strong *i* in Div. IV. has done so: *ia* > *ié*.

All the Anc. finals here comprise also words that belong to other Arch. groups, and those belonging here have to be determined from case to case.

Those type-words not put within brackets are all placed in our group here through Shī rimes. For the rest:

220e Anc. *īa* has Phon. 219f; 221c *īa* is Phon. in 219g; 222m *ngjiē* in Yi: Kua 50 rimes w. 219c1; 222n *χjiē* in Li: Ju hing r. w. 222m; 222o *īē* in Lao: Shun hua r. w. 223c1; 223h *χuā* in Lao: Shou wei r. w. 223a1; 223i *d'uā* in Kungyang: Hi 21 r. w. 225a; 223j *tsuā* in Chuang: Shan mu r. w. 222c3; 223k *ts'uā* in Shu: Kao Yao mo r. w. 223i; 224b *χwa* in Yi: Hi ts'ī r. w. 222c1; 224c *tsua* has the same Phon. as 223j,k; 225c *k'jwiē* in Ch'u: Li sao r. w. 222i1; 225d *ngjwiē* in Kuan: Pan fa r. w. 223i; 225e *zwiē* in Li: K'ü li r. w. 222o; 225f *zwiē* in Lao: Wu wei r. w. 225b and in Lun: Wei tsī r. w. a *kwa* having rad. 187 and the same Phon. as 223a; 225g *ljwiē* in Lao: Wu wei r. w. 225b.

Résumé of the type words:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 219 a. * <i>kā</i> / <i>kā</i> / k o | 222 i. * <i>lia</i> / <i>ljie</i> / l i |
| b. * <i>k'ā</i> / <i>k'ā</i> / k'o | j. * <i>pia</i> / <i>pjiē</i> / p i |
| c. * <i>g'ā</i> / <i>g'ā</i> / h o | k. * <i>b'ia</i> / <i>b'jiē</i> / p'i |
| d. * <i>ngā</i> / <i>ngā</i> / o | l. * <i>mia</i> / <i>mjiē</i> / m i |
| e. * <i>ā</i> / <i>ā</i> / o | m. * <i>ngia</i> / <i>ngjiē</i> / y i |
| f. * <i>tā</i> / <i>tā</i> / t o | n. * <i>χia</i> / <i>χjiē</i> / h i |
| g. * <i>t'ā</i> / <i>t'ā</i> / t'o | o. * <i>ia</i> / <i>īē</i> / y i |
| h. * <i>d'ā</i> / <i>d'ā</i> / t'o | 223 a. * <i>kwā</i> / <i>kuā</i> / k u o |
| i. * <i>tsā</i> / <i>tsā</i> / t s o | b. * <i>k'wā</i> / <i>k'wā</i> / k'u o |
| j. * <i>ts'ā</i> / <i>ts'ā</i> / t s'o | c. * <i>g'wā</i> / <i>γuā</i> / h u o, h o |
| k. * <i>dz'ā</i> / <i>dz'ā</i> / t s'o | d. * <i>ngwā</i> / <i>nguā</i> / o |
| l. * <i>sā</i> / <i>sā</i> / s o | e. * <i>pwā</i> / <i>puā</i> / p o |
| m. * <i>lā</i> / <i>lā</i> / l o | f. * <i>p'wā</i> / <i>p'uā</i> / p'o |
| 220 a. * <i>ka</i> / <i>ka</i> / k i a | g. * <i>mwā</i> / <i>muā</i> / m o |
| b. * <i>ts'a</i> / <i>ts'a</i> / c h'a | h. * <i>χwā</i> / <i>χuā</i> / h u o |
| c. * <i>sa</i> / <i>sa</i> / s h a | i. * <i>d'wā</i> / <i>d'uā</i> / t o |
| d. * <i>ma</i> / <i>ma</i> / m a | j. * <i>tswā</i> / <i>tsuā</i> / t s o |
| e. * <i>ta</i> / <i>īa</i> / c h a | k. * <i>ts'wā</i> / <i>ts'uā</i> / t s'o |
| 221 a. * <i>d'ia</i> / <i>dē'ia</i> / s h e | 224 a. * <i>ngwa</i> / <i>ngwa</i> / w a |
| b. * <i>tsia</i> / <i>tsia</i> / t s i e | b. * <i>χwa</i> / <i>χwa</i> / h u a |
| c. * <i>dia</i> / <i>ia</i> / y e | c. * <i>tswa</i> / <i>tšwa</i> / c h u a |
| 222 a. * <i>kia</i> / <i>kjiē</i> / k i | 225 a. * <i>gwia</i> / <i>jwiē</i> / w e i |
| b. * <i>g'ia</i> / <i>g'jiē</i> / k'i | b. * <i>ī'wia</i> / <i>ts'wiē</i> / c h'ue i |
| c. * <i>ngia</i> / <i>ngjiē</i> / y i | c. * <i>k'wia</i> / <i>k'jwiē</i> / k'ue i |
| d. * <i>χia</i> / <i>χjiē</i> / h i | d. * <i>ngwia</i> / <i>ngjwiē</i> / w e i |
| e. * <i>ia</i> / <i>īē</i> / y i | e. * <i>d'wia</i> / <i>zwiē</i> / c h'ue i |
| f. * <i>d'ia</i> / <i>d'ie</i> / c h'ī | f. * <i>dzwia</i> / <i>zwiē</i> / s u e i |
| g. * <i>dia</i> / <i>ie</i> / y i | g. * <i>lwia</i> / <i>ljwiē</i> / l e i. ¹⁾ |
| h. * <i>šia</i> / <i>šie</i> / s h ī | |

* * *

¹⁾ 219d1 Pek. w o; 222/4 is quite irregular: Anc. *d'i*, Mand. t i; but the Arch. **ia* is attested by rimes in Shī, Yi, Ta Tai li, Likī, Ch'u ts'ī.

In this paper I have deliberately abstained from all so-called »phonemic« speculations. Since I have tried in my historical review to determine all the elements of a Chinese language spoken in early Chou time, and similarly all the details of a northern Chinese language in Sui time, it might seem advisable to sum up these facts in a synchronic description, first of Archaic Chinese and then of Ancient Chinese, and in that connection to try to reduce all the phonetic details deduced through my diachronic demonstration to a smaller number of fundamental »phonemes« in each of the said languages. But in my opinion nothing would be gained by such an experiment. When we have in Anc. Chin.:

Div. I *kuân*

Div. II *kwan*

u existing before *â* but not before *a*, and *w* existing before *a* but not before *â*, it would be tempting to state that *u* and *w* are two aspects of the same »phoneme« and write either in both cases: *kuân: kuan*, or in both cases: *kwân: kwan*. But that would be quite arbitrary¹⁾ and, moreover, detrimental to our historical demonstration, for it is precisely the contrast between *u* and *w* that explains the descendants in Cantonese: I *kūn*: II *kwan*, and it would be unwise to conceal this contrast in Anc. Chin. behind a normalized unity letter (e. g. *w*) because of a »phonemic« speculation.

The »phonemic« principle is, of course, of great importance in all language study and it is naturally and inevitably inherent in every description of any given language. But this simple fact should not entice us to over-emphasize it and make it the all-important feature in our language description, to the exclusion of other aspects of just as great importance in the life of the language. There is a tendency among modern linguists to ride this hobbyhorse so blindly as to reduce their efforts to an intellectual sport — to write a given language with as few simple letters as possible, preferably no other than those to be found on an American typewriter. This modern trend in linguistics has unduly simplified and thereby distorted the real character of the languages so studied.

Moreover, from a purely practical point of view — that of practical language study and teaching — this craze is inconvenient and harmful: for many »phonemically« written units you have necessarily to learn by heart and apply supplementary pronunciation rules, which makes the study far more complicated than

¹⁾ We could with equal right state that *â* exists only after *u* and *a* only after *w*, thus constituting *â* and *a* as two aspects of the same »phoneme«, and consequently write: I *kuan*: II *kwan*. If it were objected that Anc. Chin. had the contrasting pair I *kân*: II *kan* and that the parallelism shows that, in *kuân: kwan*, *â* and *a* are likewise different »phonemes«, then we have jumped over into the historical field (considering that the same Arch. conditions resulted in the Anc. contrast *kuân: kwan* as those resulting in the contrast *kân: kan*) and we have left the realm of synchronic description which alone could justify »phonemic« simplifications.

if the phonetically divergent variants of one »phoneme» had been denoted by different symbols.

The »phonemic» principle is by no means new; it is as ancient as the creation of the first alphabet. We apply it constantly, unconsciously and naturally in our writing of every language. But there is always the delicate question of how far it should be allowed to dominate the reproduction in writing of the spoken language. It is interesting to study how the early sinologues applied its rules when inventing »romanizations» for the Chinese language, particularly Pekinese.

We have two different »a» sounds in Pek. 干 *kân* and 高 *káu* (the former *aigu* like French *patte*, the latter *grave* like Fr. *pâte*). Quite rightly and reasonably they have been considered to be one »phoneme» and the Wade transcription has *k a n* and *k a o*. On the other hand, we have widely different initial sounds in 己 *tši* and ㄗ *tʂu*, the former palatal and the latter supradental (they have therefore been carefully distinguished in the transcriptions used by practically all French sinologues). But since in Pekinese *tʂ* occurs exclusively before *i* and *ü* and *tʂ* exists exclusively before the other vowels: *a*, *ə*, *o*, *u*, the two initials could be considered complementary, forming two aspects of one »phoneme» (some kind of »*č*»), and that is how Wade conceived them, for he transcribed (with English spelling) 己 *ch i* and ㄗ *ch u*, thus combining *tʂ* and *tʂ* together under the »phoneme» *ch*. Not being Chinese, I do not know whether a Pekinese (who is not biased through phonetic knowledge) feels *tʂ* and *tʂ* to be »one and the same sound» (which happens to vary according as it is followed by *i* or *u*); but I do know that this simplification: *ch* for both *tʂi* and *tʂu* is exceedingly unfortunate.¹⁾ It entails the necessity of keeping in mind a complementary rule of pronunciation (before *i* and *ü* pronounce *ch mouillé*, like *c* in Ital. *citta*, before other vowels pronounce *ch* »hard», with the tip of the tongue raised against the palate). But that is precisely what most people do not. Since there is only one »phoneme», written *ch*, why trouble to vary its execution? Hence, most English and many American speakers of Pekinese pronounce 己 *ch i* and ㄗ *ch u* with exactly the same initial sound, the former like *chee* in *cheese*, which is approximately right, the latter like *choo* in *choose*, which is very wrong indeed.

In short, the »phonemic» language description is often one-sided and oversimplifying. It is my conviction that it will soon have seen its best days, and that new currents will dominate in linguistics which do more justice to the infinite richness of every living language.

¹⁾ That the two have a totally different historical origin is of no consequence in this connection, when it is a question of a »synchronic» language description, the »romanization» of Pekinese.

NOTES ON FOUR BRONZES

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN

The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities has recently received two important gifts from friends of the museum. One of them is a monumental bronze of so-called »P'ou» shape, the other is a pair of large size Kuei bronzes.

The P'ou is shown in Pls. 1, 2. With a height of 38 cm. it is one of the largest specimens known of this class of vessel. A P'ou belonging to the former Imperial Collection in Peking, shown in the London Exhibition of 1935 and illustrated in Pl. 11 of its catalogue¹⁾ has a height of 37 cm. This latter P'ou is the only specimen known which closely resembles our new acquisition in shape and the general disposition of the décor; but its pattern on the principal surface of the belly is quite different: compound lozenges with spikes. Thus, the Stockholm P'ou has no exact counterpart, so far as is known at present.

Our vessel has its principal surface of the belly divided into four panels through segmented flanges with very deep indentations. Each panel has, against a background of C spirals and T spirals in low relief,²⁾ the traditional theme of T'aot'ie and dragons in higher relief, the surfaces of these animals being filled with C and T spirals (Pl. 3).

The eyes, horns, mouth-line, drawn-up into a C-like hook, and the S-shaped body are well known features from various Yin and Early Chou vessels. In the comprehensive study of all kinds of variants of the T'aot'ie representation given in my article Notes on the Grammar of Early Bronze Décor (BMFEA 23) our present figure occurs as Type 397 (reproduced both in drawing and as a photograph in Pl. 18) and is there given its proper typological place in the series of T'aot'ie simplifications and stylizations.

Of particular interest is the repeated occurrence of the »C-hooked quill» (our text figure 1 here) which, as we have proved in detail in that article, is an abbreviation of a ubiquitous dragon type (our text figure 2).³⁾ Two such

¹⁾ The Chinese Exhibition, a Commemorative Catalogue 1936. Also in the Chinese catalogue of the exhibits lent to London, Nanking 1935.

²⁾ For these patterns see the detailed analysis in BMFEA 23, 1951 p. 2.

³⁾ Cf also B. Karlgren, New Bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in BMFEA 24, p. 17.

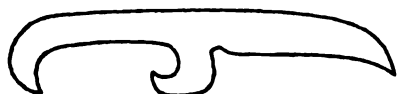


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

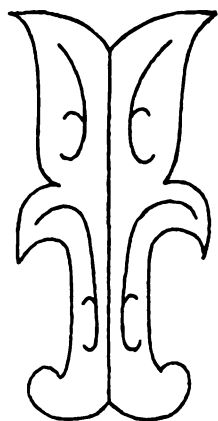


Fig. 3

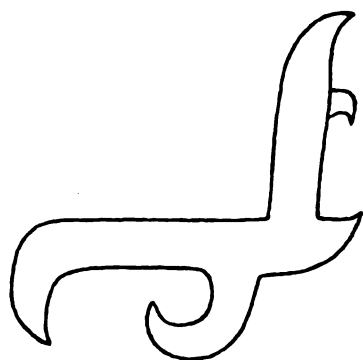


Fig. 4

C-hooked quill figures flank the forehead shield; and even the combined figure of the nose and the forehead shield is in fact made up of two C-hooked quills placed back to back, as we can realize if we compare it with our Fig. 3, the forehead shield of a Yin Li-ting (Tsun ku chai 1: 26): the top section has been corrupted into a square ending, but the fundamental idea of the entire figure is still there.

The T'aot'ie is flanked by vertical dragons having the shape shown in our Fig. 4. The body is still the C-hooked quill; the head is violently simplified.

Above the T'aot'ie there is a row of alternating bosses with whorl-circles and a figure (here more or less deformed) which is illustrated by a detail (our Fig. 5) from a Kuei in Umehara: Seikwa 102, which is, in fact, a modification of the well-known décor element »Square with crescents», the dragon origin of which has been demonstrated in BMFEA 23, p. 25.

The sloping neck part has, just above and corresponding to the flanges of the principal surface, four birds (Pl. 4 b, 5 b) the hind part of which has the same C shape as the segments in the flanges on the belly. The bird in Pl. 4 b has its neck covered with ϵ -shaped scales, the origin and magical purport of which has been investigated in detail in BMFEA 24, p. 18 and following.

Straight above the forehead shields of the four T'aot'ie on the belly, the neck has four ram's heads (Pl. 4 a) very forcefully modelled. They have, again, seg-

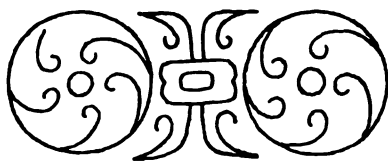


Fig. 5

mented flanges on their heads, and on their horns they have rows of the magical ε -shaped scales just mentioned above. Between the birds and the ram's heads there are dragons of the shape shown in Pl. 3 a: a turned-up, scaly nose, a C-shaped jawline and a body divided into one horizontal part and one raised C-shaped part.

The foot of the vessel carries a »dragonized T'aot'ie«, half of which is shown in Pl. 5 a, upper figure: there is the squared forehead shield, the eyes, a big horn and an S-shaped body. Behind this latter we observe a »boomerang«-shaped figure which is really a remnant of a flanking vertical dragon.

There is a highly remarkable feature in the décor of this bronze. On various basic points of the figures the relief is raised into a boss, reminiscent of the »warts« so common in the Huai style.¹⁾ We find this boss at the nostrils, at the upper corner of the jaw at the base of the S-shaped body and at the base of the horn of the principal T'aot'ie; at the base of the horn (two bosses) of the foot-belt T'aot'ie; at the front hook of the C-hooked quills; at the upper corner of the jaw on the flanking vertical dragon and of the trunked dragon in the neck belt; and, finally, at the base of the trunk of the latter and, curiously doubled, at the base of its horn. Sporadic cases of such bosses may occasionally be observed at the jaw corners of T'aot'ie on some bronze vessels,²⁾ but never all over the various parts of the figures, as on our present vessel,³⁾ and it is quite unique in this respect.

A monumental bronze of this size, with protruding parts, has little chance of being entirely intact, and, in fact, it has been repaired in certain places. The four birds have all been broken off and in three cases the tall necks have been replaced by new ones. In the fourth the neck is intact: the head has been loose but has been refitted on to the neck. In Pl. 5 b, to the right, we have the original neck adorned with ε -shaped scales in the orthodox fashion. In Pl. 5 b, to the left, we see a renewed neck, on which the mender has replaced the scales with a simple pattern of parallel lines. Furthermore, a section of the vessel's foot has been broken off and lost and has been replaced by a new piece. Pl. 5 a, upper part,

¹⁾ BMFEA 8, p. 131 and Pls. 53, 56, 58.

²⁾ E. g. Umehara, Seikwa I, Pls. 24, 72, Yechung p'ien yü I, 17 and II, 15.

³⁾ The P'ou in the Imperial collection, however, has a neckbelt dragon quite similar to ours.

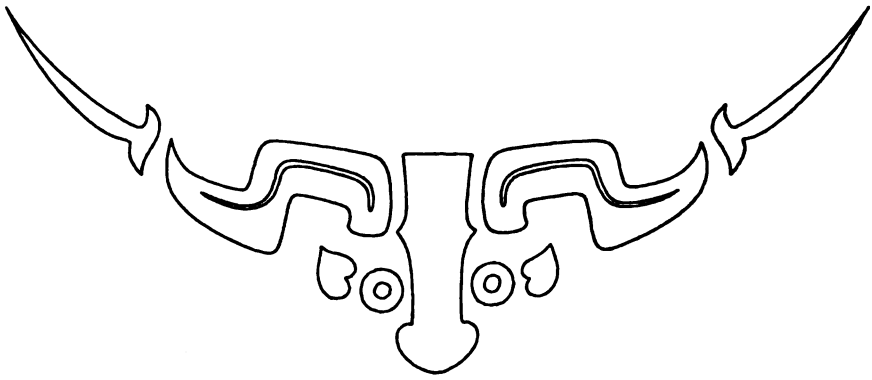


Fig. 6

shows the undamaged foot, its dragon body filled with the correct spiral pattern. Pl. 5 a, lower part, gives the supplemented part, on which the spiral filling very far from tallies with the orthodox archaic pattern. The most interesting aspect of these repairs is that they cannot very well have been done in modern times. The vessel was unearthed only a few years ago and came quickly into the hands of very competent art dealers. In mending broken ancient bronzes the technique is nowadays exceedingly fine in China, and the leading art dealers would not have stooped to giving their approval to repairs with so glaring aberrations from the well-known orthodox patterns. In our opinion the repairs are of ancient date, perhaps of late Chou or Han time: the mender has not worried overmuch about any exact conformity with the archaic patterns, he has filled in the gaps in a way that satisfied his own taste. Moreover, the patina on the mended foot section is undoubtedly ancient and genuine and confirms our conclusion.

The date of the P'ou is either Yin or Early Chou; for reasons given in detail in BMFEA 20, p. 27 et seq., no closer dating is feasible,¹⁾ There is, however, a moot point in this connection. The reports from the Chinese art dealers were that the vessel was unearthed in Ch'angsha in Hunan. I have never been able to believe this implicitly. It is certainly excluded that it could have been cast in the Ch'angsha region (southern part of the ancient Ch'u territory?) in Yin time or even in early Chou time (1028 — circa 900 B. C.). If it was really found there, it must have been brought to Ch'u in ancient times either as booty or as a court gift from the region of the *chung kuo* »central states».

The patina is a deep dull green all over the vessel. It was exhibited in Copenhagen 1950.²⁾

¹⁾ The similar P'ou in the Imperial collection was likewise dated »Shang (i. e. Yin) or Early Chou» by the Chinese experts.

²⁾ André Leth, *Chinese Art*, 1953, Pl. 5.

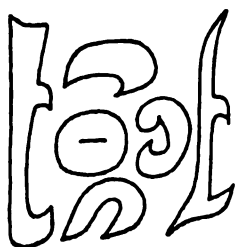


Fig. 7

A pair of Kuei (Pl. 6) of imposing size is the second of the gifts to be described here. The vessel has a height of 34.5 cm. from the top of the lid to the bottom of the base. It consists of the Kuei proper — the lid of which when inverted can serve as a dish — and a square base connected with the former. This base has no bottom.

The principal motifs of the décor are typical Middle Chou: the two horizontal rows of scales (with double, parallel lines) on the base, the «broad figured bands» round the neck and the margin of the lid; the figures in these bands are in fact highly distorted dragon figures, analyzed in detail and placed into their typological connection in BMFEA 23, p. 35 (and Figs. 692—699 there) with their derivation from clearer dragon drawings.

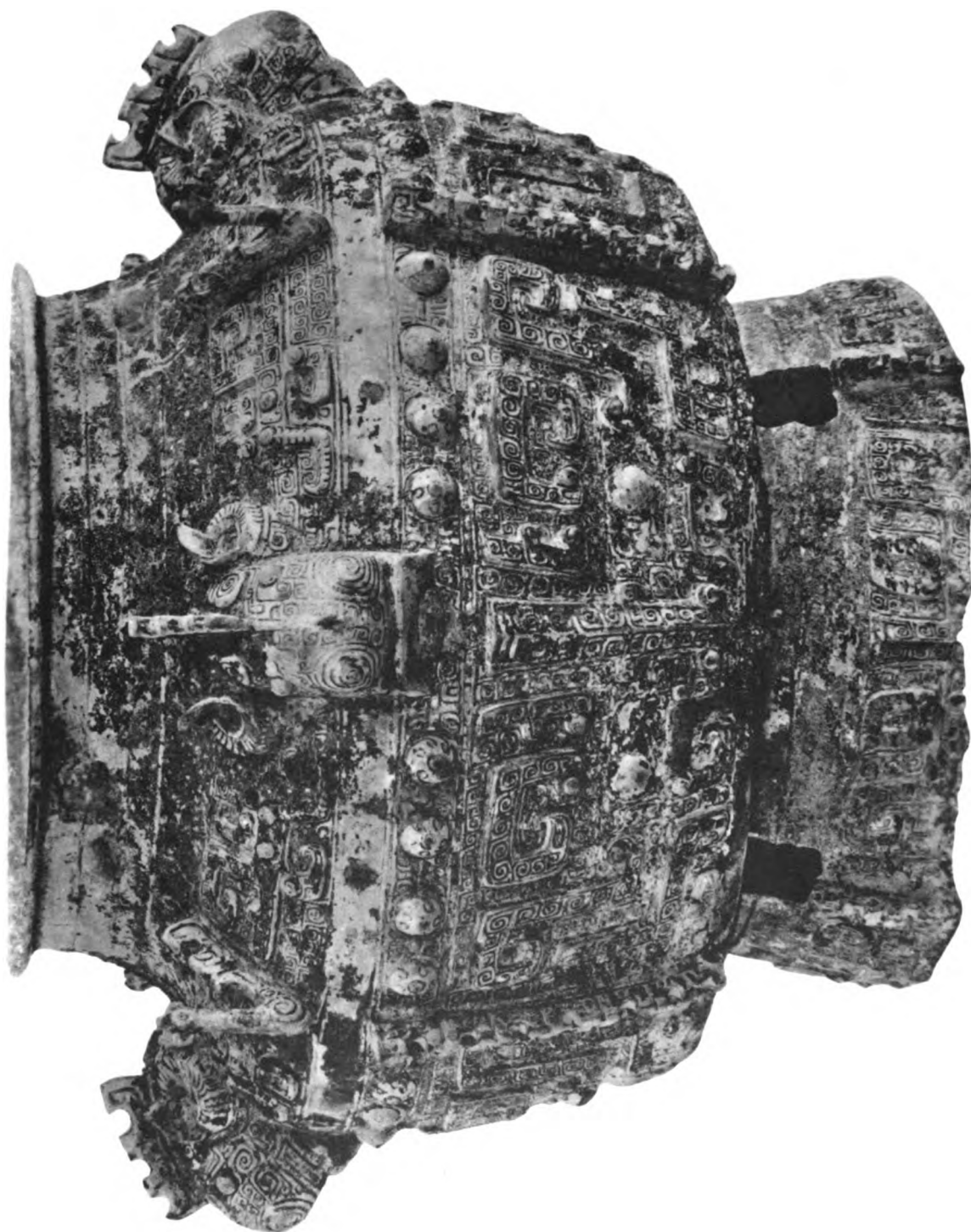
Apart from these principal themes, however, there are some elements which point further back in time than Middle Chou. These are, on the one hand, the «vertical ribs» on vessel, lid and base, a beloved décor feature in the Yin B style; and, even more remarkable, the designs, in very low and flat relief, on the top of the corners of the base: Fig. 6. We find here the T'aot'ie, which was obsolete and is almost entirely absent in the Middle Chou style. It is significant that it has had to give place to the Middle Chou motifs in the principal décor bands, but has been preserved as a modest filling in some inconspicuous corners. Observe that the drawn-out line at the side of the face is really an extremely reduced dragon body; this may easily be realized if we compare Fig. 7 (from a Yin-time Tsüe). We may thus confidently date our Kuei in the transition period between Early Chou and Middle Chou, i. e. around 900 B. C. It has no inscription other than a small, indecipherable sign on the inside of the lid.

We take this opportunity to describe a fourth object acquired recently, a small and unpretentious specimen, which, however, is of a considerable interest: Pl. 8 (the base is 47 mm × 56 mm). It is evidently a lid to some vessel of an unknown kind. It is executed wholly in openwork, formed by an interlacy of reptile bodies, in typical Huai style. The arrangement is not quite symmetrical, since three reptile heads are in the upper margin but a fourth (at the bottom of Pl. 8 a) is ducking down to the rim (hidden in the photograph). The reptile's bodies are adorned in

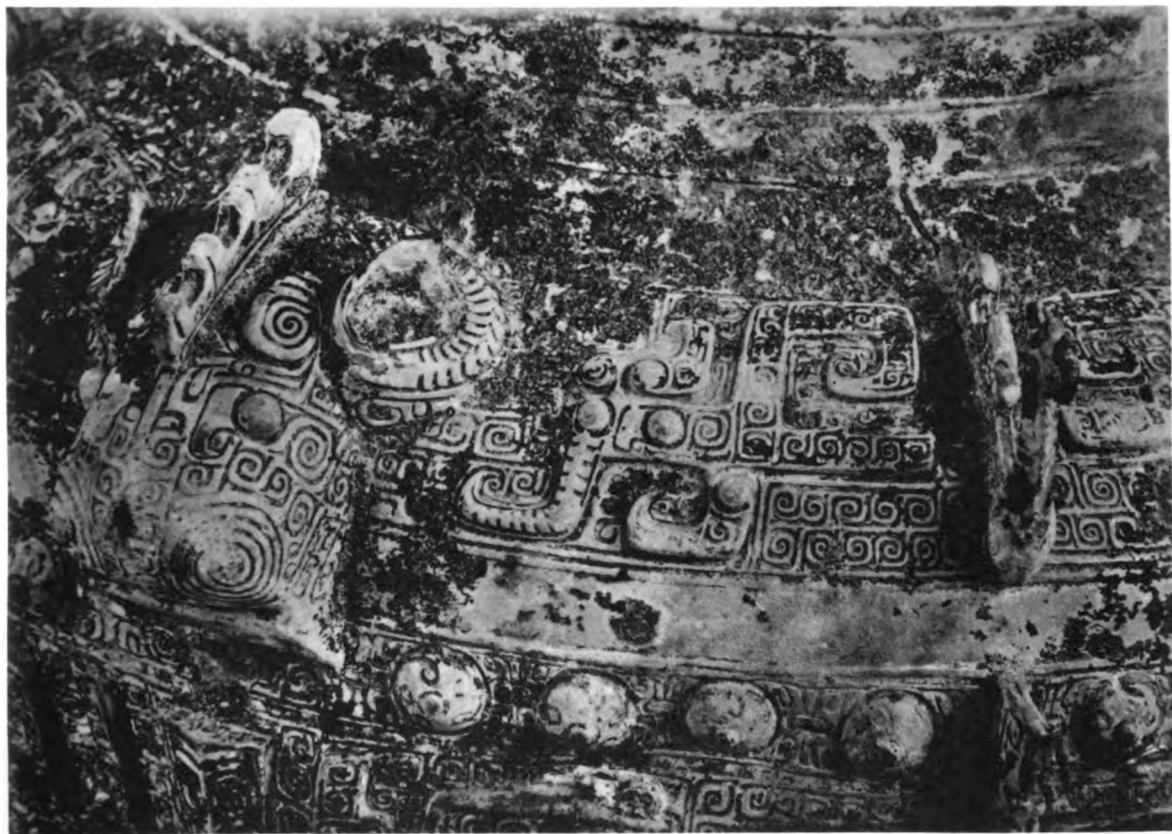
the usual Huai-style fashion, with a furrow in the centre of the back and, in places, slanting lines. At many meeting points there are the Huai-style «warts», here formed into shallow cups which have evidently had some inlay, possibly turquoise or such-like. The most interesting feature, however, is the four flowers at the corners (one lost, two slightly damaged). They are strongly reminiscent of the flowers in the décor of certain kinds of Huai-style mirrors, datable in the 3rd c. B. C., as has been proved in a monograph on early mirrors.¹⁾ But whereas the mirrors have quatrefoil flowers, our specimen here shows flowers with 5 leaves, a very unusual variant.

In fine, this small bronze is, to our knowledge, quite unique.

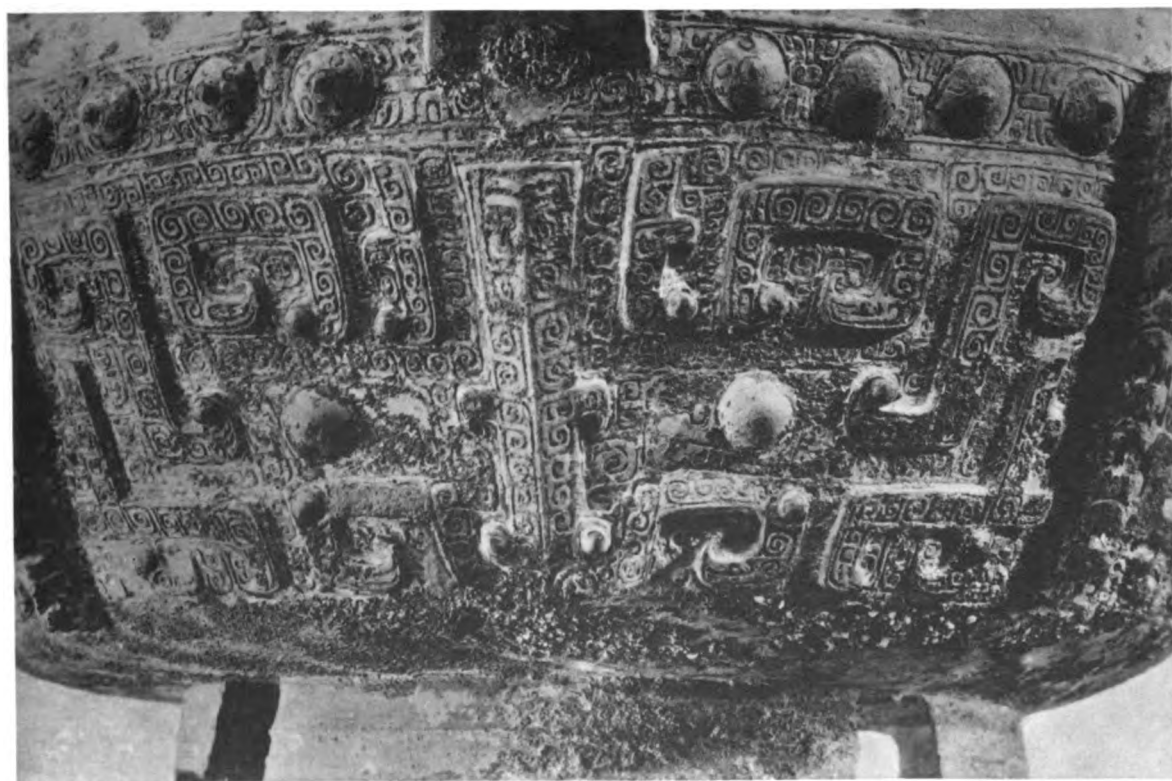
¹⁾ B. Karlgren, *Huai and Han*, BMFEA 13, 1941, types C 30, 31, and C 80, 81.







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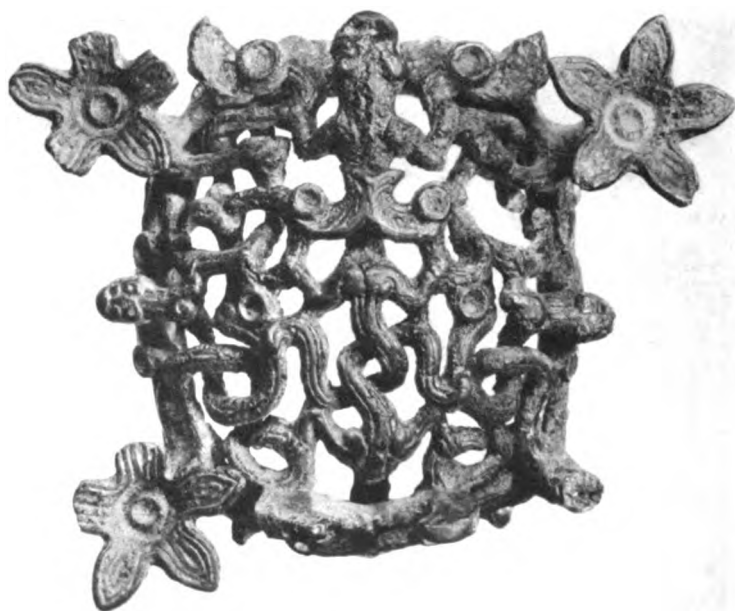
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